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JUN 5 1964

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

PUBLISHED

By

The Oklahoma Historical Society

Index to Volume XLI, 1963

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

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Cover: The front cover of this summer number of *The Chronicles* gives a photo taken by George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on May 27, 1963 during the noon hour at which time three flags floated over the State Capitol, in commemoration of the Oklahoma Historical Society's 71st Birthday. This scene in color shows the gable end of the south wing, over the main entrance to the State Capitol Building. The three flags are seen afloat from the flagstaff: At the top of the staff, is the old United States Flag with 46 stars commemorating Oklahoma as the 46th State in the Union, admitted in 1907; the 2nd flag below, is the Confederate Flag (the accepted replica of the "Confederate Battle Flag") commemorating the Centennial period of the American Civil War, in which the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) had an important part on the Western Frontier; the 3rd flag below on the staff is the Oklahoma State Flag with its field of azure blue and central design which shows an Indian warrior's shield superimposed by an Indian peace pipe crossed by the laurel branch, the White Man's symbol of peace.

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Cover: The front cover scene shows the campaign for Oklahoma statehood—the 46th State—from an old photograph taken at Guymon in the Panhandle in 1907. The scene relates to the article, "Life in the Territories" in this number of *The Chronicles,* showing F. M. Hover standing in the front far right, near the banner.

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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SOCIAL
SCIENCES

Spring, 1963

BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL CENTENNIAL STAGECOACH
AT GUADALUPE PASS, TEXAS, 1958

Volume VLI Number 1

Published Quarterly by the

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(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893.)

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* Deceased

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY STAGECOACH

By John and Mildred Frizzell

Definition of American Stagecoach

The American stagecoach is a horse drawn vehicle which was designed to carry passengers and mail over stages of primitive roads, in a coach type body with windows and doors, swung on leather thorough-braces suspended between jacks attached to a running gear made up of three reaches which hold the front and hind axles.[1]

The original twelve passenger American stagecoach shown in color on the opposite page here, photographed from the original exhibited in the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum (at the foot of the marble stairway), was a gift of the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch, Ponca City, Oklahoma. It was accepted for the Society by Mr. J. B. Thoburn, Secretary, on July 18, 1921.

This stagecoach was used by the Miller Brothers, Jo, George and Zack[2], in their Wild West Shows which were brought to an untimely end in England in 1914 at the outbreak of the first World War. For the next eight years the 101 Ranch discontinued their shows and devoted much of their time to the war effort in America.

There are two other rebuilt original stagecoaches in Oklahoma today. One is a twelve passenger Western Type owned by Mrs. Charles E. Wahl, Marland, Oklahoma. The other is the last "Pawnee Bill" stagecoach which was rebuilt by John Frizzell, and used on the Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial rerun in 1958. There is also a very historic Celerity Wagon which is closely related to the stagecoach structurally, in the Woolaroc Museum, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

The Society records state that this stagecoach served on two early western routes: the St. Joseph, Missouri to Denver, Colorado[3], route prior to the coming of the railroad and on

---

[1] The spelling of the word "stagecoach" follows that of Webster's *Third International Dictionary,* 1961.

[2] Zack Miller, Jr. who resides with his mother Mrs. Marguerite Miller on the 101 Ranch, reports that the traditional Miller western showmanship is being carried on by his niece, Miss Jimmie Gibbs, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Gibbs, Valley Mills, Texas, since she was recently chosen the World's Typical Cowgirl in 1962.

[3] Oklahoma Historical Society, Museum "Acquisition Records" No. 3828.

OKLAHOMA STATION & DARLINGTON VIA FORT RENO

the "Cannon Ball" Green[4] line which reached its peak of success and fame in the 1880's. If future research verifies these statements, the Oklahoma Historical Society stagecoach must have been made during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. However, the earliest date in the life of this vehicle that can be substantiated at this time is near the turn of the century.

Meager information about this stagecoach indicates it spent most of its obvious long and varied life in the west. But the design of its construction indicates that it was made originally for use in the eastern part of our country. Such features as the solid panel front foot board, the slat luggage rack and the reaches built on top of the hind axle, all indicate that it is what some authorities refer to as the "Eastern Type American stagecoach." As the steam locomotives extended their network of rails throughout the East, many of these early Eastern Type stagecoaches were later used in the West.

The Western Type American stagecoach was designed for more rugged use, with a bag front boot (hinged to the body allowing it to give with the jolts) with leather sides, leather hind boot and reaches built under the hind axle to give greater strength to the running gear.

In the early days, it was customary for the stagecoaches to carry the name of the Stage Line or the towns serviced on the head-board of the coach. During the recent restoration of this vehicle, the author was granted permission to examine one of the original head-boards. Removal of the modern paint, one flake at a time, revealed a thrilling sight. There in bold illuminated block letters, in gold leaf with black shadows (2½ inches tall by 2½ inches wide) the words; *Jefferson via Sanatorium and Rutland.*

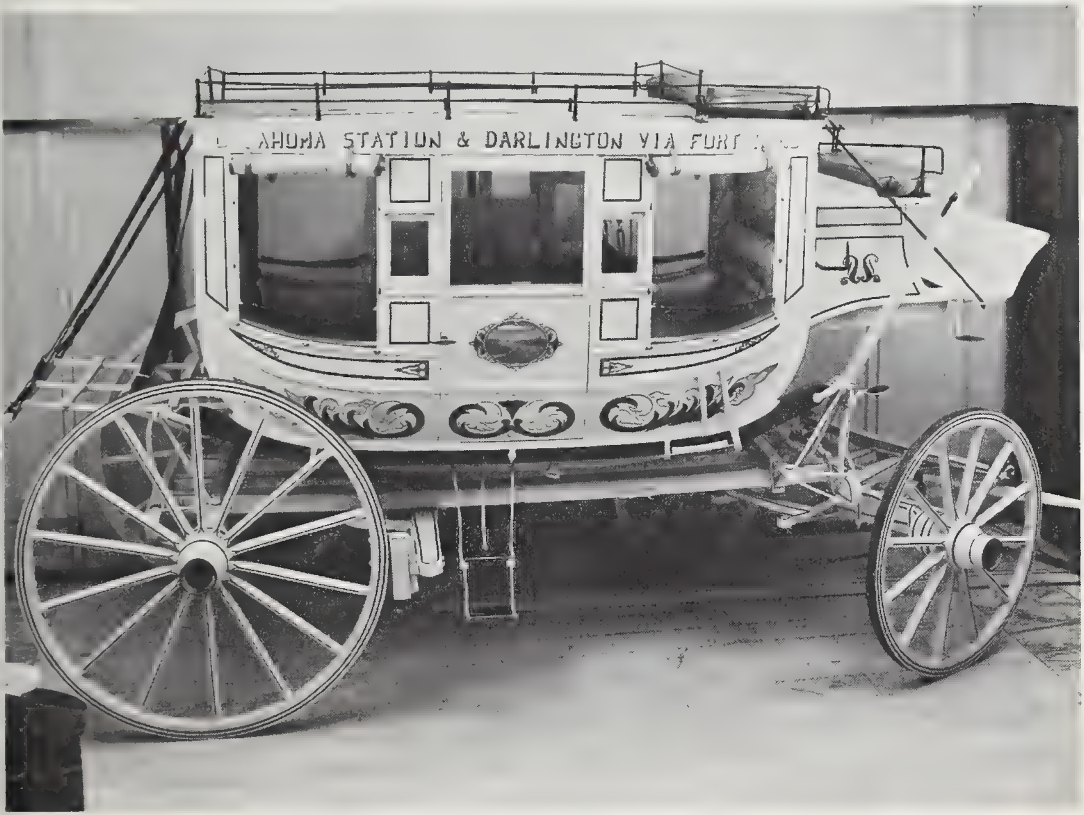
There are several states in the Union that have both a Jefferson and a Rutland but only one state, Massachusetts, has these specific towns close enough together for a normal stage run. Also, it is the only state that has a Sanatorium between these two towns.

The Sanatorium between Jefferson and Rutland (now a part of Rutland) is the first state tubercular sanatorium in the

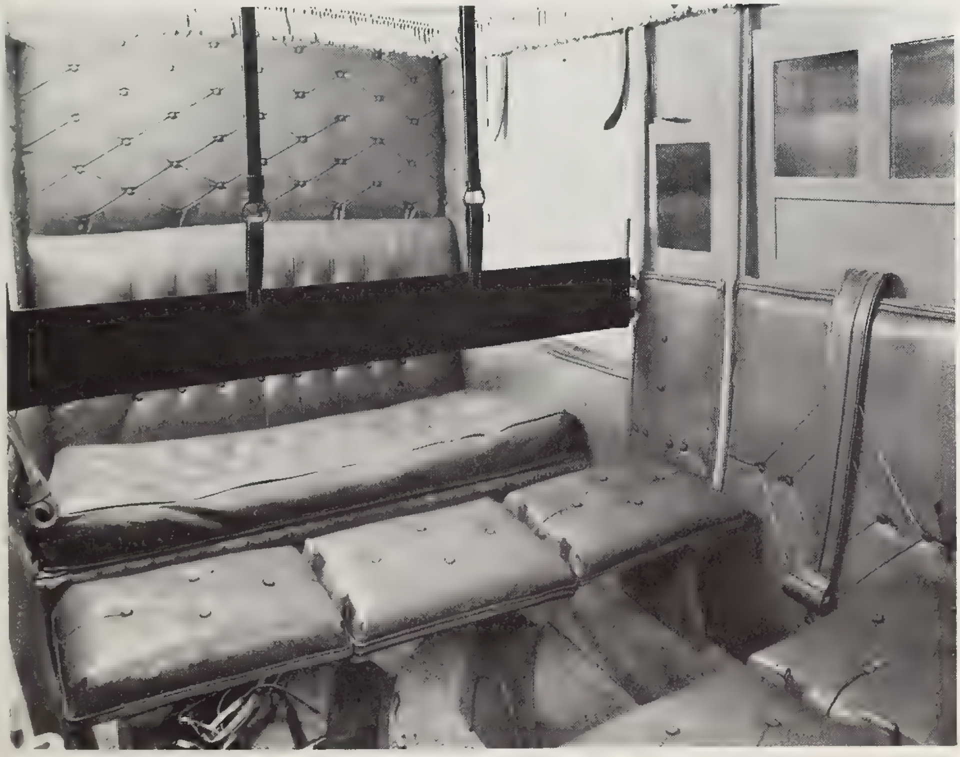
---

[4] Brochure, semi-centennial issue on the Museum Collections with illustrations, published by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Daily Oklahoman for Tuesday, October 28, 1941 carries a story and a photograph of the old stagecoach in the Historical Society, with D. R. ("Cannon Ball") Green's daughter, Mrs. J. M. Sterrett standing beside the old vehicle. Her father was a colorful figure as a stage-line owner in the early 1880's, in western history. He lived during his last years near Bridgeport, Oklahoma, and died in California in 1922. Mrs. Sterrett gives a few notes in the story accompanying the picture in *The Oklahoman* (1941), about her father but knew nothing about the old stagecoach itself.


AHOMA STATION & DARLINGTON VIA FORT

View of the Stagecoach,
showing the curtains rolled up.



Interior view showing the trim.

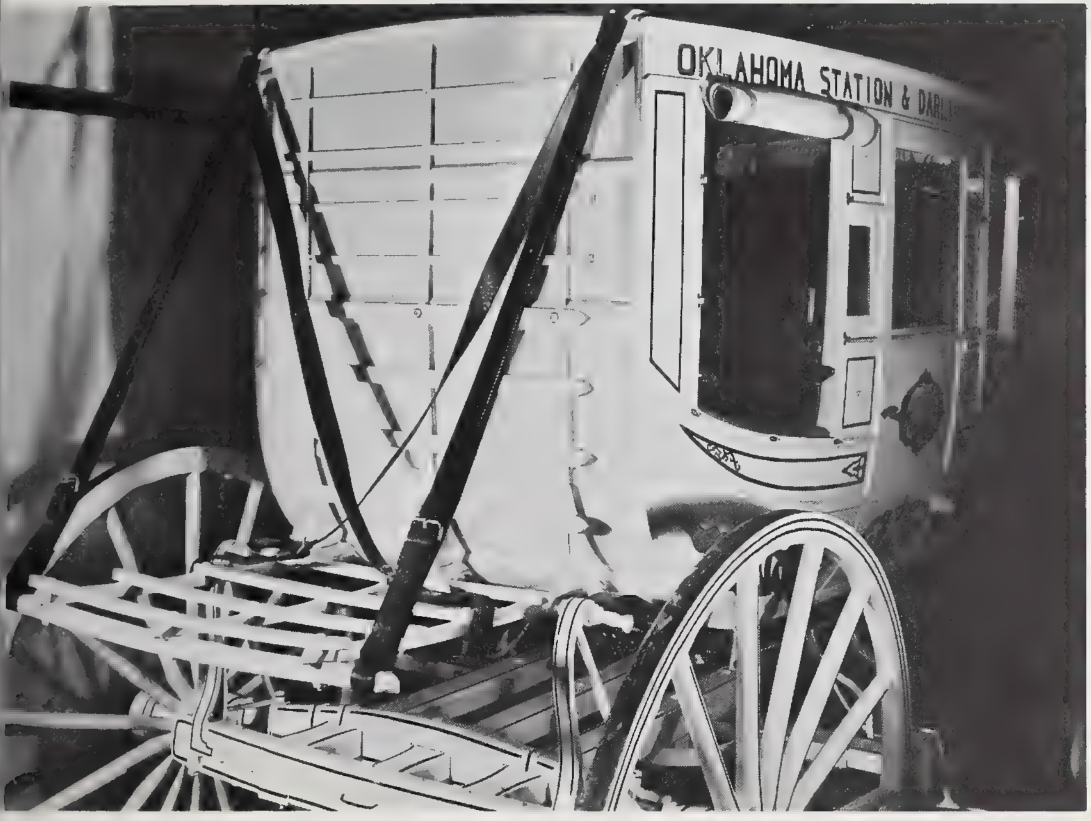
United States. Since it was up in the mountains "on top of Massachusetts" it could not be reached by rail. Jefferson was the terminus of the railroads to this mountain community. It was also the end of the trolley from Worcester, Massachusetts. So the Oklahoma Historical Society stagecoach picked up patients and guests of the Sanatorium and citizens of Rutland at the railway station and at the end of the trolley line and took them up the mountain to their respective destinations.

Dr. Paul Default, Superintendent of the Rutland State Sanatorium of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts was unable to find any pictures of our stagecoach in the early files of the Sanatorium which opened in the fall of 1898. He did however, introduce the author to Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Murphy, two delightful historians of Rutland who took the problem to heart and verified the supposition that our stagecoach did serve the first state tubercular sanatorium in America about 1900.

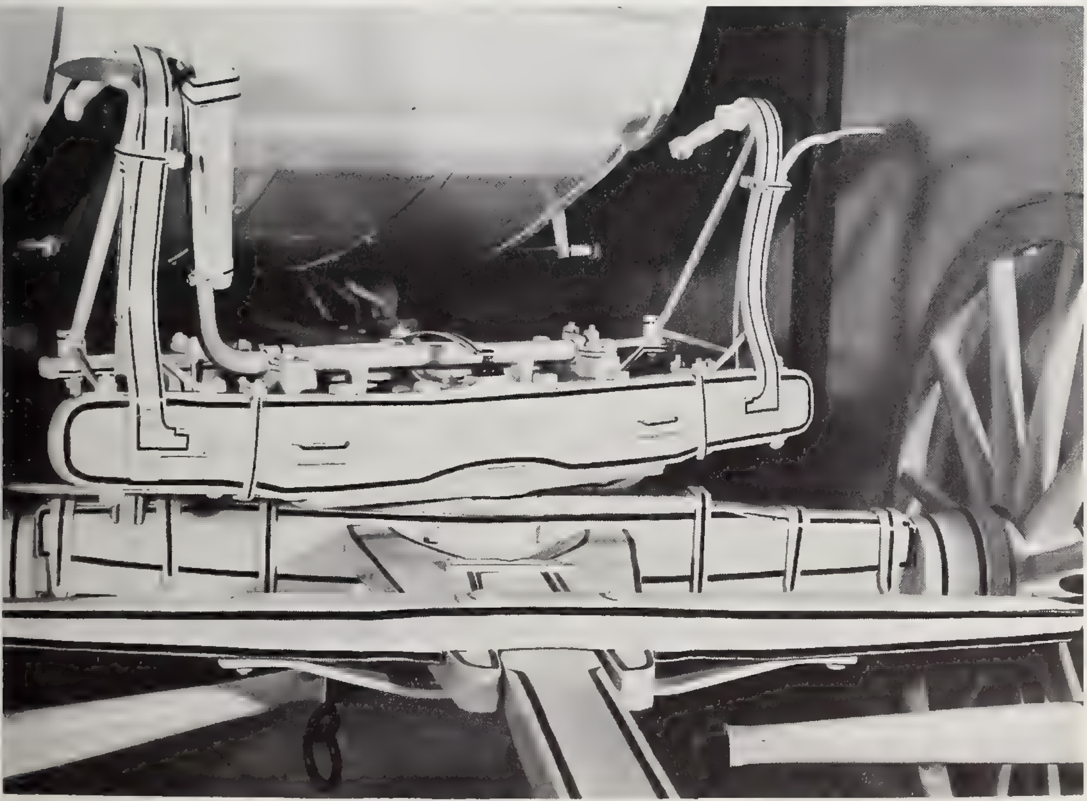
Many of the stagecoach builders of the Nineteenth Century numbered their vehicles. Abbot-Downing Company of Concord, New Hampshire, is one of the few early stagecoach builders whose records have been preserved. These records which are in the Library of the New Hampshire Historical Society in Concord, carry the detailed description and number of many of the vehicles they built. According to Gretchen Toby, Librarian, these records are not complete and some of the numbers have been repeated without explanation. Because of this irregularity of numbers, an Abbot-Downing stagecoach cannot be identified by number alone.

According to Mr. Bill Ferris and F. D. Stevens who restored the Society's stagecoach in Oklahoma, the only number found was "453." Gretchen Toby searched the Abbot-Downing records and found a vehicle numbered 453 but it could not possibly be the Oklahoma stagecoach since it was a nine passenger, with bag foot board and leather boot, with reaches made to go under the hind axle. However, since the records are incomplete this does not definitely preclude the Society vehicle from being an Abbot-Downing stage.

There were countless other coach and carriage works throughout the United States building stagecoaches during the Nineteenth Century. One very fine coach builder that made early stagecoaches was located in Worcester, Massachusetts, only a few miles from Jefferson. It was the Osgood Bradley Coach Works which was started in 1822. Mr. Murphy states that the Osgood Bradley Company built the first passenger coach for a steam road in 1833. One hundred years later it became the Pullman Standard Division of Pullman, Incorporated of Chicago, Illinois. Only recently the Worcester plant of Pull-


OKLAHOMA STATION & DARL

View showing the luggage rack at the back of the Stagecoach body.



Front end of the running gear.

man Standard was closed and offered for sale. Naturally the historians of Rutland think the Oklahoma Historical Society stage was made in Worcester by Osgood Bradley, but this cannot be confirmed at this time.

Each of these original stagecoaches is an important page in the early history of America as well as Oklahoma. It is regrettable that so many of these significant pages of history have been allowed to disintegrate in some forgotten wagon salvage yard.

Oklahomans have a growing appreciation for the thoughtful preservation of this historic stagecoach by the Miller Brothers, and its subsequent care by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

THE ENDING OF A CHEYENNE LEGEND

By Chrystabel Berrong Poteet

Residents in the valley northeast of Geary, Oklahoma found a century-old Indian legend of their community to be only a belief. Late in the afternoon that day, four vicious black funnels tore loose from a dark mother-cloud hanging low over this area, and swept mile after mile through the peaceful valley, leaving great destruction.

According to the old legend, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians gathered in this valley each spring long before the white man invaded the Territory of Oklahoma. It was here among the trees along the river bank that they camped during the three stormy months of March, April and May and worshiped the "Great Spirit." The people of these tribes truly believed that the whirling black storms which so often swept the high open prairie land during the spring months would never come to this valley between the two great rivers, the Canadian and the North Canadian.

In 1892, when this part of Oklahoma—the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation—was opened for settlement to the white man, the Indian legend was repeated over and over again to the settlers of this valley. And some years later (1898) when the town of Geary was founded the people were told that their town would never be destroyed by a tornado. Consequently as year after year passed and tornadoes did not come to either the town or the valley, people more or less accepted the legend as fact. Indeed this Indian legend gave them such a sense of security that only a few of the first settlers took the time or put out the effort to make themselves a storm cave. Even in the year 1961, almost a century later, only a few families throughout the entire valley possessed a storm shelter. But each of these places of safety sheltered two or three families the evening that the twisters raced through the valley.

For days afterward as they cleared the debris left by the storm, each family had many strange stories to tell. Although each story could be easily verified they still seemed fantastic and almost unbelievable to the sightseers who came for miles in every direction to view the damage and see the strange sights left behind by the fast traveling tornadoes.

The driver of a semi-trailer truck traveling south on U.S. 270 saw a funnel hit the ground a short distance west of the highway. Fearing for his life this driver turned in at the Enos Zweiacher farm home on the east side of the roadway. There was scarcely time enough for him to jump from his truck and lay flat upon the cement floor of the block garage before the tornado turned the truck upside down and over like a toy. It also moved the Zweiacher's two story frame house eight feet off its cement foundation without loosing the shingles or a single pane of glass.[1] Then like a thing gone mad this whirling black funnel rushed on east where only half-a-mile away it completely demolished a barn and lifted a round steel grain bin bodily into the air to become a part of the spinning tornadic mass.[2]

Another mile north at the junction of Highway 270 and Concho Road, three more deadly black funnels dropped to the ground. One of these took off straight east down the blacktop road toward the North Canadian river destroying everything in the radius of its powerful funnel. Curiously enough the funnel which had started traveling on the right side of the highway joined forces with it in less than a half mile. Still holding to the blacktop road the enlarged tornado swept furiously toward the next crossroads where the Geary Pump Station and three family homes were located.

No lives were lost at this corner because people took shelter in a storm cave belonging to the Pump Station. But a large hangar-type hay barn owned by V. E. Muncy was lifted from its cement foundation and was blown to pieces in mid-air.[3] The corrugated tin used in this structure was not found until next day when it was located scattered in fields a mile away. The roof and siding of the B. J. Peters' new home at the northeast corner of this intersection was damaged, and a long hay shed demolished. Electric light poles were broken and scattered over the roadway obstructing traffic for more than half a mile and power lines lay in a tangled mass in front of the Pump Station. Both the countryside and the town of Geary were without electricity for more than eighteen hours.[4]

The discomforts left behind at the crossroads did not retard the speed of the tornado as it raced on east down the Concho

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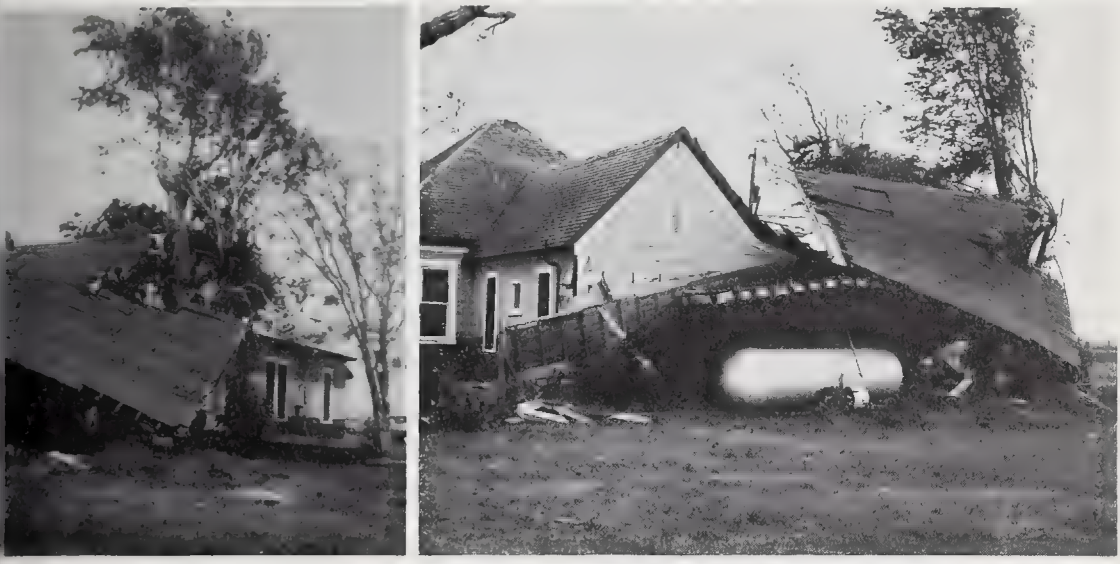
[1] Although the twister caused some damage west of U.S. Highway 270 the first show of major force was at the Enos Zweiacher farm 3.5 miles northeast of Geary. The Zweiacher family saw its approach. The mother and four children went to the basement underneath the house but Mr. Zweiacher was trapped in the garage with the trucker and watched as the house was moved off its foundation. None of the family were injured.—*The Geary Star,* May 11, 1961, p. 1, col. 1.

[2] This steel grain bin was carried through the air for more than a mile before it was deposited in a wheat field on the Cutnose farm. Many people observed the bin standing out in this field.

[3] This information was furnished by A. N. Ice who lives northeast of the Muncy farm and who saw the barn lifted bodily, then collapse in midair. V. E. Muncy lost other buildings and his residence was also damaged.

[4] Blaine county Civil Defense provided power from two generators on trucks to help in the emergency.—*Ibid.*



Two views of the V. E. Muncy home with the kitchen completely flattened by a nearby granary blown against it in the tornado.

Only vestiges of the Hart home after the Geary tornado.

road where it damaged the George Levi home on the north side of the highway. After traveling a few yards more there was another conjunction of two powerful forces. This time it was the twister which the trucker had watched from the block garage that joined the Concho Road funnel.

The tornado, now double in force, roared on straight east for another mile while it demolished the home of W. B. Hart on the southside and leveled the Donald Ice home on the north side of the road.[5] Contents from both these homes were hurled into a shelter belt of tall trees which ran along the north side of the highway.

A mixture of childrens' clothing, heavy bedding and sheer window curtains hung from the highest branches. A Maytag washer, an electric cookstove and a deep freeze containing two hundred pounds of meat were lodged lower down in the tree belt.

Still angry and powerful the tornado rushed across the North Canadian river[6] where it twisted the two-story home of Ray Ice four feet from its foundation, pulled out all the windows, lifted the roof and blew away the porches.[7] A short distance farther east a trailer house stationed in Henry Schumacher's yard was mashed.

From this point the force of the storm subsided somewhat. Other damage was reported but it was considered slight to that done on the west side of the river.

The other deadly funnel spawned from the mothercloud at the junction of U.S. Highway 270 and Concho road moved out across the countryside in a northeast direction. In defiance of the old Indian legend this storm hurled the unused Cheyenne Mission building from its foundation against a huge tree, completely demolishing the structure. Richard Murphy, a Cheyenne Indian who was making his home there for the summer, was killed. Like many homes in this community there was no storm cave at this place. Murphy, who became the only victim of the evening, was crushed in the chest, suffered deep lacerations of the face and a fracture in the back of his head.

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[5] Mr. and Mrs. Donald Ice and their two young daughters left the home about ten minutes before the twister hit and went a half-mile east of the Ray Ice place to take refuge in a storm cellar.—*Ibid.*

[6] Instead of using the steel bridge across the North Canadian river, the tornado swerved to the left and after felling large trees in its path it crossed the river at the exact spot to damage the Ray Ice home.

[7] The many friends who came to the Ray Ice home next morning were astonished to see that in all this confusion not a single dish or piece of glassware was disturbed in the old-fashioned china closet. Even a vase of flowers which sat on a stand near the stairway was unmolested.

But this tornado left still another story, one which people in this valley will long remember and talk about in the years to come. For, a sandpoint pump and 30 feet of pipe was lifted from a well near the Mission House. Everyone who viewed this spectacle considered it the greatest wonder of the evening. From this point the tornado kept its northeast direction, sweeping the countryside toward the town of Okarche. Farm animals were killed and crops destroyed over an area extending into Kingfisher county.

The old legend had meant a lot to the Indians but residents of the valley in 1961 were quick to praise the modern radar storm warning system used over Oklahoma City's radio and television stations. These people say had it not been for the continuous weather advisory bulletins many of them would not have sought shelter in a neighboring storm cave.

In December 1961, a special documentary half-hour program on Weather was presented from the W.K.Y. television studio. During this program Dick John, narrator, referred to the Maytime Geary storm. In his discussion he said, this was the first time in weather history that the weather bureau had been able to pinpoint the exact location of a tornado.

According to his report a wide area in Blaine and Kingfisher counties had been alerted before noon that day for the possibility of tornadoes but it was in the afternoon when both the Kansas City and Oklahoma City Weather Bureaus designated the exact area of the storm to be north of the town of Geary and continuous storm warnings were given.

People living north of Geary will soon forget the Indian legend but they will always remember how the storm warnings saved their lives.[8]

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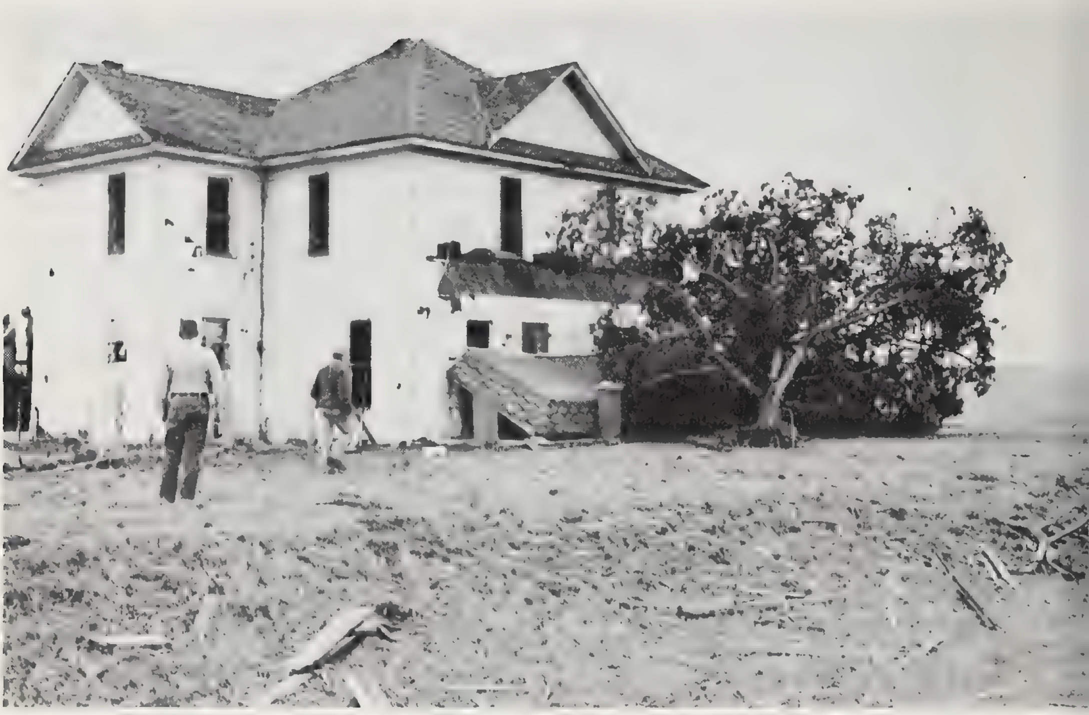
[8] Pictures showing the damage left by the storm were taken the next morning by Lester Crothers who is an insurance agent in Geary.

The direct information about the storm was furnished by Mrs. Bill Muncy who saw the funnel which hit the Zweiacher house coming straight toward her home less than a mile away. Fortunately, the twister changed its course slightly enough to miss their buildings. Like many other families she and her husband did not have a storm cave. They took shelter with the Johnnie Lorenzen family who live directly across the roadway.



The Ray Ice home after the tornado at Geary.

The Indian Mission site after the tornado near Geary.

THE DRIVE FOR STATEHOOD IN OKLAHOMA, 1889-1906

*By Charles Wayne Ellinger**

Between 1889 and 1906 the question of statehood for Oklahoma and Indian territories was debated bitterly and often in Congress. During this seventeen year period, thirty-one bills calling for the admission of one or both territories into the Union were introduced. As the issue developed, one question dominated all others. Should the "Twin Territories" be admitted separately or joined together to form a single state? The controversy over "Separate" and "Single" Statehood was finally resolved by the acceptance of the latter program.

Members of Congress were influenced by many considerations before deciding to form one state out of the two territories. Both Democrats and Republicans consulted party interests before voting. Protection of the Indians and a desire to follow Indian treaties affected many. Lobbies representing commercial clubs and businesses flooded Congress with literature and delegations in an effort to influence statehood legislation. In the end, the desire for political gain and economic profit combined to force the union of the twin territories into the state of Oklahoma.

One additional factor, however, must not be overlooked. Congressmen could not completely ignore the demands of the people of Oklahoma and Indian territories. These citizens earnestly desired statehood. Statehood activity started soon after the "Eighty-niner" Run and quickly gained momentum with each passing year. The fight for Oklahoma statehood was exciting and hard fought. It was a story of cool-headed organization and impetuous emotion. It was a drive by an ingenious frontier people who would not be denied the rights and privileges which they could obtain only with statehood.

Local residents worked for admission into the Union long before Congress seriously considered Oklahoma and Indian territories for statehood. Oklahoma Territory was hardly a year old before statehood fever gripped its citizens, but the first attempts were disorganized affairs. Oklahomans were undecided about union with Indian Territory. Since no wide-spread organization existed to coordinate efforts, municipal statehood supporters operated on their own to gain support from other cities in the territory. They decided that the best method by which to publicize the movement was through territorial conventions which would petition Congress demanding admission into the Union.

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The citizens of Oklahoma City took the initiative when they called for a statehood convention to meet there on December 16, 1891. This meeting developed two issues that would predominate Oklahoma's statehood activity for the next fifteen years. Sidney Clarke of Oklahoma City presented a resolution requesting Congress to admit Oklahoma and Indian territories as a single state. Judge Buford of Guthrie challenged this report when he submitted his resolution excluding Indian Territory from the new state. After bitter debate Clarke's measure was accepted and the convention appointed a non-partisan committee to draft an enabling act and present it to the territory's Congressional Delegate for introduction to Congress.[1] The committee carried out its instructions, but congressional action was not taken on Delegate Harvey's subsequent bill.

Statehood forces became more active in 1892. Sidney Clarke and D. C. Lewis of Oklahoma City toured the territories speaking in favor of single statehood.[2] Territorial Governor A. J. Seay reported to Secretary of the Interior that Oklahoma would be ready for admission in a short time.[3] The *Evening Gazette* of Oklahoma City attempted to convince residents of Indian Territory that union with Oklahoma would solve their crime, educational and governmental problems.[4]

In 1893 three conventions were held. The first was at El Reno, where delegates met in August and attempted to organize an interterritorial convention to be held at a later date. When support for this proposal failed the convention appointed a committee to draft a constitution calling for the admission of Oklahoma Territory into the Union. But the constitutional committee never met.[5]

The second convention, made up of delegates from both territories, met at Purcell, Indian Territory, on September 30. The Chickasaw Nation was the only tribe well represented and it indicated its desire for single statehood. Little was achieved by the convention except to give the one-state movement its first strong support in Indian Territory.[6]

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[1] *Evening Gazette,* Oklahoma City, December 16, 1891.

[2] *Ibid.,* January 11, 1892.

[3] *Annual Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior: For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1892* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1892).

[4] *Evening Gazette,* January 11, 1892.

[5] *Kansas City Times,* as quoted in the *Norman Transcript,* August 11, 1893.

[6] *Kingfisher Free Press,* October 5, 1893.

The third meeting was at Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, on November 28. Single statehood supporters were in the majority and drafted a resolution embodying their aims. The gathering was more of a review of past conventions than an original contributor to the statehood movement.[7]

On January 11, 1894, the statehood drive received its first support from a political party when the Democratic Central Committee passed resolutions opposing separate statehood. Its Chairman, C. W. Gould of El Reno, issued a call for a convention to convene in Perry. On January 24 the delegates met and petitioned Congress to admit Oklahoma Territory without delay. The petition stated that the Indian Nations could be annexed by the new state as soon as they qualified for statehood. Realizing that only the Chickasaw tribe favored single statehood, the delegates requested that the Dawes Commission treat with it immediately so it could be added to the state. This was the first open proposal favoring piecemeal absorption of the Indian Nations by Oklahoma Territory. Though the Democrats originally suggested the idea, they soon abandoned it and sponsored single statehood.[8]

When news of the Perry convention reached the members of the Dawes Commission, it immediately rejected the request. Commissioner A. T. McKinnon stated, "To include the Civilized Tribes with Oklahoma against their will would be a gross injustice against them."[9] Furthermore, the Indian Territory Democratic Central Committee repudiated piecemeal absorption. It declared that separate statehood was the only solution the territory would accept.[10]

Between 1894 and 1900 citizens of the Twin Territories were too busy with local affairs to campaign vigorously for statehood. Oklahoma was expanding its jurisdiction over the Cherokee Outlet and other lands and busily engaged in improving its territorial government. The task of land allotment by the Dawes Commission occupied the attention of the Indian Nations. The opposing statehood factions spent their time consolidating their forces and waiting for a favorable opportunity to force a statehood bill through Congress. The territorial Republican Party of Oklahoma bided its time and did not commit itself to any one plan until it could determine which would favor the best interests of the party. On May 15, 1894, it added a plank to its platform that discreetly called for ". . . statehood for Oklahoma in the quickest and best way it can be obtained."[11]

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[7] *Ibid.*, November 28, 1893.

[8] *El Reno Democrat,* June 24, 1894. Later the Republican Party adopted piecemeal absorption and Congress almost accepted the principle, but rejected it 1903.

[9] *Guthrie Leader,* as quoted in the *El Reno Democrat,* February 8, 1894.

[10] U.S., *Cong. Rec.,* 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1894, XXXIV, Part 2, 1797.

The citizens of Indian Territory also disagreed on the best type of statehood. The *Arapahoe Bee*, an Oklahoma Territory newspaper, declared, "The enlightened and intelligent citizen of Indian Territory can see how this [single statehood] would improve their territory in such ways as educational and financial improvement and obliteration of lawlessness in every form . . ."[12] Many citizens of the Indian Nations took issue with such statements. Roley McIntosh, a leader of the fullblood and conservative mixed-blood Creeks, believed that reports of lawlessness in the nations were grossly exaggerated. "In fact," said McIntosh, "there are so many deputy marshals and Indian police appointed by the Federal Government in the Indian Territory that they hardly have enough criminals to catch." He added that he hoped ". . . that the Nations would be let alone to their own free government."[13]

Only in the Choctaw Nation was there much activity over the statehood question.[13a] Two political parties in the Nation had been formed, and by early 1890's, each held opposite views concerning the issue: The Progressive or "Eagle Party" eventually (by 1900) was under the leadership of Green McCurtain, and favored statehood for Indian Territory—domain of the Five Civilized Tribes—alone. The conservative group among the Choctaws—called the "Buzzard Party"—opposed statehood altogether, the leader of which, beginning in the early 1890's was the well known Jacob Jackson. The groups raided their opponents' meetings.[14] Speakers toured the Choctaw Nation supporting or opposing statehood. One opponent of the territory's admission into the Union appealed to the conservative full-bloods by describing the changes that would ensue if statehood were adopted. He declared:[15]

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[11] *Guthrie State Capital*, May 16, 1894.

[12] *Arapahoe Bee*, as quoted by the *Daily Oklahoman*, December 6, 1894.

[13] Report of an interview of Elias Parish by Pete W. Cole, "Indian-Pioneer History," Foreman Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 39-48, interview No. 7690, Oklahoma Historical Society Indian Archives, Oklahoma City. (The statement of Roley McIntosh of the Creek Nation is a classic in state history, representing the thinking public of the Indian nations —"Five Civilized Tribes"—toward the statehood movement. This McIntosh speech—translated by Capt. George W. Grayson—is in the Special Report of the Committee on Territories, Hearings on the bill proposing statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 52nd Congress, 1st Session. This speech is found quoted in whole or in part in a number of early Oklahoma histories including Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and its People*, Vol. II, p. 590 and in "Appendix" XLV-2, pp. 899-900.—Ed.)

[13a] The Choctaw General Council passed two resolutions, both approved on November 20, 1889, by B. F. Smallwood, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation: "No. 4. A Resolution expressing the sense of the Choctaw Nation in reference to the location of Federal Courts" (covering the location of the Federal Courts on the border of the Nation "where their location will enable them to exercise better, more complete control of the liquor traffic than which nothing is more prolific of crime in the Indian Territory"); "No. 5, A Resolution expressing the sentiments of the Choctaw Nation on the question of a U.S. Territory, or State, for the five civilized tribes" (stating that the establishment of "a United States Territory, or a State, of the five Civilized Tribes, is out of harmony with the treaties of said tribes . . . and consequently antagonistic to every idea of advanced civilization.")—*Laws of the Choctaw Nation*, Regular Session of the General Council, Oct. 7, 1889—Nov. 15, 1889, Tushka Humma (Atoka, I.T. *Indian Citizen* Pub. Co., 1890.)—Ed.

> When this country is opened to settlers, in a few years time where there were once cattle trails, there will be paved roads and highways. Immense trees, once abundant, shall be converted to open prairies and in their place cities will spring up. Where bison and buffalo once roamed in large herds, there will be large farms and plantations. Where at one time this whole country was an open range where livestock roamed at leisure, there will be fenced-in sections and quarter-sections. If you own any property or land it must be under enclosure by law and you will have no right or claims in the adjoining property. When railroads, telegraphs, telephones, or light wires are laid throughout the country along the railroads or highways as spider webs, this will be the beginning of the time when once the so-called strong nations of self-supporting independent lovers of sport will be without game to hunt or fish to catch.

Violence in the Choctaw Nation mounted in the early 1890's until Principal Chief Wilson Jones ordered out the militia to end the trouble,[16] during which an assassination plot by some of the "Buzzard Party" had resulted in the killing of the well known fullblood of high character and integrity, Joe Haklotubbe, by one Sylan Lewis who later was tried in the Choctaw courts and suffered the death penalty for the crime. Throughout the Nation feeling strongly opposed any changes in the Choctaw land title, allotments in severalty and close of the Choctaw government, all of which were vital, preliminary steps toward statehood. A new political party was organized as the "Tushkahoma Party," Green McCurtain became the party candidate for principal chief, and was elected to the office in 1896. During his administration he headed the Choctaw delegation that signed the noted "Atoka Agreement" which was the basis of the "Curtis Act" passed by Congress in 1898, that provided for making the tribal rolls in all five of the Indian nations, surveys of the tribal lands, etc. After 1902, Green McCurtain was aligned with the idea of statehood for Indian Territory (separate statehood), and was identified with the later "Sequoyah Statehood" movement under the political leadership of William H. Murray of Tishomingo, and Charles N. Haskell of Muskogee.[17]

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[14] Report of an interview of Columbus Franklin Reef by Bradley Bolinger, "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. 32, pp. 43-44, interview No. 6525.

[15] *Ibid.*, report of an interview of Pete W. Cole by himself, Vol. 20, p. 239, interview No. 7086.

[16] *Ibid.*, report of an interview of Elias Parish by Pete W. Cole, Vol. 39, pp. 31-34, interview No. 6939. (The "Indian and Pioneer" volumes [WPA Project—S49], cited in this article, are a storehouse of reminiscences for local color with some historical facts. However, the 112 volumes of typewritten interviews given promiscuously over the country in "WPA" days are not generally acceptable as sources for accurate analysis in history.—Ed.)

Principal Chief Jones' action with the militia had been the first step against the armed resistance of the Choctaw conservatives as an organized group against any steps that would lead to statehood. There were many individuals, however, who maintained that the territory would be ruined if it became a state. One Choctaw Indian said that he "didn't want to see the Territory go into statehood as it was then such a grand place to live."[17a] A young school teacher in the Creek Nation remarked, "If the Indian Territory is admitted as a state with Oklahoma Territory and the name Oklahoma adopted, I will never write another letter if I can't write Indian Territory on my letters." And she never did.[18]

These objections by Indian citizens, however, were ignored because of the loud cry for statehood by the white residents of the territory. The whites were guests of the tribe which permitted them to live on its lands. They had no rights as citizens in the Indian Nations. They objected to this status and to the lack of a government that excluded the white population. They demanded statehood because only then would they be guaranteed equal rights with the Indians. It mattered not whether single or separate statehood were adopted, as long as they obtained the full rights of American citizens in the Indian country. Dennis T. Flynn remarked that the whites of Indian Territory ". . . were for any port in a storm. They didn't have any public highways, public lands, or schools. Consequently, no matter what was done, . . . it was bound to aid them."[19] Throughout the statehood struggle they joined whatever movement they felt would give them immediate admission into the Union. Many worked hard for single statehood and it was through their efforts that the twin territories peacefully and cooperatively united to form the state of Oklahoma.

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[17] Notes on Choctaw history in this paragraph, supplied by the Editor (M.H.W.).

The real basis of trouble in the Indian Territory developed with the provision in the Act of Congress, March 3, 1893 (Indian Appropriation Bill) for the creation of a special commission to the Five Civilized Tribes to secure agreements with each of the tribes for allotment of lands in severalty and the close of the Indian governments. President Cleveland appointed three members of this Commission in December, 1893, which became known generally as the "Dawes Commission" for its first chairman former U.S. Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts. All of the Five Tribes refused to treat with the members of the Dawes Commission. Bitter feeling against giving up the communal holding of the Choctaw lands together with local political issues brought on a state of near civil war which was controlled and ended through the action of Principal Chief Wilson N. Jones.—Ed.)

[17a] *Ibid.*, report of an interview of Aaron E. McFarland by Charlene M. Culbertson, Vol. 35, p. 110, interview No. 7413.

[18] *Ibid.*, report of an interview of Mrs. F. Aherns, concerning the life of Mrs. Mary Lewis Herrod, by Miss Ella Robinson, Vol. 11, p. 135.

The dawn of a new century brought renewed statehood activity. The battle lines of the coming struggle were being drawn. Four plans emerged pertaining to statehood for the twin territories. Separate statehood was temporarily abandoned in Oklahoma Territory. Advocates of this plan were found within the ranks of the fullblood and intermarried citizens of the Indian Nations.[20]

After 1900 the Democratic Party of Oklahoma Territory abandoned piecemeal absorption and declared in favor of single statehood. Such Democratic leaders as C. G. Jones, chairman of the Central Committee, C. B. Ames of Oklahoma City, Pat Nagle of Kingfisher, Thomas H. Doyle of Perry, and Colonel Roy Hoffman of Chandler went on record as favoring the one-state plan. This led to the adoption of the following plank in the territorial party's platform in 1902:[20a]

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[19] Royden Dangerfield Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma. From an autobiographical sketch of Dennis T. Flynn's public life.

[20] One of the outstanding Choctaw leaders beginning in the early 1880's was E. N. Wright, M.D., who resided at Lehigh, Choctaw Nation, the home town of Principal Chief Benj. Smallwood. Dr. Wright was influential in the passage by the Choctaw General Council of the act approved by Chief Smallwood in 1889 (see footnote 13a) opposing the idea of a separate state for the Five Civilized Tribes. Throughout his life he was a progressive leader (member of the Choctaw "Eagle Party"), and as a friend of Principal Chief Wilson N. Jones and his administration was one of the mediators between the two Choctaw political factions that ended the threat of real civil war in 1894. Dr. Wright consistently stood for single statehood for Oklahoma as it was promoted through the years. He had a strong and friendly group among the Choctaws, was well known among leaders of the other Indian nations of the Indian Territory and the single statehood leaders in Oklahoma Territory. He was opposed to the "Sequoyah Statehood" movement, one of the reasons being that the great unsettled land claims in Oklahoma Territory, belonging to each of the Five Civilized Tribes—Choctaw-Chickasaw Leased District, Cherokee Outlet lands, and the Creek and Seminole claims—including wide claims in settling the Plains tribal reservations would be jeopardized by separate statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory. For his biography in brief, see "A Brief Review of the Life of Doctor Eliphalet Nott Wright" by Muriel H. Wright, *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for June, 1932 (Vol. 10, No. 2).—Ed.

> We here and now declare our firm conviction that we are entitled to the rights, privileges and responsibilities of American statehood. Nor are we unmindful of our brethren of the Indian Territory. Appreciating their splendid capacity and wonderful resources and achievements, we desire union with them in order that jointly we may build up the greatest of Western states. We, therefore, favor admission into the Federal Union, of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as a single state.

Other advocates of single statehood were commercial clubs, chambers of commerce and business interests throughout Oklahoma Territory. Meanwhile, in Indian Territory many white residents supported the union of the two and the Territorial Democratic Party began opposing it less strenuously. But before statehood was achieved, it reversed its stand and openly supported the one-state movement.

Piecemeal absorption found much support in Oklahoma Territory. The Republican Party ended its non-committal policy and worked for the immediate admission of Oklahoma Territory with the annexation of each Indian Nation as it qualified for statehood. In 1901 Delegate Flynn, supported by Governor T. B. Ferguson and the Republican Central Committee, introduced a statehood bill which embodied these aims. He withdrew his bill when Representative Knox introduced a similar omnibus measure which included Arizona and New Mexico. Flynn, however, was the leader of the piecemeal absorption plan and succeeded in getting his party to support him. On June 12, 1902, the Kay County Republican Convention passed a resolution which included a provision later inserted in the party's local platform. The resolution stated: ". . . We heartily tender him [Flynn] our thanks, approve and applaud his unswerving fidelity to duty, and hereby declare our full confidence in his determination and ability to crown his work as delegate by adding Oklahoma to the Union of States. We favor statehood for Oklahoma according to the provisions of the Flynn statehood bill."[21]

The advocates of no statehood whatsoever for the territory were fearful of tax conditions that would ensue if either or both territories became states. Many business elements felt that statehood would cause increased taxes. Businessmen in Indian Territory were especially worried because all Indian lands were exempt from taxation and it would fall heavily upon them to furnish revenues for a state government. The Reverend A. Grant Evans, President of Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, Indian Territory, wrote C. B. Ames the following paragraph: "There is a very large and very strong element in Indian Territory which, in my judgment, would not be inclined to join in such a [statehood] movement. It would include most of the business men who . . . are not in a hurry to assume the responsibilities of state government until there is some distribution of taxable property, especially land.[22]

[20a] C. B. Ames Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma. From a pamphlet entitled, "To the Democratic Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America." (ca. 1902)

[21] Bureau of Government Research Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma. From a reprint of the *Times-Record,* Blackwell, Oklahoma Territory, June 12, 1902.

The federal census of 1900 created new statehood activity. The size of the twin territories now entitled them to admission into the Union. Single statehood forces understood their past mistakes and resolved to rectify them. Lack of organization had hindered their efforts in the past. What was needed, they realized, was a permanent agency to coordinate the activities of the various local single statehood organizations.

This problem arose at the South McAlester, Indian Territory, statehood convention held on December 10, 1900. C. B. Ames suggested that the delegates send out a call for a convention to draft a state constitution and send it to Congress with a request for statehood under that document.[23] Opponents defeated this proposal after pointing out that there was no way to finance such a lengthy and expensive gathering.[24] Instead, the convention established an agency, known as the Single Statehood Executive Committee. Since the South McAlester meeting, the first actual inter-territorial convention, was controlled by a majority from Indian Territory, fifteen of the twenty members appointed to the Executive Committee lived in the Indian Nations.[25] However, an Oklahoma Territory citizen, D. C. Lewis of Oklahoma City, was elected chairman by the committee members.[26] Both territories were satisfied with the arrangement. Oklahomans realized that they had to obtain the support of the white residents of Indian Territory if the single statehood movement were to succeed. The enthusiastic interest displayed by these whites gratified the Oklahomans.

In addition to the appointment of the Executive Committee, the convention drafted a resolution requesting that Congress unite the twin territories and permit them to enter the Union as one state.[27] It was printed and sent to Washington. Congress, however, failed to act upon the resolution.

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[22] C. B. Ames Collection, A. Grant Evans to C. B. Ames, March 6, 1903.

[23] *Ibid.*, from a typescript of a press release prepared by C. B. Ames, referring to the South McAlester convention.

[24] *Daily Oklahoman*, December 9, 1900.

[25] *Ibid.*, December 11, 1901. Twelve counties from Oklahoma and all five Indian Nations sent delegates to the convention. The 1893 Purcell convention, advertised as the first inter-territorial convention, actually was represented only by the Chickasaw Nation from Indian Territory.

[26] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1901.

Many Oklahomans were disappointed in the results of the South McAlester convention because no immediate benefits were apparent.[28] What they did not realize then, however, was that for the first time the single statehood forces were united on an inter-territorial basis. Though almost a year lapsed before the Single Statehood Executive Committee became organized well enough to function, the South McAlester convention was the turning point in the statehood struggle.

The renewed activity by the single statehood forces moved supporters of the other plans to action. Tams Bixby, chairman of the Dawes Commission, took issue with the resolution passed at South McAlester. He said that statehood talked by Indian Territory was altogether unwarranted because the task of land allotment had not progressed to the point where the Indians were ready for admission.[29] The *Daily Oklahoman* reported that Bixby was worried that if the territory became a state the Dawes Commission would be dissolved and the job of land allotment given to the state government. The newspaper wrote, "Tams is saying one word for the people of Indian Territory and two for his job."[30] Congress, however, realized the truth of his statement and failed to consider single statehood at that time.

In 1901 the one-state forces lost an ardent supporter. Senator Sidney Clarke had recruited many single statehood followers in the past, but when the Republican Central Committee adopted the piecemeal absorption issue, Clarke remained true to the party. He stated that he was now convinced that Indian Territory would not be given statehood until the work of the Dawes Commission was completed in 1906. He felt it unfair to force Oklahoma Territory to wait until its neighbor was ready before securing admission into the Union. Therefore, he now believed it best to permit immediate statehood for Oklahoma, with the Indian Nations being attached when they became ready.[31]

In January, 1901, Clarke issued a call for a statehood convention to convene in Guthrie, the headquarters of the piecemeal absorption movement.[32] Single statehood forces were undecided as to the best way to handle this convention. D. C. Lewis proposed that all joint statehood advocates refuse to attend the meeting. Others felt that it would do no harm to the one-state movement if various single statehooders attended the convention.[33] The delegates met on January 30 and prepared a resolution calling for piecemeal absorption.[34] Since many prominent citizens, primarily joint statehood advocates, refused to lend their presence to the convention, it created little interest in the statehood movement.

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[27] *Ibid.*, December 13, 1901.

[28] *Ibid.*, December 12, 1901.

[29] *Ibid.*, January 4, 1901.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Fred S. Barde Collection: Statehood Folder, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Oklahoma City. A clipping from an article in the *Rusk, Oklahoma Territory, Rustler*, n.d. (ca. 1902).

[32] *Daily Oklahoman,* January 19, 1901.

Clarke was supported by Delegate Flynn. Flynn, re-elected in 1900, was determined to secure passage of a statehood bill. He personally favored separate statehood, but was converted to piecemeal absorption in 1901. Single statehood supporters, prior to his departure to attend the congressional session in 1901, asked him to introduce a one-state bill. Flynn angrily retorted, "I will not present a bill for statehood with Indian Territory made a part of Oklahoma."[35] The Republican ranks were quickly closing against single statehood.

This opposition stirred the Single Statehood Executive Committee to action. It issued a call for a convention to meet at Muskogee, Indian Territory, on November 14, 1901.[36] The site of the gathering was important. Muskogee was the headquarters of the Dawes Commission and other federal officials. It was the stronghold of the separate and anti-statehood forces in the territory. The Executive Committee hoped that the enthusiasm and excitement that attended the holding of a statehood convention would overcome much of this opposition. After his retirement from public affairs, Dennis T. Flynn recalled, "If a particular town didn't favor single statehood, the next statehood convention would be held in that town for public effect and to win them over to the cause.[37] The *Kansas City Star* reported:[38] "Holding the convention in Muskogee, the stronghold of double statehood, is premeditated. Single statehood advocates want to flush out opponents. They welcome double statehood arguments so as to refute them. They believe that when Congress sees the number of citizens in favor of single statehood . . . double statehood will never pass."

The Executive Committee's strategy worked. Muskogee enthusiastically welcomed the convention delegates. A brass band met them at the railroad station. The courtroom, where the delegates gathered, was decorated with flags and banners. An air of festivity swept the city.[39] Colonel Roy Hoffman opened the convention with a stirring appeal for single statehood. The delegates responded by passing resolutions calling for the union of Oklahoma and Indian Territories into one state.[40] In one stroke the Executive Committee had gained strong support for its objective from the citizens of Muskogee and divided the strongest separate statehood city in Indian Territory.

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1901.

[35] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1901.

[36] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1901.

[37] Royden Dangerfield Collection, autobiographical sketch of Dennis T. Flynn's public life.

[38] *Kansas City Star,* as quoted by the *Daily Oklahoman,* October 27, 1901.

The committee received a strong boost in November, 1901, when the Single Statehood Press Association was organized in Oklahoma City. Publisher R. E. Stafford of the *Daily Oklahoman* led the movement that desired its formation. L. G. Niblack, publisher of the *Guthrie Leader*, was elected president of the body. Association members from Oklahoma Territory included the *Daily Oklahoman, Guthrie Leader, Guthrie News, Guthrie World, Chandler News, Chandler Publicist, Shawnee Herald* and *Perry Sentinel.* Indian Territory newspapers that joined were the *Wagoner Savings, Claremore Progress, Checotah Enquirer, Chickasha Telegram, Eufaula Journal, Sapulpa Democrat, Madill News* and *Purcell Register.*[41]

In the organizational meeting the Press Association members discussed plans for aiding the Executive Committee. They decided to print coupons in each member newspaper requesting that each reader send one dollar for support of the statehood delegations that would be sent to Washington to lobby for an enabling act. No records have been found to indicate that the Press Association met after its organizational meeting, but member newspapers were quite active subsequently. The importance of the association was in its agreement that one article per week favoring single statehood would be printed in each newspaper. The members carried out this promise and the Executive Committee now had an organ of the press for dissemination of its propaganda.[42]

Other newspapers greatly aided its work also. Though not members of the Press Association, they complemented its work. The *Chickasha Gazette, Vinita Leader, Marlowe Review, Wynnewood Free Press, Holdenville Tribune, Chelsea Reporter, Bristow Chieftain, Antlers American* and *Vinita Indian Chieftain,* all of Indian Territory, and the *Caddo Herald* and *El Reno American* of Oklahoma Territory, supported the single statehood movement. The Indian Territory newspapers, published on the most part by white residents, indicated that they supported union with Oklahoma.[43]

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[39] *Daily Oklahoman,* November 15, 1901.

[40] *Ibid.,* November 17, 1901.

[41] *Ibid.,* November 26, 1901.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Each of these newspapers was quoted in the *Daily Oklahoman*

With such press support the single statehood movement was given a tremendous boost. The *Denison, Texas, Herald* reported, "The Single Statehooders in the Indian Territory seem to be gaining converts to their idea. The people . . . are willing to take their chances with Oklahoma."[44]

The Executive Committee formulated plans for sending statehood delegations to Washington. It was the desire of the committee to keep one delegation there at all times while Congress was in session. While not achieving this goal, several groups were sent between 1902 and 1906. Thomas H. Doyle, William Cross, C. G. Jones, C. H. Maxey, Roy E. Stafford, G. A. Henshaw and A. Grant Evans composed various bodies sent to the nation's capital by the Executive Committee. Sidney Clarke, Bird McGuire, and J. W. McNeal headed the separate statehood and piecemeal absorption lobbyists.[45] In addition, the Indian Nations sent delegations to demand that two states be formed from the two territories.[46]

Between 1902 and 1905 the Executive Committee worked at sending delegations and organizing correspondence committees to deluge Congressmen with single statehood propaganda. Only one large convention was sponsored during this period. Single statehood was a foregone conclusion after the McGuire separate statehood bill failed to receive consideration in 1903. Conventions were not needed to create interest in the movement. However, in 1905 the committee decided to hold a gala spectacle in Oklahoma City to show Congress that the twin territories overwhelmingly desired union.

A crowd estimated at ten thousand converged on Oklahoma City on July 12, 1905. Except for Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Rider reunion in 1900, this was the largest gathering ever held in Oklahoma Territory. Bands entertained the guests. Indians wearing bright costumes and feathered headdresses paraded the streets. Delegates from the cities of both territories carried banners and signs proclaiming the wonders and virtues of their municipalities. Oklahoma City planned plays, picnics, dances and many other activities for the delegates' entertainment. It was the most colorful statehood convention ever held.[47]

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in the issues of October 27, November 1, and November 13, 1901. Each favored single statehood.

[44] *Denison Herald,* as quoted by the *Daily Oklahoman,* October 25, 1901.

[45] Charles Evans, "Judge Thomas H. Doyle," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXVII (Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, 1949), 140-141.

[46] Royden Dangerfield Collection, autobiographical sketch of Dennis T. Flynn's public life.

[47] *Daily Oklahoman,* July 12, 1905.

Harmony prevailed when the delegates gathered. The Anti-Joint Statehood Committee of Arizona sent a telegram, which was read to the convention, proclaiming, "Arizona is with you heart and soul in your endeavor to secure statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and we are equally opposed to the jointure of Arizona and New Mexico." Ex-Senator Blair of New Hampshire declared that his people ". . . desire, as you desire, your full, free and unfettered admission into the Union."[48] A resolution passed unanimously which proclaimed that the twin territories were entitled to joint admission ". . . on terms of equality as between themselves and on equal footing with the other states." In reference to the dependence of their admission upon the compatibility of Arizona and New Mexico, the resolution requested that Oklahoma and Indian Territories be granted statehood ". . . on their own merits and without reference to any right or claim by any other territories seeking admission to the American Union."[49]

The leaders of the piecemeal absorption and separate statehood movements had not been idle between 1902 and 1905. Two events occurred that disrupted the piecemeal absorption plan and led to its destruction. When the Flynn and Knox statehood bills were defeated by Congress in 1902, Dennis Flynn deserted to the ranks of the single statehood forces. He stated that he saw no chance for passing a statehood bill for Oklahoma alone.[50] Thus, the forces opposing the one-state plan lost their most ardent supporter. After he retired from public life in 1902, Flynn became the first Republican leader to openly declare for single statehood. His defection was a blow from which the advocates of statehood for Oklahoma alone never recovered.

The other event that wrecked their plans occurred in 1903. The popular and wealthy newspaper publisher-politician, William Randolph Hearst, invited the members of the House and Senate Committees on Territories, and any other Congressmen who desired, to accompany him on a tour of the four territories seeking admission. A number of national lawmakers accepted the invitation. Hearst chartered a special train to transport his guests westward. Both the Single Statehood Executive Committee and the Republican Territorial Central Committee believed that the visit would benefit their respective statehood movements.

The Executive Committee prepared for the coming of the Congressmen. In their September, 1903, meeting the committee made plans for entertaining the visitors.[51] Committeemen from the cities which the touring party would visit discussed plans for its reception. The "Hearst Special" would enter Oklahoma Territory from Amarillo, Texas, and proceed to Oklahoma City. There it would turn south and enter Indian Territory at Purcell. At Ardmore, the Congressmen would stop for a few hours. Turning north, the train would stop at Wynnewood, Pauls Valley and Purcell. Returning to Oklahoma Territory, it would visit Shawnee on its way to Oklahoma City. After spending several hours in the territory's largest city, Oklahoma City, the tour would briefly stop at Edmond, Guthrie and Ponca City. Ponca City was the last city to be visited before the train left the territory and returned to Washington.[52]

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[48] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1905.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Royden Dangerfield Collection, autobiographical sketch of Dennis T. Flynn's public life.

[51] *Daily Oklahoman,* September 27, 1903.

Representative Hearst was recalled to New York on business matters while enroute to the twin territories, but the remainder of the group proceeded on the tour. Included in the congressional party were Senator J. R. Burton of Kansas and Senator-elect L. S. Overton of North Carolina. House members on the tour were Representatives M. E. Benton, Charles F. Cochran, David A. DeArmond, John Dougherty, Courtney W. Hamlin, and James Lloyd, all of Missouri; P. M. Campbell of Kansas; Joseph B. Crowley, Martin S. Emerich, and H. T. Rainey, all of Illinois; James M. Griggs of Georgia; Theodore F. Klutz of North Carolina; Robert W. Miers and James M. Robinson, both of Indiana; Llewellen Powers of Maine and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama.[53] Representatives Robinson, Hamilton, Powers and Lloyd were members of the House Committee on Territories.[54] The remainder were friends of Mr. Hearst who were interested in the statehood question.

The twin territories enthusiastically welcomed the visiting dignitaries. Executive Committee members organized welcoming crowds at all stops along the tour. Single statehood boosters were assigned to corner each Congressman and sing the praises of the one-state plan. The visitors were surprised at their reception. Hundreds of citizens and school children cheered them in Purcell, Pauls Valley and Wynnewood. In Ardmore a crowd of four thousand and in Shawnee an estimated seven thousand citizens met the Congressmen.[55] The *Daily Oklahoman* described the scene at the depot in Purcell:[56]

> A large crowd of people met the train, headed by a local committee, and composed, besides the citizens, of a large number of school children. On banners which greeted the eyes of the Congressmen were such succinct inscriptions as "More Schools, Fewer Jails," "Single Statehood on Terms of Equality," "One Great State out of the Two Territories,"

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[52] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1903.

[53] *Ibid.*, October 22, 1903.

[54] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1903.

[55] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1903.

[56] *Ibid.*, December 23, 1903.

etc. This illustrated the practically unanimous spirit of Purcell and the other cities visited.

Representative Powers, Chairman of the House Committee on Territories, told the Ardmore audience that he favored single statehood.[57] Senator Overton, speaking to the large gathering in Oklahoma City, declared:[58] "At Ardmore today, I saw $10,000 worth of cotton standing in the streets for sale, more than I ever saw at one time in any cotton town in my life. Worthy of citizenship and self-government? Yes! (Cheers) When I go to Washington you will find one voice speaking for statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory." (Prolonged Cheers)

Congressman Lloyd stated that he favored single statehood. He added, "I have decided one thing in my own mind; that there should be no piecemeal annexation of Oklahoma and Indian Territory."[59] Representative Crowley admitted that when he entered the territory he was convinced that the two territories should be given separate statehood. "Since visiting both . . .," he declared, "I have become certain that they want single statehood, and I am for it."[60] Congressman Robinson, Campbell and Cochran also promised to vote for a one-state bill in Congress. Almost to a man the visitors were overcome by the joint statehood sentiment that they encountered. By the time the tour reached Guthrie and Ponca City, separate statehood centers, its members had already been convinced that Oklahoma and Indian territories desired union into one state.

The Republican Central Committee had managed to board Delegate Bird McGuire on the "Hearst Special." McGuire, who had never been a staunch separate statehood man, felt the excitement generated by the single statehood forces along the route. After the tour, as he boarded a train for Washington to attend the special session of Congress called in November, 1903, he said that he would introduce a bill in Congress providing for Oklahoma Territory's admission into the Union as a separate state.[61] However, after he left the territory and was out from under the influence of the Republican Central Committee, doubt as to the best course entered his mind. As he passed through St. Louis he told a reporter, "If Congress deems it best to add Indian Territory [to Oklahoma], all well and good."[62] He introduced a separate statehood bill in the special session, but it received no consideration by Congress. He then deserted the two-state forces and became the leader of the single statehood elements in Congress.

Dennis Flynn's defection in 1902 crippled the separate statehood and piecemeal absorption forces, but the "Hearst

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[57] *Ibid.*, December 23, 1903.
[58] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1903.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*, November 24, 1903.
[61] *Ibid.*, November 6, 1903.
[62] *Ibid.*

Special" tour destroyed them. The Congressional visit was the most potent single event which occurred throughout the statehood struggle that created support for the union of the twin territories. The tour was more effective in bringing to the attention of Congress the wishes of the single statehood advocates than any convention or petition. During the visit Congressmen saw in person the sincere desire of thousands of the territories' citizens for one state.

The work of the Single Statehood Executive Committee in organizing forces to create this impression cannot be discounted. Its members gathered the crowds, painted banners and furnished entertainment for the Hearst party while it visited each town. If not for the energetic and efficient work of the Executive Committee, the Republican territorial officials undoubtedly would have influenced the Congressmen to support separate statehood or piecemeal absorption.

The Republican Central Committee, supported by Governor Ferguson, did its best to undo the work of the Executive Committee. The Governor desperately wanted separate statehood. In 1902 he wrote a friend, "I heartily concur with you in the statement that we want immediate statehood for Oklahoma, leaving the Indian Territory to work out its own destiny."[63]

On November 20, 1903, the Central Committee met in Guthrie and decided to abandon piecemeal absorption.[64] Since Dennis Flynn's defection the movement had steadily lost support. Under the urging of Governor Ferguson, the Committee agreed to make one final effort to get Congress to pass a separate statehood measure. To generate support, they appealed to Oklahoma Republicans to favor the plan on party grounds. Since the Hearst tour had just been completed, the Committee was worried about the single statehood excitement that had been encountered. The Governor told his colleagues that they must convince the Republican members of Congress that it was to the best interests of the party to admit Oklahoma alone. Otherwise, local Republicans would be dominated by Indian Territory Democrats. "It is now a matter of politics with us," said Ferguson, "as it has always been a matter of politics with Congress."[65] Ex-Governor A. J. Seay reminded the Committee that party members ". . . must work this year as Republicans to secure a Republican state." Sidney Clarke declared that ". . . the present statehood fight must be a Republican fight." Ex-Governor Cassius M. Barnes, Jerre Johnson, National Committeeman

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[63] T. B. Ferguson Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma. Ferguson to Hon. H. I. Wasson, November 26, 1902.

[64] *Daily Oklahoman,* November 21, 1903.

[65] *Ibid.*

William Grimes, Colonel Dick T. Morgan, Senator Harrison E. Havens and Colonel C. P. Lincoln agreed that separate statehood must be secured for the protection of the party. Otherwise, they realized, the Republican Party in Oklahoma would become a weak minority. One member, Joseph W. McNeal of Guthrie, chastised his colleagues for putting party interests before those of the people. "I fully realize this is to be a political fight henceforward," he said, "yet in my opinion the matter of right should also enter into it . . ." He stated that he had no doubt that Indian Territory would someday become a part of Oklahoma. Therefore, the party should work toward this end.[66]

The *Daily Oklahoman* accurately replied to the Central Committee that they supported a dying cause by endorsing separate statehood.[67] Oklahoma Territory's chances of entering the Union alone had been permanently destroyed by the Hearst tour. When Delegate McGuire's separate statehood bill failed in 1903, the Republican Central Committee abandoned its attempt to secure it. The Republican leaders realized that McGuire had been elected in 1902 on a platform promising immediate statehood. If this promise were to be kept, a strong drive to obtain Oklahoma's admission must be made. Therefore, the Central Committee joined the Single Statehood Executive Committee in its drive for one state.

One Republican, however, did not abandon the two-state plan gracefully. Governor Ferguson openly declared his newly acquired desire for single statehood, but to his friends he admitted he believed that out of all the controversy would eventually emerge the admission into the Union of Oklahoma alone. "Although at this time it might be considered a forlorn hope," he said, "I have faith in that proposition."[68] But, being a good party man, the Governor obeyed the Central Committee's instructions. He wrote the editors of the *Kansas City Journal* and *Chicago Examiner* that union with Indian Territory was earnestly desired by all Oklahomans.[69] To Senator A. J. Beveridge he expressed his support for the Hamilton single statehood bill.[70] In a communication to the Kansas City Commercial Club he stated that he agreed with the club that Oklahoma and Indian territories would make a grand state.[71]

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[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] T. B. Ferguson Collection, Ferguson to R. B. Forrest, February 15, 1905.

[69] *Ibid.*, Ferguson to J. G. Neilson, Department Manager, *Kansas City Journal,* December 21, 1904; and Ferguson to The Managing Editor of the *Examiner,* Chicago, Illinois, February 8, 1905.

[70] *Ibid.*, Ferguson to Senator A. J. Beveridge, January 4, 1905.

[71] *Ibid.*, Ferguson to E. N. Clendening, Esq., Secretary Commercial Club, Kansas City, Missouri, February 8, 1905.

Governor Ferguson lived to see his territory united with its neighbor. His prediction that the Republican Party would be dominated after the union by the Democrats was fulfilled. The party was so weak after statehood that even this honest, loyal Republican was defeated for Congress in 1907. His efforts to secure a Republican state had failed.

The Central Committee had reasons other than mere political expediency for changing to single statehood. Republicans engaged in commercial activities demanded one state from the two territories because they believed that such an arrangement would increase their profits.

When the Central Committee appealed to the rank and file to support separate statehood for the good of the party, the *Daily Oklahoman* replied:[72]

> No rational man will contend that the highest duty of citizens is loyalty to party interests. That proposition involves the subjection of all material interests to party [interests] and gives it absolute dominion over both conscience and pocketbook. . . .
>
> What higher duty of citizens is involved in the statehood question than self-interest? None—absolutely none! It is not a political question in any sense . . . . It is a material question—*a business proposition, pure and simple.* [Italics supplied here].

The *Marlowe Review* recognized the economic complexion of the statehood movement when it described it as a ". . . fight between the political interests of the few and the business interests of the many.[73]

Indian Territory also demanded the type of statehood that would best serve business interests. The *Vinita Indian Chieftain,* favoring single statehood, said, "The intolerable political and commercial conditions existing in the Indian Territory have aroused the citizens from a lethargic acceptance of their enforced bondage and they will demand a remedial measure from the coming Congress."[74]

The supporters of the one-state plan took advantage of these sentiments by emphasizing the economic advantages that would accompany a union of the two territories. One source of conflict that tended to keep them apart was the lack of school funds in the Indian Nations. Oklahomans were provided with such funds by leasing two sections of land from every township in the territory. As a result they had sufficient revenues to provide schools for their young. Indian Territory, on the other hand, was dependent upon church societies to provide the greatest amount of funds for its educational institutions. Single statehood advocates recruited the whites of Indian Territory by pointing out that the Oklahoma school fund could also be used to erect a school system in their country sufficient to educate their children. D. C. Lewis, greatly exaggerating its size, stated that Oklahoma had a school fund of "$10,000,000 which they could take advantage of if they were joined to Oklahoma."[75] To Oklahomans, who feared that union with their neighbor would bring higher taxation, the one-state advocates pointed out that Congress would reimburse the state for the lack of school funds in Indian Territory. To assure the doubters, the South McAlester convention inserted a request in its resolution to Congress that said, "Inasmuch as Oklahoma has been provided with valuable reservations of land for school and other public purposes, we ask that Congress provide, by some means not affecting the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes, resources of approximate amount for like purposes for the people of Indian Territory."[76] Thus, not only were the white citizens of Oklahoma satisfied, but also the Indians who felt that reimbursement would result in taxation of Indian lands. This policy of appeasing both sides created a larger following for the one-state movement. Through the insistence of Delegate McGuire and statehood lobbyists, Congress in the Enabling Act appropriated $5,000,000 to be given the state in lieu of Indian Territory's school lands and funds.

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[72] *Daily Oklahoman,* November 4, 1903.

[73] *Marlowe Review,* as quoted by the Daily Oklahoman, November 13, 1901.

[74] *Vinita Indian Chieftain,* as quoted by the *Daily Oklahoman,* October 27, 1901.

A second economic factor that greatly strengthened the single statehood movement was the desire of business interests in Oklahoma Territory to exploit the mineral resources of the Indian Nations. The *Kansas City Star* reported that as abundant as were the agriculture resources of Oklahoma, they could not match the Indian Territory "acre for acre" with its rich coal, oil, asphaltum, manganese, zinc, lead, ochre, granite, marble and commercial clay deposits. The newspaper stated "Oklahoma business interests want Indian Territory so as to have a market in which to invest for its development."[77]

Single statehood forces claimed that these rich mineral deposits would be a perfect complement to the agricultural resources of Oklahoma Territory when the two were united. William M. Franklin of Madill suggested this when he declared, "Oklahoma, with its great agriculture, and Indian Territory, with its streams, water, and mineral wealth, in need only of development, combined together would make a state to match any state in the Union in prestige."[78]

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[75] *Daily Oklahoman,* January 4, 1901.

[76] *Ibid.,* December 13, 1900.

[77] *Kansas City Star,* as quoted by the *Daily Oklahoman,* October 27, 1901.

The Oklahoma City Commercial Club agreed with Franklin. Obviously desiring to profit by the exploitation of its neighbor's mineral wealth, the club's members communicated to Congress:[79]

> The resources of the two Territories cry aloud for the union. Oklahoma is almost wholly agricultural; the great wealth of the Indian Territory is in her mines and forest; with the product of the farm, the forest, and the mine allied in a common cause of building up one state, immediate success and immense achievements are sure to follow.
>
> We favor single statehood because we believe that with the natural resources of the two Territories combined, we can erect a commonwealth which will be a pride to the Union, a source of gratification and prosperity to ourselves, and a rich heritage to our posterity.

Thus, single statehood advocates satisfied three groups when discussing the advantages of Indian Territory's mineral wealth. Oklahoma Territory businessmen's appetites for proift were stimulated. The Indians residing in mining areas were informed of the prosperity that would result if their mining activities increased. And finally, persons more interested in the future greatness of the state were convinced that a union of the agricultural and mineral resources of the twin territories would create a great western commonwealth for their children.

Another economic factor, relating to the mineral production in the Indian Nations, tended to draw the two territories together. When Oklahoma commercial interests began casting covetous eyes toward the mining activities on Indian lands, it was realized that the effective regulation of transportation facilities was necessary if the greatest potential profits were to be obtained. Since all ore mined in Indian Territory was transported to market areas by rail, railroads must be controlled. The merchants of Oklahoma knew that only by single statehood could they regulate transportation between the two territories. In Oklahoma City the problem was discussed and a movement organized to enlist the support of all interested in the mineral resources of Indian Territory. The *Daily Oklahoman* aided the movement by proclaiming:[80]

> Whenever the people of this territory permit a state line to be erected between them and the coal fields in the Indian Territory, they thereby surrender their perogatives in the matter of regulating freight rates on coal or other products and invite the exaction of whatever rates the railroads see fit to enforce. . . . The interstate com-

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[78] *Daily Oklahoman,* November 8, 1901.

[79] C. B. Ames Collection, "Single Statehood Resolutions of the Oklahoma City Commercial Club."

[80] *Daily Oklahoman,* October 20, 1903.

merce laws might prove efficacious, if invoked, to compel the railways to enforce the same tariffs on coal shipped to other states, but they are never so effective as rates proscribed by a state railway commission.

Leaders in the movement to secure better regulation of the railroads received aid from an unexpected source. H. C. Rouse, President of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, announced to his employees that the company favored statehood for the twin territories. In his annual report of 1903, the president announced:[81]

> The question of statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory . . . possesses great interest for your company, since the admission of these territories to state government would immediately be followed by a large accession of population and development. . . . There is strong sentiment in favor of the admission of both of these territories as one great state. . . .

With this announcement, the single statehood movement gained the support of the largest railroad in eastern Indian Territory. Though other railroads did not openly declare in favor of single statehood, none worked openly for its rejection. This support, added to the desire of Oklahoma business interests for one state in order to fully exploit the mineral resources of Indian Territory and to effectively control the railroads, gave a great boost to the one-state forces.

A final economic factor that contributed to the success of single statehood was the activities of the commercial clubs and other commercial federations in the twin territories. The Oklahoma City Commercial Club, the largest in Oklahoma, lobbied unceasingly for union with Indian Territory. Its single statehood resolutions were printed in five hundred copies and sent to each member of Congress and to other commercial clubs in the area.[82] It was joined in 1903 by the Shawnee Chamber of Commerce. This body met in November and discussed the statehood issue. Every member present favored joint statehood. The only dissenting voice at the meeting was that of Cash Cade, chairman of the Republican Territorial Central Committee.[83] The Shawnee Chamber of Commerce aided the Oklahoma City Commercial Club and obtained support from other business groups in both territories.

An activity that impressed upon members of Congress the unity of the twin territories was the many inter-territorial federations established by various social, religious and commercial groups. Prior to statehood, inter-territorial organizations had been formed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, Presbyterian Church, Catholic Church, Federation of Women's Clubs,

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[81] *Ibid.*, September 22, 1903.

[82] C. B. Ames Collection, "Single Statehood Resolution of the Oklahoma City Commercial Club."

[83] *Daily Oklahoman*, November 26, 1903.

Masonic Order, and business fellowships among such industries as flour manufacturers, industrial manufacturers, ice manufacturers, cottonseed oil dealers, grain dealers and lumber dealers.[84] Ex-Governor Cassius M. Barnes, a separate statehood Republican, showed the changing attitude of his party when he advised the territorial banking association, "It would then be wise foresight . . . that the banking interests of the two territories should form one organization. . . ."[85] Governor Barnes was hinting that single statehood would probably be accepted by Congress, so the bankers should be prepared for this eventuality by forming an inter-territorial organization beforehand.

This cooperation between these groups showed Congressmen that the religious, social and economic bonds between the twin territories were too strong to be broken. Only political affiliation separated them and this gap was slowly narrowing. When the Republican Party of Oklahoma Territory finally declared in favor of joint statehood, the final obstacle to the union of the territories was removed. From this point on, single statehood was assured.

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[84] U. S., *Cong. Rec.* 57th Cong., 2 Sess., 1903, XXXVIII, Part 2, 45, 565.

[85] *Daily Oklahoman,* November 20, 1903.

THE RETURN OF "ALFALFA BILL" MURRAY

*By Francis W. Schruben**

Following a series of personal and political defeats William H. ("Alfalfa Bill") Murray had attempted in 1924 to plant a colony in El Gran Chaco, Bolivia. Although most of his fellow Oklahoma settlers deserted him at an early date, he and his family stayed on until 1929, when they were forced to release their holdings by the Bolivian government.[2] It remained to be seen whether this wild, free spirit would return to state, and perhaps national, prominence. This article is concerned with the events and techniques of that return.

When the Murrays returned to Tishomingo on the Rock Island, the entire town came out to greet them, just as it had been there to see them off for South America five years before "Enemies as well as friends" appeared. Soon after John Easley of *The Daily Ardmoreite* invited Murray to visit Ardmore and speak. This he did, giving a nonpolitical talk in the country of his old friend, Will Rogers. Though the talk was nonpolitical, Roy Johnson, a Republican and fellow speaker remarked that if the Democrats did not nominate Murray for Governor, the Republicans would. Murray made no immediate reply to this provocative statement. He spoke later at Tishomingo and Stillwater about his South American colonizing experiences.[3]

"Alfalfa Bill" needed little introduction to the people of Oklahoma. Born in Toadsuck, Texas, November 21, 1869, he traced, through his father, Uriah Dow Murray, variously described as a teamster and preacher, his ancestry back to Pocahontas and John Rolfe, and beyond them to the Murrays of Scotland, who had once aided Bonnie Prince Charley. Uriah Murray's wife died when William was only two, and for a time he and his brothers were cared for by the Smiths, their maternal grandparents. Uriah remarried, but at twelve William and his brothers ran away from home; they could no longer endure a stepmother who regularly had "religious spells" of talking to herself when she was not prevailing on the boys' father to "wallop" them. Murray became progressively a cotton-picker, salesman, teacher, newspaper writer, and lawyer.[4] In 1898, he migrated to Tishomingo, Capital of the Chickasaw Nation, where he made a fortunate marriage with Alice Hearrell, whose mother was one-eighth Chickasaw and one-eighth Choctaw, a niece of Tandy Walker, the principal Choctaw chief, and a half-sister of Douglas H. Johnston, later Governor of the Chickasaw nation. Through this intermarriage Murray became a citizen of the nation, and operated 1,600 acres of rich valley land which he let out to sharecroppers. Although Murray earned good fees, one of them $7,500 in a land case, and rewrote the tax phrases in the Chickasaw statutes at the suggestion of Ethan A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, he retired from the law in 1902.[5]

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[1] William G. Shepherd, "King of the Prairie: Alfalfa Bill," *Collier's*, LXXXVIII (November 28, 1931), 12n., wrote that the name "Alfalfa Bill," probably resulted from Murray's being the first "landowner to grow alfalfa," and consequently to add millions in agricultural wealth to Oklahoma. In addition, Murray once signed a newspaper article "By Alfalfa Bill." He liked the sobriquet, but he did not care for the name "Cockleburr Bill," sometimes used by his opponents.

[2] Shepherd, *Ibid.*, p45; Edwin G. McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1952), p361; Edward Everett Dale, *Oklahoma, The Story of a State* (Evanston, Illinois, 1949), pp314-315; Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill, An Intimate Biography* (Oklahoma City, 1932) pp. 256, 259.

[3] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and the True History of Oklahoma*, II (Boston, 1945), 361. At Stillwater Murray received $100 for his talk.

In 1905, Murray represented the Chickasaws as one of the five vice-presidents to the Sequoyah Convention at Muskogee. Under Pleasant Porter, leading Creek chief, the convention hoped for a separate Indian Territory statehood, but the bill was tabled and defeated by the National Congress. In 1906 Murray was president of the Guthrie statehood convention.[6] From this convention he claimed to have been the "father of the Oklahoma Constitution," having written most of the state charter himself. Official Washington so edited his handiwork that some of the newspapers of the times carried stories that Murray's "Squirrel Rifle Brigade" might go to the nation's capital to fight Theodore Roosevelt's "Brigands."[7] At Murray's suggestion, however, most of the radical features which angered Roosevelt were eliminated.[8]

From that time Murray led a varied and turbulent political career. George Milburn, a political writer, declared that Murray was "knifed" by his supposed political friends in the 1910 gubernatorial contest. For solace he was sent to Congress in 1912 without having to make one speech.[9] The Oklahoman gained some prominence when he championed the cause of Woodrow Wilson against the Tammany forces in the Baltimore Convention of 1912. His speech forced William Jennings Bryan's hand, it is said; and Bryan and finally even Tammany backed the learned Dr. Wilson.[10] In 1912 Murray, Claude Weaver, and Joe B. Thompson were chosen from twenty Democratic candidates as Oklahoma's three Congressmen-at-large.[11]

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[4] George Milburn, "The Sage of Tishomingo," *The American Mercury,* XXIII (May, 1931), 16. Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), pp. 352-353; McReynolds, *op. cit.,* p. 359; Hines, *op. cit., ln.* are but a few of the many authors to discuss Murray's early life.

[5] McReynolds. *op. cit.,* pp. 359, 360-361; see also Hines, chapter 7.

[6] McReynolds, *op. cit.,* p. 313, 360-361.

[7] Milburn, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

[8] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.,* p. 311.

But Murray fell from political grace in the fall of 1916 when he declared Wilson's *"He kept us out of war"* slogan was nonsensical. Speaker Champ Clark regretted Murray's defeat in 1916 over war issues and called him, "the country's greatest parliamentarian and one of the greatest authorities on constitutional law." Congressman Julius Kahn, Republican Whip, declared, "They have defeated the most able man in the country."[12] Again, largely because of the war issue, J. B. A. Robertson triumphed over Murray in the 1918 Oklahoma primary. (This contest is incidentally credited with having completely reduced the Socialist Party in Oklahoma.) Gordon Hines, in eulogizing vein, wrote that Murray tried in 1918 to warn the people of the encroachment of special privilege by big business, a thing for which the nation would pay, but the people called him radical and refused to recognize his "understanding of world experience of ages past."[13] Particularly those persons in Oklahoma who had made fortunes by selling oil to the Allies detested the Tishomingan's anti-war attitude.[14]

Murray had gone away to Bolivia; now he was back.

"Alfalfa Bill" decided to run for the gubernatorial nomination on his wife's birthday, January 9, 1930. Before that his speeches had been nonpartisan.[15] Everywhere he went people urged him to run either for Governor or the United States Senate. It soon appeared that those who wanted him to run for the Senate, wanted him out of the state. He opened his campaign with an impromptu talk without the aid of notes in the Oklahoma City Labor Temple, March 13, 1930. Labor's condemnation of him, dating back to 1908, had been lifted. The speech was broadcast over a local network.[16]

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[9] Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[10] Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[11] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p311.

[12] Milburn, *op. cit.*, 18; Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 247. For information on Julius Kahn see the *Congressional Directory.*

[13] McReynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 334; Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[14] Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[15] Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-364.

[16] *Ibid.*, p364-365.

Little attention was paid to Murray's candidacy by the state's newspapers until early in the summer when his methods of campaigning began to take hold. He announced a platform, striking at public utility practices.[17] But the newspapers did not appear to have been impressed. Murray met the following introduction at a state press association gridiron dinner:

> Gentlemen, I want to introduce you to a man who has twice been a candidate for Governor, who has twice been defeated, who left the State to establish an inland empire in South America, who made a fizzle of that, and who, within a few months after returning to this country, now has the intestinal fortitude to file again as candidate for the governorship of Oklahoma! Gentlemen, Alfalfa Bill Murray, the Sage of Tishomingo!

George Milburn related that the jeering bumpkin editors little realized that the aging, mustached man who stood before them would be the terror of Oklahoma politics, whom the state's voters would follow as a herd of wild horses might follow a fire-snorting stallion along one of the windswept rivers from which "Alfalfa Bill" had sprung.[18]

Oklahoma politicians faced the innovation of the run-off primary for the first time in 1930. It was hoped that the double primary might alleviate some of the evils of "gang politics" and bring into office an executive with enough party unity behind him to ward off the impeachment-prone Oklahoma legislatures. On May 27, 1930, the state's Supreme Court held valid this new law which provided that if no candidate received a clear majority in a contest on the last Tuesday of July, then the two receiving the highest votes should meet in a second primary on the second Tuesday of August.[19]

As the Oklahoma elections got underway the intensity and circus-like atmosphere were aided by the double primary. Now the citizens would be treated to two main-features with a cartoon to follow in the form of the general election, the second primary being tantamount to victory in Democratic Oklahoma.

"Alfalfa Bill" Murray, according to his own and numerous other accounts, started his canvass on March 12, 1930, with forty-two dollars borrowed from the First National Bank of Tishomingo. He gave his wife one dollar for stamps and arranged credit for her with W. E. Smith's grocery store. In Tahlequah, Bill Hansford, an old pioneer, took Murray literally when he stated he would walk if necessary and eat cheese and crackers. Hansford volunteered to drive Murray two weeks if other friends would furnish the gasoline. They did. Murray journeyed to his first major speech in Oklahoma City, from there to Pottawatomie County, and into Seminole County, where a Dr. W. E. Grisso kept him overnight and later sent him $100, even though Grisso was committed to an opponent. Murray traveled on to Holdenville, to Sapulpa, and to Wagner, by which time his operating funds had reached ten-cents. However, he received twenty dollars by mail from a Mississippi farmer whom he had taught by correspondence to grow alfalfa.[20]

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[17] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-352.

[18] Milburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

[19] *Tulsa Tribune*, May 27, 1930; see also Oklahoma: *Session Laws of 1929*, pp. 303, 306, 307, sections 2 and 4.

When Murray returned to Tishomingo, he had just one dollar left; then he received a $100 check from Ben Cooke of Atoka, who had given him a lift on the hitch-hiking junket. Murray later wrote that though he received only three more $100 contributions, ". . . I never lacked for money. Everywhere, $5, $10, sometimes $20 was handed me by the good citizens. It seemed the men of wealth did not want to give me anything."[21] Murray's very dependence on small contributions from old and new friends, his hitch-hiking, walking when necessary, and his publicized meals of cheese, crackers, and water became a tremendous factor in his winning the mind and vote of the common man. It seems necessary to disagree with Milburn who wrote in praise, "It was a one man show, staged without political organization and almost without finances."[22] Perhaps it was rather a show of the common people who wanted a leader and a show of loyalists, such as the forty who tendered Murray a dinner in March, 1930, in the so-called "Wagon Yard," the old Bristol Hotel, in Oklahoma City.[23]

The Tishomingan's opponents were mostly political hacks or upstart hopefuls. In the large field appeared such veterans as A. S. J. Shaw and "Judge" Frank M. Bailey. A. S. J. Shaw, who had covered thirty counties by May 6, insisted he had met with encouragement. His attack on the looseness of the state's income tax law may be considered one of his planks. On the other hand, the *Tulsa Tribune* reported that "Judge" Bailey's electioneering had not caught on.[24]

The most outstanding of the candidates was the personable Frank Buttram, who in what was termed the best political rally in "fifteen years," announced his platform at Sapulpa: "A new deal, a new program, new blood, further construction, no factional promises." Buttram admonished that Oklahoma had become the political "laughing stock" of the nation. He promised to change the buffoonery. Further, he had studied taxes, he knew about rural problems because he owned several farms and had spent twenty years in the country as a boy. Moreover, he realized adequate natural materials were available in Oklahoma for use on the roads. Buttram concluded: "I want to be the next governor of the state because I'm a native of Oklahoma. I've made my money here, and I want to hand down to posterity a heritage to be proud of."[25]

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[20] Murray, *op. cit., II,* pp. 364-366.

[21] *Ibid.,* 366; see also Milburn and Hines again.

[22] Milburn, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

[23] Hines, *op. cit.,* p. 269.

[24] *Tulsa Tribune,* May 6, 1930.

The next day in Oklahoma City Buttram expressed confidence that he would be elected because of his enthusiastic reception in the Enid and Ponca City areas. The *Tulsa Tribune* noted Buttram's "new and frank style," which limited his talks to fifteen minutes. On May 10 the *Tribune's* state reporter wrote that Buttram seemed to be in the lead. The teachers were for Buttram, himself an ex-teacher, who had for seven years been a Regent of the University of Oklahoma. M. E. Trapp, an ex-Governor, appeared to be leading the rest of the field. Of "Alfalfa Bill" the capitol reporter wrote: "Murray is given much strength by many of the capitol experts, but there seems to be a belief that he is due for a blowup." Murray's advisors, J. Luther Langston, L. N. Shelden, and O. A. Brewer, were frowned upon over the state. Candidates E. B. Howard and A. S. J. Shaw were puzzlers, while "Judge" Bailey and W. W. Darnell were believed to be "out of the running."[26]

The Buttram platform appeared in advertisements, such as that in the *Farmer-Stockman,* the state's largest farm publication. Among other things, Buttram promised to strengthen the state income tax, eliminating loopholes, to favor state aid for education, particularly rural high schools, to promote soil conservation, favor the continuance of the run-off primary, provide death benefits under workman's compensation laws, and seek better aid for the aged. Buttram pointed out his interest in social welfare by his membership in the Community Chest and the Children's Service Bureau.[27]

Buttram had the backing of most of Oklahoma's newspapers. His rise from a tenant farm boy who had worked his way through Oklahoma University to eventual wealth from oil were told and retold. Much news space was also given to his wife, a former violin instructor, and the five Buttram children, "all healthy, democratic American youngsters."[28]

During May genuine concern arose that Buttram's health might give way under his heavy schedule. But by the end of the month the *Tribune's* capitol reporter said the race would be between Buttram and M. E. Trapp. Buttram believed he would receive most of the Murray, Shaw, and Howard vote in the second primary.[29]

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[25] *Ibid.,* May 8, 1930.

[26] May 6, 10, 1930

[27] *Ibid.,* May 13, 1930.

[28] *Ibid.,* May 18, 1930.

Prohibition played a minor role. The *Daily Oklahoman* noted: "Not one candidate for governor, senator, not one outstanding candidate for representative in congress is championing the resubmission cause." The *Tulsa Tribune* reported that some of the citizens of Oklahoma City suffered from a "swell head," the swelling of the neck and facial muscles supposedly caused from the drinking of home-made beer.[30] But politically Prohibition was not an issue.

In perhaps the first news story about him of consequence, the *Tulsa Tribune* made light of "Alfalfa Bill" by comparing him to a "Texas Ranger, Type B." In an interview Murray said that newspaper editors were like any other person so far as he was concerned. He told the *Tribune's* reporter to go ahead and ask questions—he would answer if he felt like it. He recited the usual story of his life, saying he had not been reelected to Congress in 1916 because he had declared that the United States would become involved in war.

Murray's headquarters would have, of necessity, to be in Oklahoma City. "I can't afford to have one in every town," he said meaningfully, glancing at the Buttram-for-Governor sign in the lobby of the Hotel Tulsa. Livening up a bit, he chuckled as he stated that his wife was one-eighth Chickasaw Indian, which made his children one-sixteenth Indian, or silver ratio.[31]

By May 31 it was reported that Murray and E. B. Howard were using hurly-burly, roughhouse tactics. They seemed "willing to jeopardize their chances for final election by getting personal." By the end of the month Buttram and Trapp were the favorites,[32] while a political advertisement on A. S. J. Shaw told its readers of Shaw's experience in the three largest financial departments of the state. Shaw had "no interest to serve, except the interest of the people of the whole state."[33]

On June 12 the *Tulsa World* was scored by the *Daily Oklahoman* for reporting that Buttram had bolted to Hoover in 1928. Earlier in the campaign, he had been reported as having worked for Al Smith in 1928. Actually, said the *Oklahoman,* Buttram had been in Europe in 1928.[34] The bolt-for-Hoover charge apparently never became the threat in Oklahoma politics that it did in Texas, where a move by Democratic idealists attempted to expel from party ranks those religious bigots who deserted in 1928.

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[29] *Ibid.*, May 17, 19, 26, 1930.

[30] *Daily Oklahoman,* Oklahoma City, June 8, 1930; *Tulsa Tribune,* May 24, 1930.

[31] May 26, 1930.

[32] June 1, 1930.

[33] *Daily Oklahoman,* June 2, 1930.

[34] *Tulsa World* cited in, and its own comment in *Daily Oklahoman,* July 12, 1930.

Murray's attacks began to sting by July 1. An editorial on the first page of the Oklahoman was headlined: "AN UNCONSCIONABLE LIAR SEEKS THE GOVERNORSHIP." The editorial said that the *Oklahoman* and its sister paper the *Times* were used to being lied about. They seldom replied to calumnies, but reports had reached them that Murray claimed that Buttram owned a substantial interest in the Okahoma Publishing Company. Murray allegedly also had made the charge in his campaign newspaper, the *Blue Valley Farmer*. But records, it was stated, would bear out that Buttram owned no interest in the Oklahoma Publishing Company or in the *Tulsa Tribune*.[35]

The *Tribune*, never a supporter of Murray, revealed his growing strength in a report from Oklahoma City:[36]

> Unemployment, low prices for wheat and corn, boll weavil and a poor outlook for cotton, all are grist for Murray's mill. He is against everybody in power. Not much of his old fire is left, according to report, but he poses as a legendary hero of the days when all was well in Oklahoma, returned now to save the people from disaster. Not many know of the disaster brought to those farmers who put their trust in him in Bolivia.

Frank Buttram continued his strong campaign throughout July. According to reports, Buttram, millionaire turned politician, did not fear the penurious Murray. Buttram "was confident that Murray was an insignificant contender and he welcomed the quaintness—the humor—the showmanship that promised to brighten up a campaign that might otherwise be dull and boresome."[37]

"Alfalfa Bill" gained headway throughout July. By the 12th, the *Tulsa Tribune* noticed that he had returned from Bolivia at a psychologically correct time: crops were poor and low prices had been followed by a deep depression. The *Tribune's* capitol bureau said that Murray's progress resulted from money given him, probably by James R. Armstrong, a paving contractor. Armstrong's motives were questioned. The reporter concluded: "Anyway, the money was secured, and used most effectively in inflaming the farmers. Murray isn't even making any promises. His election would be solely a protest."[38] On July 13 the *Tribune* admitted that Murray had become a serious threat and many opponents were now taking "pot shots" at him. On the 17th the *Ponca City News* demanded to know where Murray got his money. It suggested he would repay his debts later. By the 19th, the *Tribune* believed Murray would get into the run-off because the economic plight favored him. Again this journal played the familiar refrain about Buttram's rise from poverty to oil millions through his skill as a geologist.[39] The *Tribune* seemed blithely unaware of the poor psychology of its reporting. Voters in Oklahoma, as elsewhere in the nation, wanted relief from their worries, not a rather patent story of how Frank Buttram made his fortune.

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[35] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1930.

[36] July 1, 1930.

[37] Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[38] July 13, 1930.

Both Murray and Buttram continued to gain as the campaign came to a close in late July. The *Tulsa Tribune* stated that the rural field had been left to Murray and his organ, the *Blue Valley Farmer*: "Murray propaganda might have been answered. It wasn't. Buttram was the only one to attempt to do so, and his paper . . . was a bit too ladylike to appeal to those who had become accustomed to the ferocity of Murray's propaganda."[40]

By stump and microphone Murray ranged about the state. For an aged man, who had supposedly lost his fire, he did not pull any punches. He turned down all groups who wanted to make a deal, including the Ku Klux Klan, which he later termed in his *Memoirs,* "a sporadic, Fanatical" movement.[41] Murray believed the Klan "divided (the) Masons and large numbers of about all the Protestant churches." His attack on these pressure groups rang out:[42]

> If the people are interested enough in their own affairs to elect me Governor, they can depend that I'll plow straight rows and blast out all the stumps. If they are not, then I'll be content to let the State go hang while I attend to my own business—though only God knows how long we poor devils will have any business to attend to if things go on as they have been. *If I can have one thing—public confidence—I'll tell every politician on the face of the earth to go straight to hell.* The common people and I can whip the whole lousy gang.

This, then, appears to have been the source of Murray's strength—"The common people and I . . . ." Indeed, the only political promise Murray is known to have made is to a friend who had spent time and money to take the campaigner about. Murray jokingly told his friend that if he got into prison while he was Governor, he would pardon him.[43]

Murray, by his own admission, made profitable use of the tactic of telling the voters in a candidate's home district that while their choice was a good man, he could not hope to win over the entire state; therefore, they should do the right thing and support their champion, "Alfalfa Bill."[44] A similar role was portrayed a few years later in the film *The County Chairman* by Will Rogers, an old Murray side-kick.

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[39] *Ibid.,* July 14, 17, 20, 1930.

[40] *Ibid.,* July 27, 1930.

[41] Murray's *Memoirs,* II, pp. 376-377, contains a name-by-name account of the Klan.

[42] Hines, *op. cit.,* pp. 272.

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 268.

A segment of the press charged the Sage of Tishomingo with being a "Red" and an "Atheist." Murray's style and appeal is seen in his answer:[45]

> I've been called a radical. Mr. Webster says that radical means "proceeding from the root or foundation; essential, fundamental." If that's what my critics mean, I'm complimented. I'm not an extremist. I believe firmly in our capitalistic plan—if capitalism can be forced to restrain its ungodly greed and to serve the needs of humanity. But I do despise the wicked machinations of the monopolists who believe the masses should . . . starve in a land of plenty while their hefty carcasses smother in their own fat.

As the first primary, with its many candidates, came to a close, James Armstrong, the paving contractor, said he favored Murray, because "Alfalfa Bill" alone really understood government, could clean out corruption, help the common man, and at the same time be just to business interests.[46]

The headlines told the story. On July 28 the *Oklahoman* said, "VICTORY SEEN FOR BUTTRAM IN MAJOR RACE;" on July 29 the *Tribune* reported, "BUTTRAM AND MURRAY LEAD;" while on the next day, "MURRAY, BUTTRAM INTO RUN-OFF, IRA HILL NOMINATED BY REPUBLICANS."[47] Murray received 134,355 votes to Buttram's 69,503. For a time it appeared that Murray's victory might be contested because of his South American residence, but apparently he had never lost his standing as an Oklahoma citizen.[48]

The Bolivian dreamer, the ex-politico, and the poor man's friend had won the first fall. Now he and Buttram would fight it out in the run-off primary.

Because of his plurality, "Alfalfa Bill" attracted nation-wide attention. The *New York Times* took note of his gross income tax proposal, saying: "Another Moses has come up out of the Red River country to lead the oppressed out of the mire of ad valorem taxation. He is William H. Murray of Tishomingo, known to Washington as 'Alfalfa Bill' . . . ." In the same issue the *Times* called Buttram, "a millionaire novice in politics," and gave the usual story of his rise to affluence. Of Murray: ". . . the mad, the unfortunate, the poor and the dissatisfied have fallen for his plea." Because of the short time between primaries, only a great effort could defeat Murray. The Times also gave some attention to the candidacy of blind Tom Gore, who by his own brilliance and wit had again become a contestant for the Senate.[49]

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[44] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, pp. 375.

[45] McReynolds, *op. cit.,* p. 362.

[46] *Daily Oklahoman,* July 25, 1930.

[47] July 28, and July 29, 1930.

[48] Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma, Its Origins and Developments* (Oklahoma City, 1949), p. 376; *Tulsa Tribune,* July 31, 1930.

Alarm spread among certain classes in Oklahoma, with the *Tulsa Tribune* calling the run-off primary a failure. It had been designed to stop a candidacy such as Murray's; now it seemed he would reach office. The claxon sounded for those who had not registered; they must do so at once and join in saving Oklahoma from Murray, his gang, and utter disgrace.[50] By August 2, the *Tribune* looked for Murray to pick a slate, but he maintained silence. Of his activities, the story ran: "Murray who has been busy the last two days effecting new alliances and telling how he is going to grow potatoes in the governor's mansion yard, has made no indication of selections but the candidates themselves said they knew they were Murray's friends . . . ."

The *Tribune* believed Murray would use this organization against the primary victors he disliked.[51]

The Murray-Buttram battle grew heated by August 4 when Buttram declared in a talk at Altus that "Bolivia Bill Murray is a faker, and an opportunist who is trying to ride through to the governor's office on the shoulders of the hot weather and crop depression." Buttram further said that Murray's gross income tax would penalize the farmer and be too steep for business. Moreover, Murray at the constitutional convention, some twenty-odd years before, had opposed Initiative and Referendum, Women's Suffrage, the eight-hour day, and child labor laws.[52]

Meanwhile, at Tulsa Murray said his gross income tax was not the same as a sales tax. "You can't apply the sales tax to interest, money on dividends or stocks, nor to money rents, pipe lines and functions of utility corporations . . . ."[53]

The press continued to attack Murray, with the *Oklahoman* warning that he would raise state taxes from thirty to seventy millions. The mills might pay the farmers less for their wheat; the merchants might pay their employees less or discharge some; the packing plants might move to Wichita, Fort Worth, or Kansas City. The *Oklahoman* posed this question: "Are the employees of corporations and business houses going to vote for this enormous and unnecessary increase in taxes by voting for Murray and his plans?"[54]

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[49] *New York Times,* August 3, 1930.

[50] July 31, 1930.

[51] August 2, 1930.

[52] *Daily Oklahoman,* August 5, 1930.

[53] *Ibid.*

Wherever Murray went he attracted attention. His own reflections on campaigning and political philosophy reveal his wisdom:

> Any candidate is fortunate that has an issue for the opposition to attack, so that they will attack the issue and not him personally because principles can stand up under attack, but individuals cannot, for the character of all men have weak spots, and the public judges the whole makeup of the man is not stronger than the weakest spot in his character, comparing him to a chain which is never stronger than the weakest link.[55]

Of Murray's methods his intimate biographer wrote that the "Tishomingo Tribune" would "shuck his coat, snap his red suspenders and drive home his campaign speeches to steaming, packed masses of delighted men and women." Murray called on the people to elect him governor and to take hold of the reins of government themselves. Repeatedly he asked for a majority of 100,000 votes.[56]

The campaign became as heated as the stifling August weather. It became a struggle of poverty versus wealth. Buttram repeatedly charged that "Bolivia Bill," a term of ridicule, was a fake and said there was need for a successful businessman to run the state's affairs. Buttram said Murray had paid no taxes since his Bolivian speculation—moreover, Murray had always been a failure. Turning to himself, Buttram boasted about the $250,000 he had paid in taxes. This was a decided mistake, for it allowed Murray to attack the wealth that would allow any one man to pay such a levy. Thereupon, Buttram tried to reverse his playup of wealth before the people.[57]

Murray often replied good-humoredly to hecklers. Once in answer to a question of why he wore a handlebar mustache, "Alfalfa Bill" replied that if he shaved off the mustache, his nose would loom twice as large. Questioned about his seedy clothes and gaudy red suspenders, Murray snorted that he was old enough to choose his own attire. He asked the crowd if they were voting "for clothes or brains."[58]

The Tishomingo whirlwind, veteran that he was, made old campaign promises sound new. He told audiences that he favored free seeds for farmers, shifting tax burdens from the poor to the rich, equal rights for all, and the revocation of special privilege. To be sure, these are not unusual offerings, but the people listened. A great drouth bore down, and a long winter lay ahead.[59]

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[54] August 4, 1930.

[55] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, p. 370.

[56] Hines, *op. cit.,* p. 275.

[57] Milburn, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

[58] *Daily Oklahoman,* August 5, 1930.

Murray's appeal was never stronger than in his semi-serious promises to rent the governor's mansion and live in the garage and to fire the gardener and plant the executive lawns with potatoes. The city dailies, which considered Murray as a joke anyway, grasped the story, wise-cracking about it in big headlines. Tishomingo Bill tried to apologize, saying the potato idea was really a jest, but "the average Oklahoman (who) had been immune to the candidate's new economic theories and red suspenders, was completely captivated by the potato patch story."[60]

Murray had never been friendly to the state courts. Once in his political past he had forced the supreme court to uphold laws regulating public utility franchises. In 1930 at Tulsa he said: "Would that a Coke could sit on every bench in Oklahoma."[61] Reform must not be stifled.

Murray also attacked what he considered the waste and frivolity of the state's colleges. He thundered: "During times like these, our State University has the unmitigated gall to request a big appropriation for a concrete swimming pool."[62]

At another juncture Murray took note of the hours worked by college professors and declared they would have to work eight hours a day, the same as anybody else, once he became the Governor.

Whistling in the dark, a *Daily Oklahoman* editorial of August 7 stated, "Buttram Can Be Elected," pointing out that 134,355 persons voted for Murray in the first primary, and 206,355 against him. Again readers were reminded of what would befall employers and employees if Murray got into office. The editorial concluded: "Thousands of voters who supported other candidates are now out working for Buttram to prevent Oklahoma from again being disgraced by the election of an ignorant and incompetent dreamer of dreams who seeks to govern the state."[63] The *Oklahoman* continuously boosted Buttram as a business man and a credit to his state. They warned the voters not to support William H. Murray, who had been out of the state for several years, who boasted he knew nothing of business, yet wanted to manage a two-billion dollar corporation. The man would throw a bombshell into the state's educational system. "Do we want the peace which Buttram's record and character insure or the war that Murray heatedly promises?"[64] The papers declared that the "Tishomingo woodhick should not be permitted to foist himself upon Oklahoma's decent people!"[65]

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[59] Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 276; Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[60] *Daily Oklahoman,* August 7, 1930.

[61] *Ibid.,* August 11, 1930.

[62] Hines, *op. cit.,* p. 271.

[63] August 7, 1930.

Even Murray's backers tried to get him to rescind his "gross tax" principle. The trouble was, Murray explained, people just did not understand his gross income tax proposal. (Even later the state legislature did not understand the gross income tax, causing Murray to resort to a net income tax.) Murray averred that the gross tax would be most fair to the farmer. "It is the tax used in Belgium, Holland, France and Germany as the only tax on the farmer."[66] On another occasion Murray explained that his tax was sound economically. "Under the gross income plan we would reach all persons, occupations and corporations that make an income above legal exemption. The income is the total amount for which the sale is made, less the cost and carriage of the goods. If the owner sells for less than cost, he has no tax at all."[67] A letter to the *Daily Oklahoman,* which it, of course, displayed prominently, held that the farmer really would be no better off under the gross income tax plan. Of the 197,218 farms in the state, 113,992 were tilled by renters, who would thus pay sixty per cent of the tax.[68]

Murray hammered away continuously on what he would do for the people financially, a point they wished to hear. In a typical speech he said:[69]

> If you elect me, I will restore the financial integrity of the State: I will redeem the good name of the State; I will lower the *ad valorem* taxes on your farms and homes, cattle ranches and small merchants; I will provide a system of taxation based upon the ability to pay and the service to the Government received, and that personally I favor the gross income tax.

The veteran campaigner in his talks on taxes used words which he believed could be understood by "the man of small mentality and scholarship."[70]

Bravely, he did not hesitate to reject any group as such. For example, he plainly told the people of Lawton that their two-year college should not be expanded into a four-year institution. Years before, he recalled, he had instituted the agricultural "colleges," with the express intent that they not exceed the twelfth grade. An extra two years, Murray reasoned, served only to make the ordinary farm boy unhappy with his lot.[71]

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[64] *Ibid.,* August 11, 1930.
[65] Hines, *op. cit.,* p. 271.
[66] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, pp. 370-371.
[67] Milburn, *op. cit.,* p. 13.
[68] August 10, 1930.
[69] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, p. 388.
[70] *Ibid.*

Despite opposition from its officers, Murray secured most of the Farmers Union vote. Rejecting any deals with farm leaders, he said, as though to display his vaunted knowledge of history, "The world was made for Caesar and Titus too."[72]

The *Oklahoman* played up the matter of his rejecting the Farmers Union, but Murray himself reflected: ". . . the Twin Harlots (the *Oklahoman* and the *Times*) of Fourth and Broadway in their endeavor to fool the people followed the logical sequence of every man who tries to fool the public and finally are unable to think straight themselves." The "Tishomingo Tribune" usually forestalled political hacks who tried to slide into his graces with a "loud and gruff 'What the hell do you want? What crooked trick have you got up your sleeve?' "[73]

For a better understanding of this campaign, as well as most campaigns, much attention is warranted to what the newspapers said. Not all of them were against Murray, though most were. For instance, the Henryetta *News* wrote: "Murray was like the Savior, who trod his way over the Palestine hills 'without scrip or money.' He had no funds, no headquarters, no manager, no friends in high places, and no one to help the common masses . . . yet the people have given him an endorsement such as few men have ever had. . . ."[74]

Countering this the Altus *Times-Democrat* believed: "Murray is so much of a visionary that he is totally unsound. His platform is purely vote-getting bunk. His gross income tax proposal is so ridiculous that it isn't worth discussing. . . ."[75]

The next day an editorial in the *Oklahoman* maintained that it was sacrilegious to compare Murray with the Prince of Peace as an eastern Oklahoma paper had done. The *Oklahoman* warned of Murray's possible actions against higher education and also reminded its readers that wives of industrialists would keep their husbands from opening new plants in the Sooner state. A blunt editorial stated:[76]

> James R. Armstrong, who absolutely controlled Johnston during his first term of office and who directed the letting of road contracts through his niece, Mrs. Hammonds, the governor's confidential secretary, is Murray's chief backer and adviser. And in the event of Murray's

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[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 387-388.
[72] *Ibid.* p. 369.
[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 369-370.
[74] Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
[75] Both cited in *Daily Oklahoman*, August 4, 1930.
[76] August 4, 6, 1930.

> election it is safe to assume that he will control Murray as he controlled Johnston, once more through Mrs. Hammonds, who undoubtedly is slated for an important position in the state capitol.

Murray was fully cognizant of the violent charges hurled at him; indeed, a chapter of his *Memoirs* is entitled "THE RUN-OFF THE VICIOUS CAMPAIGN." John Coffey of Lawton is credited with having told his farm foreman, Joe Neely—an old friend of Murray's—how his enemies were out to get "Alfalfa Bill." Neely asked how this would be accomplished. Coffey reportedly replied: " 'We are going to tell so much on him that no living man could win under the charges we are going to make.' " Murray added, "believe me, they told enough."[77] The story spread that Murray had once been married to a Negro woman in Texas, had been indicted for cattle stealing in the Indian Nation, and was an avowed atheist. Allegedly, to support this last indictment, emissaries went out from Oklahoma City to tell of his atheism. After recalling the amounts he had contributed to every church in Tishomingo, Murray said he actually welcomed the attacks, which he believed gave him the votes of "all the Atheists, the Communistic Element and the Jews." He cited his defense by a Reverend McConnell of Wagoner, who refuted calumnies being broadcast by the "Buttram forces" through the Presbyterian churches over the state.[78]

Murray replied to the newspaper attacks in an address to 7,500 persons at Oklahoma City, reminding his listeners that he had started his campaign on forty-two dollars and had turned down three checks from corporation men. He challenged Editor Carl McGee and others of the "chop suey" press to take an examination with him. They had called him ignorant; they said he had lived in a house with no bathtub; but what pioneer had not? Murray referred to his happy marriage of thirty years and the huge vote in the first primary as refutation of the woman-hater charge cast against him. Of the press he said: "I do not know why the *Oklahoman,* the *Times* and the *Farmer-Stockman* should be permitted to continue to exist. They do not give the truth."[79]

Particular attention is due the atrocity stories written about Murray by Edith Johnson, women's columnist of the *Oklahoman.* One of her early columns was titled, "COULD YOU BE PROUD OF MURRAY?" She asked *Oklahoman* readers how they would feel when they went abroad and were taunted about the gaunt "Alfalfa Bill." Now outsiders could—[80]

> . . . tell many a lurid story about that man, Murray, who despises soap and water, who lived for years in a house without a bathtub in

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[77] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, p. 378.
[78] *Ibid.,* pp. 378-379.
[79] *Daily Oklahoman,* August 9, 1930.
[80] *Ibid.,* August 5, 1930.

> it, who never wears a coat unless the weather chills him, and who habitually appears in a dirty shirt.
>
> The story of how Murray and his family lived contentedly for years in a house with a sod floor will be broadcast to the nation.
>
> Someone is certain to recall how when he was a member of Congress, Murray wore two pairs of trousers in cold weather, the inner pair hanging below the outer pair, and how Washington smiled and said: "Oh yes, he is from Oklahoma—what can you expect?"
>
> Already some of the nation's leading magazines are sending their correspondents into Oklahoma to get the "low-down" on Murray. One or more of them is bound to find out how Murray eats hot cakes, one of his favorite dishes; how he picks up a cake with his right hand, slaps it onto his left hand, reaches for the butter, picks it up with his right hand and smears it over the cake, his hand dripping with the melted butter. Doesn't the very thought of that turn your stomach?
>
> The people of this state built a modest Governor's mansion in order that their chief executive might have a decent dwelling and a suitable place in which to entertain guests. "Bill" Murray has announced that if he is elected governor, he will rent the mansion and live in the garage. Instead of living with a decent dignity, as befits the governor of a fine state such as Oklahoma, he will live like a hired hand.
>
> How would you feel about your state, your governor, if the whole world rocked with laughter and pointed at us with scorn for putting such a man in the governor's chair?
>
> Bill Murray has also promised, if elected, to fire the gardener at the mansion and turn the place into a potato patch.
>
> Is that the way to treat the state's investment in that bit of beauty surrounding the mansion—to dig up the grass and shrubs and put potatoes in their place?
>
> Do the people of Oklahoma elect a governor to hoe potatoes, or do they send him to the capitol to attend to the business of the state?
>
> Do they want him to spend his time and energy raising a mess of garden truck, or do they prefer to have him look after their interests?[80]

Miss Johnson continued her attacks. She said she thought there was a great deal wrong with a man who would bring up his family in a house with a dirt floor. She asked: "Would you vote to put a man in the governor's chair who allowed his wife to suffer the pangs and perils of childbirth in such miserable, uncomfortable, unsanitary surroundings?" Of Murray's demagoguery she wrote: "When Socialists brand Murray a demagogue, Democrats and Republicans would better think a long time before giving Murray their support."

Following this she told her readers:[81] "Frank Buttram has the heart of a gentleman, has the manners of a gentleman."

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[81] *Ibid.*, August 11, 1930.

Murray, on the other hand, Miss Johnson found to be profane, coarse, and brutal toward women. Previously she had mentioned that they were afraid to approach him by other than twos or threes, even as far back as the days of Oklahoma's Constitutional Convention—and then only on the upwind side![82]

Other stories declared that the ten filthy Murray children would turn the governor's home into a shambles, once they had the chance. Actually, the five Murray children were already grown, two of them married and away from home.[83]

In after years Murray revealed how he had answered Edith Johnson:[84]

> I planned to make a speech in Oklahoma City down near the railroad; two vacant lots were secured with considerable seating capacity. The two lots were filled with people. Even the Oklahoman said I had 15,000. I am sure there were more. The speech was thoroughly advertised by circus methods. I told the men around the Headquarters and friends to tell their wives a story and get it among the women, as far as they could before the speech. They asked the question: "What is the difference between a bachelor-woman and an old maid?" The answer is, "A bachelor-woman has never been married, and an old maid has never been married nor nothin'." The night of the speech I arose and said: "A bachelor woman," and hesitated about a minute. There was considerable twittering in the audience. I said "A bachelor woman writing in the Daily Oklahoman," and stopped again, and by that time it pervaded the audience, "has taken a fall out with my underwear. Now I wonder where she learned that. I gave my clothes to a porter at the hotel, thinking he sent them to a *steam* laundry. Anyway, ladies and gentlemen, I want to assure you that I do not know so much about her underwear, and if I did, I would be too much of a gentleman to tell it.

Murray apparently enjoyed the attacks of the papers and was fond of relating how one reporter assigned to trail and smear him began unwittingly to praise him. Needless to say, that reporter was rebuked.[85]

Frank Buttram assailed Murray and his gross income tax scheme in a final speech at Shawnee. Murray made no address on the Monday before election but went home to Tishomingo to await results.[86] Edith Johnson insisted to the last that the women of the state should turn out enmasse and "insure . . . a sound and clean government for the next four years."[87]

The results of the election are told in the two following stories in the *Tulsa Tribune*. The first was headline, "BUT-

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[82] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1930.

[83] Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275

[84] Murray, *Memoirs*, II, p. 380.

[85] Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[86] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 12, 1930.

[87] *Ibid.*

TRAM LEADS IN CITY VOTE," and continued in a story which averred that the Democrats were afraid of Murray's erratic leadership. But on the next day the banners related, "MURRAY AND GORE LANDSLIDES." Murray, "unlucky in Bolivia found a change of fortune in Oklahoma Tuesday and swept the Democratic nomination for governor into his satchel by a sensational majority over Frank Buttram, the Oklahoma City oil man and civic leader, making his first essay into politics."[88] Other political victories besides Murray's were those of T. P. Gore for the Senate in Oklahoma, while George A. Norris, Nebraska, and John H. Bankhead, Alabama, held leads. The election news almost obscured the new transcontinental plane record of twelve and a half hours from Los Angeles to New York set by Colonel Frank Hawks, who had maintained a speed of 200 miles per hour.[89]

The *Oklahoman* believed the state's people would suffer from their choice: ". . . Each generation must learn from its unhappy experience the folly of following the pied pipers of economic delusion. Oklahomans of our day and generation are learning their lessons now. It will be a costly lesson, however costly the learning may prove to be . . . ."[90]

A day later the *New York Times* commented:[91]

> From the Oklahoma "run-off" emerged two old Oklahomans. . . . Two oil millionaires went down before these champions of the commonalty. MR. GORE came to Democracy by way of Populism. That ought to make him as good a Republican as the renominated Senator PINE. To judge from what "Alfalfa Bill" calls the "dope sheet and chop suey," education, industry, business and even the highways will be destroyed if he is elected Governor.
>
> He was pictured as a woman-hater, discourteous, vulgar, ignorant, a stranger to baths. . . . He knows the Oklahoma temperament. He is the friend of "the little man," the tenant farmer, the workingman, the under-dog. He takes no money from corporations. . . . He compared himself to GRANT AND LINCOLN. After looking at the state garage he decided it was too small for him to live in as Governor, as he had intended. Impeachment is the natural fate of a Governor of Oklahoma. The Tribune of Tishomingo foresees it and will "fight it like a wildcat." No peaceful administration is to be looked for from him. That's the talk of Oklahoma. . . .

Not all papers saw calamity in Murray's election. The *Tulsa World* saw his victory as the state's desire to return to constitutional law. The state's unemployed might now look for help.[92] Sam Hawks, one of the campaign managers, marveled that every time Murray's war-chest seemed doomed to being empty, money came in from somewhere. Commented Hawks: "'. . . I will not elect you and you will not elect yourself (Murray). Providence is going to elect you."[93] Rumor persists that a farm woman in southern Kansas once asked Murray to cross the line and make the rain fall on parched crops.

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[88] *Tulsa Tribune,* August 12, 13, 1930.

[89] *New York Times,* August 13, 14, 1930.

[90] August 13, 1930.

[91] August 14, 1930.

[92] *Tulsa World* cited in the Daily Oklahoman, August 13, 1930.

Frank Buttram, Murray's opponent, had not been wise in displaying worldly success in a time of disaster. Further, his financial plans did not include Murray's gross income tax proposal and the promise to make the people of wealth pay their full share. Now Murray would face Ira Hill, an old time Roosevelt Rough Rider, as the Republican nominee in the general election.

The 1930 general election in Oklahoma should have been a drab affair. This might have been true in ordinary times in an ordinary one-party state, but this was Oklahoma, where "Alfalfa Bill" Murray had engaged the regular politicos and most of the state's newspapers, who turned their columns over to the praises of Republican Ira Hill, a vigorous man still attending encampments of the National Guard.

Early in the campaign Murray struck at the "iniquities of the state house ring, (with) its vast expenditures." He proposed to reduce by one-half or three-fourths the state's 800 official automobiles, with a similar decrease in stenographers and state clerks.[94]

A few days later Hill got his campaign underway, making these proposals for tax reform: a non-political tax commission to plug loopholes, the replacing of ad valorem taxes with a gross production levy on oil, the regulation of pipeline companies who were escaping $300,000 in taxes, and the requiring of state commission approval of counties levies for all county, municipal, and school bond issues. "This is the so-called Indiana plan, which has saved millions in that state."[95]

Political news was relatively quiet for a few days, but when interviewed at Lubbock, Texas, enroute to a New Mexico vacation, Murray modestly predicted victory by 100,000 votes. Even so, the *Tulsa Tribune* told its readers that enough Independent and Republican votes could be mustered to upset the Sage of Tishomingo. The *Tribune* recalled with questionable pride that Al Smith had lost Democratic Oklahoma in 1928.[96]

Political news stalled, but with the coming of the state Democratic Convention in the Tulsa Colosseum it regained momentum. Murray was expected to be in complete control.

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[93] Murray, *Memoirs,* II, p. 372.

[94] *Tulsa Tribune,* August 14, 1930.

[95] *Ibid.,* August 19, 1930.

[96] *Daily Oklahoman,* August 21, 1930; *Tulsa Tribune,* August 26, 1930.

Party harmony was evident when the defeated millionaire Frank Buttram and walrus-mustached "Alfalfa Bill" shook hands before taking their seats on the platform. Two thousand delegates attended from seventy-seven counties of the state. Seated with Murray besides Buttram were others he had defeated in the primaries: E. B. Howard, M. E. Trapp, and "Judge" Frank M. Bailey. Promptly at 11:30 a.m. the band struck up "Dixie," whereupon the delegates hoisted their banners aloft amid a mighty and continuous roar. At Murray's introduction the applause grew even more thunderous, accompanied by the stamping of thousands of feet and shrill whistling.[97]

Judge O. H. P. Brewer delivered the keynote address. After praising such immortals as Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson, Judge Brewer turned to Murray. Here was a man, said Judge Brewer, who had risen from poverty and whose "self-learned liberal education," with its attendant wide reading, placed the Sage of Tishomingo on a par with "the leading educators and statesmen of the day . . . ."[98] The *Tulsa-Tribune* noted in sour-grapes reporting that Murray continuously jumped up, pumped the hands of politicians, and introduced a stream of visitors to Mrs. Murray, who also sat on the stage. Murray's new suit, remarked the unfriendly *Tribune,* already sagged from the unbelievable amount of newspapers he had stuffed in his pockets. His white socks were much in evidence; his walrus mustache was a symbol of the "old-time religion."[99]

Most of the speeches confined themselves to attacking the Republican national administration, with the few G. O. P. office-holders in Oklahoma being termed accidents which would not happen again. All the speeches except Murray's and Thomas P. Gore's were confined to seven minutes. Regrettably those speeches do not appear in much detail in the refractory press, but the papers did print the Democratic Platform of Oklahoma and its preamble:

> All citizens of the state, Catholic, Protestant, Jew or people of no belief, whether white or black, rich or poor, of high or low estate, are under the same obligations to and are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and of the impartial rights of the Constitution. The poor and the weak are always, and are now, the subject of special care and solicitation of the state.

Various planks of the platform called for:

1. State tax aid. Removal of some taxes. Lessening of political jobs.
2. Utilities and other corporations to be valued upon the same ratio as real estate, farm property, and stock of merchandise.
3. Law enforcement; no mob violence.

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[97] *Ibid.,* September 27, 1930.

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] September 17, 1930.

8. An eight-hour day; better labor laws.
10. Agricultural improvements to be taught in schools and colleges.
14. No extorted charges to be made by utilities.
17. Strict enforcement of the state and national Prohibition laws.
18. Endorsement of Suffrage and a constitutional amendment allowing women to hold state office.
19. Continued support for veterans "who so gloriously fought for our country under the inspiration of the immortal commander-in-chief Woodrow Wilson."
20. Endorsement of all candidates on the slate, particularly the "unimpeachable, the unconquerable William H. Murray."

The Convention closed by placing itself in Murray's pocket.[100]

A few days after the state convention, a county meeting called upon all loyal Democrats to drop their subscriptions to the *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Times*. Alarmed and angered, a *Tulsa Tribune* editorial said: "This is the most vicious stand ever taken by a party unit in this state. And it only reflects the attitude of 'Alfalfa Bill' and some of his cohorts. It is un-Democratic and un-American. It is a repudiation of the clearest principles of Jeffersonianism."[101]

Murray's proposed gross income tax idea continued to be a minor issue throughout the campaign. In fact, the *Tribune's* state reporter said the gross tax was the only issue the Democrats had to place before their state convention. While the party sachems thought the plan unwise, the "rank and file . . . would swallow . . . any dose prescribed." Murray himself did not understand the plan; possibly his real purpose was to assess escaping income of the state's oil men. On September 13, Ira Hill struck at the tax as impractical and unfair. At the close of the campaign, he told an audience not to be taken in by the gross income tax scheme, which was merely a Democratic appeal to farmers and laborers. He offered his own net income tax proposals.[102] State's Attorney J. Berry King declared it would be better to stay with the present tax system. The *Tribune* added that Oklahoma corporations did not pay a tax on their incomes, and also that an individual who held property longer than one year did not pay a tax if he made a profit on the property's sale but could deduct a loss if any occurred. But Murray maintained that his tax on gross business incomes before deductions would prove an aid to the little business man.[103] It proved a talking point in an era of tax revision.

Many of the regular Democrats wanted to suppress Murray's campaign organ, the *Blue Valley Farmer,* which evidently alarmed the conservative-minded. Murray reminded party opposition that while they had mailed out 73,000 pieces of literature in favor of Gore, they had not included his name. He reasoned that it was just common sense to place the fastest horse first in a tandem. He warned they had better tie Gore "to me and let me be the lead horse . . . ."[104] Opposing forces noticed the "near Communistic attitude" of the *Blue Valley Farmer*, an embarrassment to right-wing Democrats. But Murray remained adamant and intended to keep the *Farmer* "in order that he might fight the lying, capitalistic city press . . . ."[105]

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[100] *Ibid.,* September 17, 18, 19, 1930.

[101] *Ibid.,* September 19, 1930.

[102] *Ibid.,* September 4, 13, November 4, 1930; see also *Daily Oklahoman.*

[103] *Tulsa Tribune,* October 2, November 5, 1930.

The campaign rumbled along. Murray promised to furnish free seeds to needy farmers. His foes lashed out with such things as decrying as "Murray insurance" the hiring of the Tishomingan's sister-in-law by an incumbent office of the state highway commission.[106]

Aside from road building plans, Hill's campaign offered little. It was thought that the Hoover administration's record handicapped Hill, who, nevertheless might win because of discontent with past Oklahoma Democratic administrations. The *Tribune* paid a doubtful compliment when it said that Hill's campaign was the cleanest ever waged by a Republican.[107]

A controversial point throughout the struggle was Murray's opposition to policies of the state's colleges. He proposed to place the Agricultural and Mechanical college under a gubernatorially appointed board of regents. The *Tulsa Tribune* loosed columns of ridicule on Murray's views. Stating that his ideas were noncultural and strictly utilitarian, the *Tribune* concluded:

> Murray has a certain standard which he applies to modern youth. In all his speeches now he seems to be using this horrible example of the ignorance of modern youth, apparently without any idea of the display it makes of his colossal egotism. As he stated in a speech at Checotah:
>
> "I struck up a boy in Kay county, and I said: 'Young man, do you know who was president of the constitutional convention of Oklahoma?' "
>
> "No."
>
> "I said: 'What state were you born in?"
>
> "I was born in this county."
>
> "Did you ever go to school?"
>
> "Yes, I graduated at the high school at Newkirk."
>
> "Did you play ball?"

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[104] Murray, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 381-382.

[105] *Tulsa Tribune*, September 6, 1930.

[106] Murray, *Memoirs*, II, p. 389; *Tulsa Tribune*, September 27, 1930.

[107] *Ibid.*, October 5, 19, 1930.

"Yes, I was the best ball player in school."

"I said, 'You graduated in ball and got credit in Oklahoma history'."

Later Murray said: "I think that all the money that is necessary for the purposes of education ought to be appropriated, but I can't understand this specialization in ball. I don't care if you graduated in football, basketball, town ball, baseball, or even high-balls, you will not get through life with that kind of education."

The special target of many of the Murray speeches was the University of Oklahoma, which even in 1930 emphasized ball playing. Murray noted that of $5 million requested for the fiscal year, $150,000 was intended for a concrete swimming pool. His reaction was an indignant, "They want $150,000 for a swimming hole; so far as I am concerned they'll have to go down to the creek." Murray repeatedly told this story.[108]

Not only were the newspapers and university people perturbed by Murray's remarks. He ruffled the dignity of Cherokee, Hill's home town, by saying to a crowd of 250 persons: "I am glad to see such a large crowd right here in Ira Hill's own dung hill . . . ."[109] Both the *Blue Valley Farmer* and Hill's paper, the *Spotlight*, brought out their final issues on October 30. The *Farmer* warned its readers to beware a Republican "poison squad," which would travel about the state with misinformation on Murray's true stand on education. The *Spotlight* carried a laudatory analysis of the Hill road plan by Lew Wentz, State Highway Chairman and an anti-Murray man.[110]

The Hill plan called for the expenditure of $15 millions on the roads, at once to improve them and to put unemployed men to work. Perhaps the Hill plan was the only trump card the Republicans had in that depression year. The *Tribune* believed something should be done immediately to get the scheme into effect. An editorial urged every thoughtful businessman and business organization to wire Governor Holloway to call a Special Session for this purpose.[111] On October 4, 111,778 names had been signed to a petition to put the road plan on the ballot; 93,000 signatures were all that were needed. The Hill plan and the Tishomingo terror's proposal about the A. and M. regents were supposed to be a threat to Murray's chances.[112]

Although Sam Hayes, Murray's manager, stated there would be no opposition to the Hill plan, forces arose to block the design.

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[108] *Ibid.*, October 1, 27, 1930.

[109] *Daily Oklahoman*, October 30, 1930, citing the *Blue Valley Farmer* and the *Spotlight*.

[110] *Tulsa Tribune*, August 18, 1930.

[111] *Ibid.*, October 30, August 26, 1930.

[112] *Ibid.*, October 4, 9, 1930.

Fred C. Clarke, Republican state chairman, said legal maneuvers were being used. In fact, sufficient stalling tactics followed which kept the plan off the ballot. Attorney General King expressed the belief that the state's supreme court would not allow the issue to come to a vote.[113] The *Tribune* concluded that the Hill idea had been killed by greed. Perhaps, indeed, Murray had convinced impoverished thousands that the only solution to unemployment and crop failure was a "back to the farms movement and free seeds." Time ran out on the Hill proposal, and by October 29, the supreme court failed to grant a certificate of mandamus to the Secretary of State and the election board. James R. Armstrong, road contractor and alleged angel of the Murray camp, is credited with furnishing the "protestants" with funds to instigate time-consuming investigations and other legal delays.[114]

Though it is not directly connected with the gubernatorial race, attention is due the campaign of blind Tom Gore, the most popular public speaker ever to appear in Oklahoma.[115] Gore denounced the Hill plan, which he said would not return prosperity because "agriculture and oil either make or break the prosperity of Oklahoma." Gore's wit shows in the speech in which he said the Republicans had kept their promise to place agriculture on the same basis as other basic industries. They had kept it all right, said Gore, by destroying the other basic industries. Since 1920, he declared, farmers' properties had depreciated by $23,000,000. In another speech he asked: "Who will say that the party of Hoover and Pine (Gore's opponent), is the party of Lincoln? The Republican Party has as many rights as the Democrat(ic) but not as much reason."[116] Gore, at long last, regained his seat in the Senate.

In his final speech Ira Hill told his listeners that the Democrats had failed "and now they trot forth the most dismal failure of them all—Bolivia Bill, who even failed in Bolivia and deserted the poor, trusting people who went there with him . . . ." Hill confided that, unlike Murray, he favored women in public life, and he would support an amendment to remove the university and agricultural college from politics.[117] The *Daily Oklahoman* endorsed Hill, and while not mentioning Murray by name called on the people to vote, a vote which "might decide whether Oklahoma institutions shall have education freedom or continue to have political exploitation."[118]

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[113] *Ibid.*, October 11, 13, 22, 1930.

[114] *Ibid.*, October 28, 29, 1930.

[115] Dale, *Oklahoma*, pp. 295, 301.

[116] *Tulsa Tribune*, October 30, 1930; *Daily Oklahoman*, November 4, 1930.

[117] *Tulsa Tribune*, November 2, 1930.

[118] November 3, 1930.

A human interest story appeared on election day in the *Oklahoman,* featuring U. D. T. Murray, "Alfalfa Bill's" father, the roving preacher, now nearly a hundred years old. The elder Murray said he would vote and just listen to politics. "I like to see my boys active in politics, but I have to stay just the father 'cause I'll always remember down in Texas when one of my boys was for one candidate and one the other," he said. He recalled he had once cast a vote for Sam Houston, nearly seventy years before.[119]

Murray jumped to an early lead of almost 100,000 votes. He was among Democratic governors elected in such states as Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Maryland, New York, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.[120] Murray's final tally was 301,921 to Hill's 208,575; Gore received 255,838 to Pine's 232,589.[121]

Even though he received a few thousand less than his solicited 100,000 majority, Murray received the news jubilantly. His biographer, Gordon Hines, wrote:[122]

> No Oklahoma Governor ever got so many votes. He heard the returns from a cheap bedroom in the Huckins Hotel, where he lay fully dressed, telling jokes, snapping his suspenders and kicking up his heels like a spring colt—not in elation over his election but in keen enjoyment of the jokes he told and those he heard from his friends.

Milburn, the political commentator, remembers essentially the same story. He related that "Alfalfa Bill" lay in his shirtsleeves and stocking feet, smoking a pungent nickel cigar. At ten o'clock the cheering became deafening outside the hotel. Murray's name was called out. "The Sage of Tishomingo roused himself. 'Perhaps we better go down and see the boys,' he said pacifically."[123]

It may be the blessing of American politics that such a thing could occur as the election of "Alfalfa Bill" Murray as Governor of Oklahoma in 1930. In reality, conditions differed little in the Sooner state from those in any other state, except in Oklahoma Murray was successful. Elsewhere, those candidates who carried the poor man's sympathies were not always successful. This is seen in the defeat of Dr. John R. Brinkley in Kansas and of "Ma" Ferguson in Texas. Neither Brinkley nor Mrs. Ferguson quite generated an "electoral" charge. In New York, after an extremely narrow victory over Alfred Ottinger in 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt with the aid of Al Smith overwhelmed Charles Tuttle.

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[119] *Ibid.,* November 4, 1930.

[120] *New York Times,* November 5, 1930.

[121] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.,* p. 352.

[122] *Alfalfa Bill,* p. 276.

[123] *Op. cit.,* p. 15.

Murray's methods, picturesque talk, and return from oblivion are noteworthy in themselves. That he could fend off fabulously wealthy opposition, the public press, and the hacks of his own party are more remarkable. That he could organize his own machine and bring out his own publication—without apparent promises to any group—borders on the miraculous.

Once in office, Murray did not play favorites, nor did the impeachment minded legislature attempt to snaffle him. Murray restored a proper balance to Oklahoma government and halted what might have become a dangerous national precedent of easy impeachment and removal. Professor E. C. McReynolds believes, as do many others, that the hard-times were propitious for Murray's return. McReynolds admires Murray's courage, intellectual power, and constructive ability as a leader.[124]

William G. Shepherd, political writer for *Collier's,* later analyzed Murray's victory at a time when the Oklahoma Governor was under serious consideration as a Democratic presidential hopeful. (A fanciful imagination can picture "Alfalfa Bill" entertaining the King and Queen of England!) In particular, Shepherd debunked most of the stories about Murray's personal uncleanliness. He related: "I perhaps like hundreds of thousands of other citizens had been under a delusion." Shepherd wrote of Murray:[125]

1. He was not a fiery, uncouth yokel from the backwoods, thrust into politics by 'an embittered peasantry.'
2. He was not a blundering, wild-eyed, angry citizen who became governor.
3. Murray was no greenhorn in politics.
4. Murray was most positively not uneducated.

Professor Albert Parker, himself an Oklahoman, saw in the Murray victory an attempt to get away from the glamor and wealth that had swept over the state in the years between 1915-1930 with the easy oil money. In the person of "Alfalfa Bill," many Sooners looked for a Moses to lead them back to happier years. Parker asked: "And why not? Was not this an age when Americans everywhere were seeking new Messiahs? I need only mention in this respect such men as Townsend, Huey P. Long, Father Coughlin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt."[126]

Professor B. B. Chapman called Murray "color personified." Unlike other sources, Chapman believed the cry was not against drouth, which came later, but against low crop prices. He commented:[127]

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[124] *Op. cit.,* pp. 361-362, 366.

[125] *Op. cit.,* p. 12.

[126] Dr. Albert Parker, letter to the author, Wichita, Kansas, October 18, 1955.

> I hardly know what to say about the "social protest." Murray was able to rally an overwhelming force to his support. He held it firmly for two or three years, then his grip began to slip. In 1941 students would boo when his name was mentioned in class; but the pendulum swung to the other side by 1950 and his son reigned in his stead. Johnston Murray exhibited neater clothing but no finer command of the English language than his Dad. Williams, Kerr, and perhaps Turner and J. Murray are the only Governors to leave office with very much popularity.

In the years that followed his 1930 election Murray gained nation-wide attention by his frequent use of the state militia, "my guard," to defy Texas and the United States courts in the opening of a new bridge across the Red River. He defied the large oil interests when he closed down the fields until the price of crude reached a dollar a barrel instead of the 14-cents to which it had tobogganed.[128] By 1934 he had become anti-New Deal because of what he called errors and experimentation.[129] In 1936 he was pictured in a campaign newspaper as "making a powerful drive for the Constitution and Gov. Alf M. Landon."[130] And in 1938 he lost out in the primaries, which had dropped the run-off arrangement, to Leon C. Phillips, who himself fell upon evil times with the legislature and fell into the political necropolis.[131]

But it is doubtful if ever in the history of local American politics more adroitness has been shown than in the 1930 gubernatorial election of "Alfalfa Bill." To be sure, Franklin D. Roosevelt was a champion, but he was surrounded with brilliant help. Murray will be remembered as one who successfully answered the people's call in the face of entrenched and powerful orthodox opposition. As a Claremore, Oklahoma wag wrote, the election will always be remembered because—[132]

In spite of his lack of the stuff called jack,
To pass among his backers,
Bill won the race while feeding his face
On cheese and sody crackers.

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[127] Prof. B. B. Chapman, letter to the author, Stillwater, Oklahoma, October 14, 1955.

[128] Ibid.

[129] McReynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-364.

[130] *Sixth District Republican Digest*, Goodland, Kansas, September 21, 1936. This was a Republican campaign newspaper, published in northwest Kansas in both 1934 and 1936.

[131] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-363.

[132] Milburn, *op. cit.*

JACKSON LEWIS OF THE CONFEDERATE CREEK REGIMENT

*By Jerlena King**

Jackson Lewis was born in Alabama in the early 19th Century and was a fullblood Creek Indian being part Hitchiti.

He was six years of age when he came with members of the family to their new home west of the Mississippi River during removal of the Creek Indians from Alabama and Georgia. His father was killed by a white man in Alabama. During the removal trip Jackson Lewis rode a pony on the journey for a long distance. He almost lost his life when the pony was swept from under him in crossing the Mississippi River.[1] The shoes he was wearing wore out from walking and he suffered from the cold and hunger before reaching Indian Territory.

Jackson Lewis settled near the present city of Eufaula, Oklahoma. He was a member of the Eufaula-Canadian Town of Creeks and was enrolled on the Creek Roll, No. 7131.

As he grew to manhood he received three titles or names which entitled him to a change of seat in the Eufaula Square ground. An old tradition of the Creek Indians during the time of which all Creek Towns for centuries had their square grounds. He was schooled in the old Indian arts of medicine of which he became well known and respected by the Indians as well as the white people as a doctor and considered one of the best throughout the Creek Nation during his lifetime.

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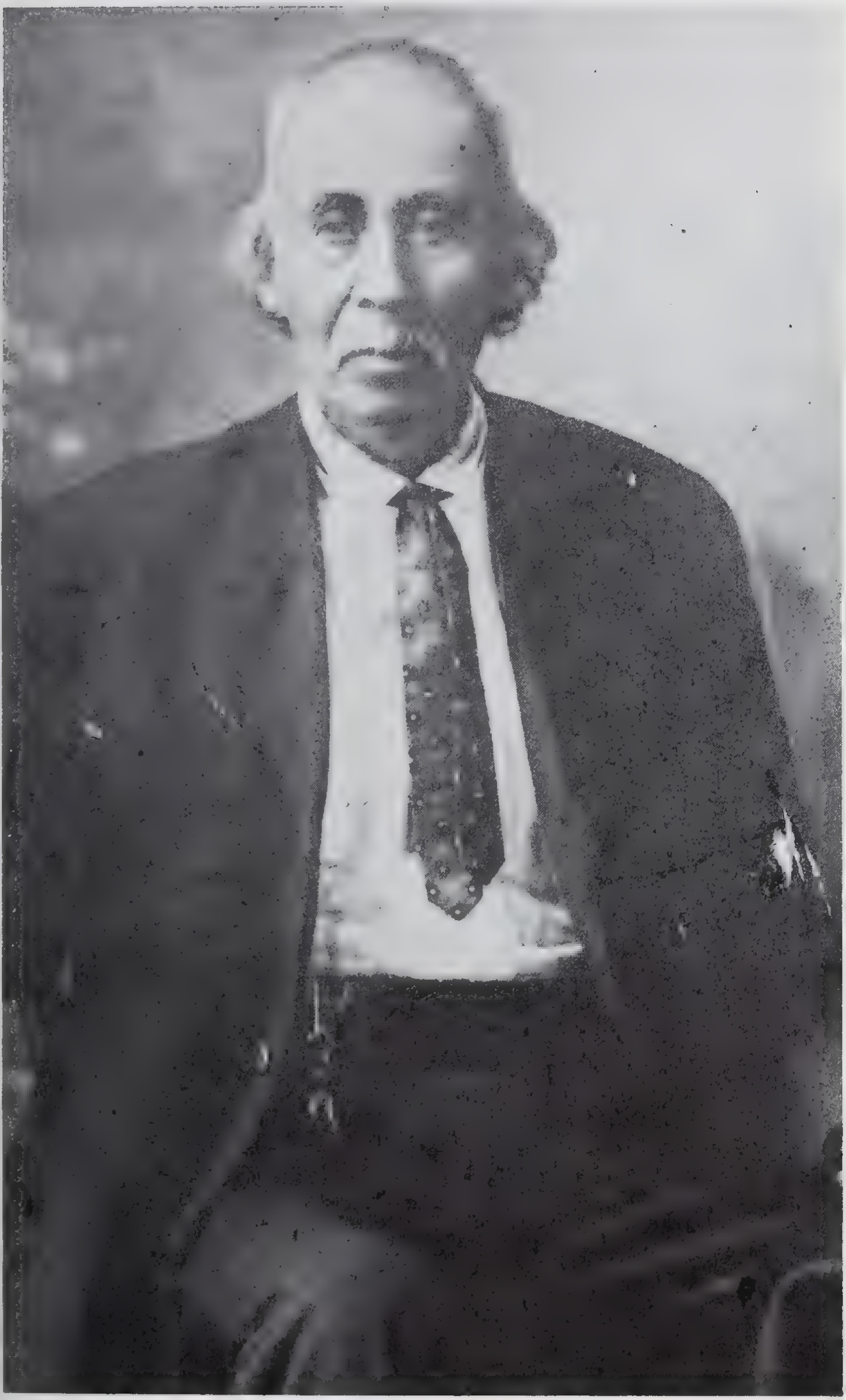
* Jerlena King (Mrs. Woodrow W.) is a local historian and writer well known for her excellent work in research in and around her home-town of Eufaula in McIntosh County. Her feature story on Miss Mary Morley, titled "Pioneer Teacher Relates Early Life," appeared in the *Indian Journal,* Eufaula, McIntosh County, for Thursday, January 10, 1963. Mrs. King was a pupil of Miss Morley who at the age of 97 years celebrated her birthday at Hayward, California where she now makes her home. Jerlena King is the great-granddaughter of Jackson Lewis, and has contributed his biography to *The Chronicles* as a memorial to this well known and beloved citizen of the Creek Nation, who as a young man had served as an officer in the Second Creek Regiment of the Confederate States Army, in the Indian Territory during the Civil War.—Ed.

[1] "Jackson Lewis came from Alabama when he was about nine years old, and almost lost his life crossing the big river by pony—this incident told to me by his daughter, the late Mrs. Martha Marks.

"Sometime ago I read G. W. Grayson's statement that he and Jackson Lewis traveled by train to a Confederate reunion in Memphis, Tennessee, and Jackson Lewis wanted to go to the edge or bank of the Mississippi to see the big river which he had crossed when he left his old home in Alabama as a boy."—Letter from Mrs. Jerlena King to the Editor, dated October 17, 1961.



Jackson Lewis of the House of Warriors, Creek Nation.

He was married to Hannah Proctor, the daughter of Cenvnewv, and to this marriage seven children were born. His second wife was Nancy Walton and to this marriage one child was born.

Jackson Lewis was a member of the West Eufaula Church, an Indian Baptist church, having joined the church in 1861, and was baptized in 1856. He was a deacon in the church for many years.

During the years of the Civil War he served as a doctor in Co. K of the Second Regiment Creek Indian Volunteers, having entered the service of the Confederate States, September, 1861, as 1st Sergeant and when discharged held the rank of Second Lieutenant. He had the name Lahta Yahola, probably a Creek war name.[2] He was also known as "Cakoce" a Creek word meaning "Little Jack."

Jackson Lewis was a member of the Creek National Council, and was also a representative of the Eufaula-Canadian Town of Creeks in the branch of the Council known as the House of Warriors. Jackson Lewis was made a Mason August 11, 1863.[3] He was made an Honorary member June 30, 1902 and was still an active member in 1905 of Lodge No. 1, Eufaula, Indian Territory. He was a member of the Masonic order in good standing up to the time of his passing away, December 21, 1910.

He was buried in the West Eufaula Burying grounds southwest of Eufaula.[4] (The cemetery is now known as Loster Williams cemetery, once the allotment of Loster or Luster Williams.) The following notes on the death and burial of Jackson Lewis are by the late George W. Grayson, a prominent Creek citizen of Eufaula:

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[2] "Lahta Ya hu la—Jackson Lewis, a member of the Eufaula town, and believed to be the oldest living man in McIntosh County if not in the Nation. He is part Hitchiti and is thought to be one of, if not, the only living Creek versed in the mysteries as taught by the old adepts in the early days. He is a successful doctor, a member of the Baptist church of long standing, as well as of the Masonic fraternity. He has been a ballplayer and a great hunter. He went south at the breaking out of the Civil War joining as a private in Co. K. in the 2nd Creek regiment and was promoted to a 2nd Lieutenancy in which capacity he was serving when the war closed. He has two sons living near Eufaula, namely Johnson and Daniel. Also a daughter Cinda Cosar, all highly respectable citizens."—Notes by the late George W. Grayson of Eufaula.

[3] "According to the Masonic Lodge records (No. 1), Jackson Lewis was made a Mason, August 11, 1863. Officers of the Lodge at the time were Dr. Harve Lindsey, R. C. McGee, W. M. McCombs, H. C. Lerblance, H. C. Fisher . . ."—Jerlena King, letter of Oct. 17, 1961.

[4] The original "Certificate of Eligibility for Cross of Honor—Application to the United Daughters of Confederacy for Jackson Lewis, Co. K, 2nd Creek Reg't. Creek Indian Vols., C.S.A." submitted by Mrs. Jerlena King with her manuscript on "Jackson Lewis" (her great-grandfather), states that he entered the service of the Confederate States in September, 1861, as a 1st sergeant in "Company K of the Second Regiment of Creek Indian Volunteers . . . C.S.A., and was at that time a resident of near Eufaula, Ind. Tery." This Certificate is dated "Eufaula, I.T. 1905," the location referring to the present City of

Eufaula, Wednesday Dec 21st 1910—

My old friend Jackson Lewis of the Eufaula town of Indians who has been ill for over a week at his daughter Mrs. Cosar's home is reported to have died last night. This fullblood Indian whom I have known ever since I was a boy, is one man of whom I can with a close approach to the exact truth say "He was a good man." Gentle as a lamb, always considerate and contributive to the comfort of those about him, he was the embodiment of the true christian gentleman.

Eufaula, Thursday Dec 22d 1910—

Hired buggy and team and drove out to Eufaula church where Jackson Lewis' remains lay in state. There were some forty or fifty friends, relatives and acquaintances gathered to see the last of the distinguished dead. Mr. Lewis was near eighty years old; was a member of the Eufaula Canadian town of Creeks. had been a 2d Lieut. in Co. K. 2d Creek regiment in the Confederate service during the civil war in the 60's; was a member of the missionary Baptist church for over forty years, and a deacon therein for many years; was a member of the Creek national council for one or two terms, being a representative of his town in the branch of the council known as the House of Warriors; was a member of the Masonic order in good standing up to the time of his passing away. He was very fond of hunting the deer, the wild turkey and other game of the forest, and as a hunter was noted for the success that always marked his efforts as a hunter; he also was an Indian doctor and accounted one of the best in the country. . . .

After the members of his church sang and prayed, his body lying enclosed in a handsome casket in state in the center of the church, the remains were turned over to the Masons who took them out about a mile south of the church and gave them a beautiful interment in accordance with this distinctive ritual.

Thus disappeared from the stage of action one who in a sense was a truly great man. I only wish that at my death there could be someone who could say as many favorable things of one conscientiously, as I can of Jackson Lewis.

Eufaula, Oklahoma. This original paper bears the imprint of the seal of "Confederate Memorial Association of the Indian Territory," and is endorsed by the signatures of Alixander (*sic*) Moore and R. B. Coleman, "Adjutant 68 Camp Jeff-Lee."—Ed.

THE LOCATION OF THE BATTLE OF ROUND MOUNTAINS

*By Angie Debo**

SPECIAL NOTE

Readers: Please note that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society has never at any time indicated its official determination of where it believes the battle to have taken place but this article is presented in a spirit of reflecting both sides of a meritorious historical research by eminent historians.—*The Publication Committee.*

In 1949 an article by the present writer appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* under the title, "The Site of the Battle of Round Montain, 1861."[1] It had been prepared at the request of the Payne County Historical Society and presented all the data bearing on the location of the battlefield that had been uncovered up to that time. Since that writing, additional evidence has been collected, and at the request of the same society this second article has been submitted to bring the investigation up to date.

The main events in this first campaign of the Civil War in Oklahoma have long been known. In the summer of 1861 the Creeks through their constitutional government, with Moty Canard and Echo Harjo as their elected chiefs, made an alliance with the Confederacy. About fourteen hundred of their men enlisted in the Southern army. They were commanded by Creek officers: a regiment under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, a battalion of Creeks and Seminoles under Lieutenant Colonel Chilly McIntosh, and an independent company under James M. C. Smith. But a numerous element in the tribe under their trusted leader Opothle Yahola remained loyal to the Union and prepared to abandon their country. They butchered cattle and hogs, drying the beef and cooking down the pork, gathered their sweet potatoes and corn, collected their household possessions, and rounded up their livestock. They formed mobilization camps in their settlements, which eventually joined to form a long string of wagons and herds of horses and cattle moving towards the north. They were attacked three times by the Confederates.

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* The writer wishes to express appreciation to the Payne County Historical Society and to the Oklahoma Historical Society for photographic copies of original documents used in this article.

[1] Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), pp. 187-206. The original title carried the name, "Round Mountains," but the *s* was inadvertently omitted in the published article.

In the last battle, fought on December 26 in the Osage hills north of Tulsa, they were completely routed. They abandoned their possessions and fled over the snow to Kansas.

According to all the official records the first battle was fought on November 19. Its location has long been uncertain. It is well established that the Union Creeks coming up from the south had encamped on the north side of the Red Fork (Cimarron) and that the Confederates followed their trail and attacked them there. The engagement was referred to by the Union forces as the Battle of Red Fork, by the Southerners as Round Mountains or Round Mountain.[2] The name "Red Fork" derives from the river, and might have been any point on its course. There was no "Red Fork Settlement" nor any specific locality by that name. There are strong indications that "Round Mountains" or "Round Mountain" was a recognized place name. But where was it?

Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, former United States agent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, was the Confederate commander. He had six companies from a Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment of mounted rifles, a detachment of Texas cavalry, the Creek regiment, and the Creek-Seminole battalion. We have the following official reports of the engagement: by Cooper, a first draft written on November 25 and a final report dated January 20, 1862; by Lieutenant Colonel William Quayle, commanding the Texas contingent, written November 20; by Captain M. J. Brinson, commanding a Texas squadron, dated November 25; and by Captain R. A. Young, commanding a Choctaw-Chickasaw company, dated November 30.[3]

These accounts must be accepted. They are clear and plain and have every appearance of accuracy and integrity, and they are in complete harmony with each other. Even if one could believe Cooper capable of misrepresenting or concealing facts, it is unthinkable that all these officers were so dishonest. They may be summarized briefly:

Cooper was following Opothle Yahola's trail "with varied prospects of success" until November 19, when "some of the

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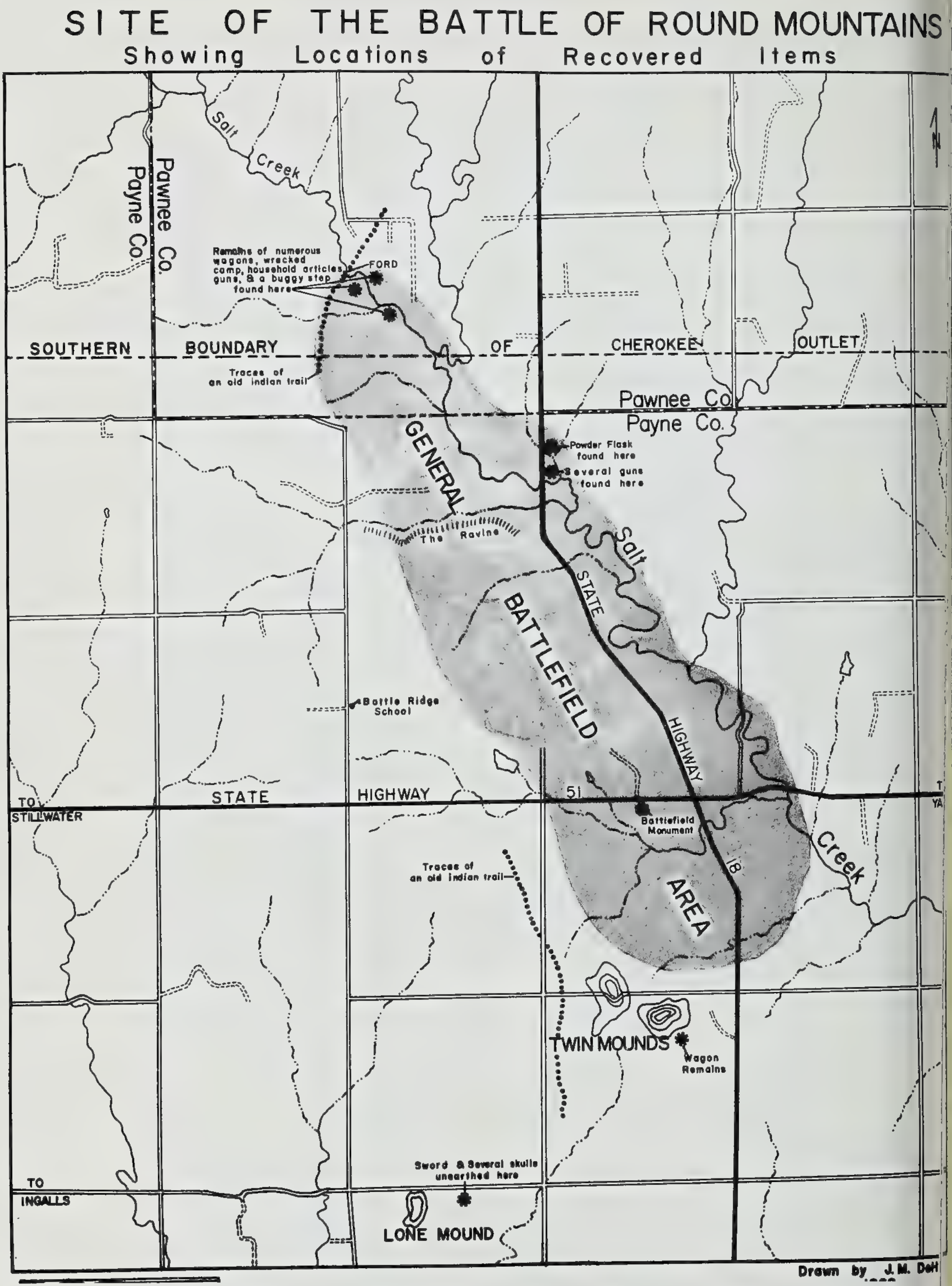
[2] The historian will be reminded of the Northern Antietam and the Southern Sharpsburg, the Northern Bull Run and the Southern Manassas.

[3] Cooper's first draft and Quayle's report (with one or more pages missing) are in the National Archives, War Department, Collection of Confederate Records, Battle Reports, Indian Territory, Round Mountain, Record Group No. 109, hereafter cited as National Archives, Record Group 109; photographic copies are in the collection of the Payne County Historical Society, hereafter cited as PCHS, Collection. The other reports are in *The War of the Rebellion: Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* First Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 5-15, hereafter cited as *Official Records,* Vol. VIII.


SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ROUND MOUNTAINS
Showing Locations of Recovered Items
Salt Creek
Pawnee Co.
Payne Co.
Remains of numerous wagons, wrecked camp, household articles, guns, & a buggy step found here
FORD
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF CHEROKEE OUTLET
Traces of an old indian trail
Pawnee Co.
Payne Co.
Powder Flask found here
Several guns found here
GENERAL BATTLEFIELD AREA
The Ravine
Salt Creek
STATE HIGHWAY 18
Battle Ridge School
TO STILLWATER
STATE HIGHWAY 51
Battlefield Monument
Traces of an old indian trail
TWIN MOUNDS
Wagon Remains
Sword & Several skulls unearthed here
TO INGALLS
LONE MOUND
N
Drawn by J. M. DeH

Map submitted by the Payne County Historical Society, under the caption "Site of the Battle of Round Mountains."

disaffected party were seen and a few prisoners taken." From them he learned that the enemy was near the Cimarron, or had been there "within a day or two." He crossed the river and "pushed rapidly forward." (In his draft report he implies, although he does not clearly state, that he had already crossed the river by "about 3 o'clock P.M." when he "became satisfied that the enemy was near, and accordingly pushed rapidly forward.") At about four o'clock he discovered camp smokes in front and saw enemy scouts "at various points."

The Texans charged this camp and found it abandoned—"the enemy having fled at our approach," said Quayle. They pursued the fugitives "at a brisk gallop" about two miles. Then Quayle sent a detachment "to scour a point of timber lying upon our right, thinking the enemy might be there concealed." The rest of his command under Captains Brinson, C. S. Stewart, and others continued the pursuit. "About 4 miles to the North East" they found the main body of the enemy "strongly posted" in the "timber skirting a creek." When they reached this encampment they were fired upon—"about sunset," said Brinson. They stood and fought for a time; then when it became apparent that the enemy was attempting to outflank and surround them, they retreated towards the main Confederate position, both sides keeping up a constant fire.

Cooper meanwhile, as soon as he heard the firing, ordered the Choctaws and Chickasaws to advance to Quayle's assistance. The Texans retreated "nearly two miles," said Quayle, "some 2½ miles," said Brinson, when they met Cooper with these Choctaw-Chickasaw reinforcements. "A few Creeks" also joined them.[4] The reinforcing troops did not meet the retreating Texans directly but passed to their left so that the two lines overlapped somewhat. By this time it was very dark so that it was impossible to distinguish the Texans from their pursuers; but Cooper's aide called across and was answered by the crack of enemy rifles. (One detail supplied by Captain Young: "The prairie was on fire at my right [i. e., east]," apparently set by Opothle Yahola's warriors.) A "short but sharp conflict" took place—"fifteen minutes," was Young's estimate. Then the enemy retreated. Cooper sent some Choctaws and Texans "to examine the ravine in front and on the flanks," but it was found that the Union Creeks had withdrawn in the direction of their camp.

These are the sole military movements of which we have any record; and any attempt to construct a different battle picture must be rejected.

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[4] There is some reason to suspect that at this late date the tribal authorities were trying to persuade their estranged brethren to return home and submit to the constitutional government. In a letter, which will be presented later, Moty Canard and Echo Harjo informed Chief John Ross of the Cherokees that "on the evening before the battle Echo Harjo went into their camps and conversed with them." Elsewhere these leaders had shown a tendency to act independently of Cooper.

Immediately after daylight the next morning the Confederates entered this camp and found that the enemy had "precipitately abandoned it, leaving behind the chief's buggy, 12 wagons, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, &c. besides many cattle and ponies." They also found "a field of graves in and near" this encampment; and it is indicated that they exhumed some or perhaps all, of the bodies, apparently to determine whether Federal agents were operating with Opothle Yahola.[5] (In one grave they reported finding seven white men, including one who had lived several years in Kansas.) From this examination they estimated that more than fifty of the Union party had been killed. In his draft report of November 25 Cooper gave an exact figure, sixty-three; but in his final report after he had had an opportunity to question prisoners at the close of the campaign he set the number of killed and wounded at 110. His own loss was one officer and five men killed, four wounded, and one missing. The officer was Captain Stewart; he lingered until "about 10 o'clock" the following morning. The others were two Creeks killed and one wounded, three Texans killed and one wounded, two of the Choctaw-Chickasaw contingent wounded. The Texans also lost five powder flasks.

The only known newspaper account of the battle contributes no additional information except a partial identification of the white man whose body was found in Opothle Yahola's camp. Said the *Fort Smith News* of November 30:[6]

"Col. Cooper has had a fight with Opothleyohola's force and Kansas Jayhawkers, and killed some sixty of them. Four of Col. C's command were killed. Fight took place on Red Fork. It commenced at dark, the prairie was on fire. On next day about 60 Indians and Jayhawkers found killed. The body of a brother of John W. Taylor, merchant of the Creek Nation found among them.—Seventeen wagons taken, with cattle, sugar, coffee, etc."

In 1875—less than fourteen years after the battle—the Pawnees came from Nebraska and settled on a reservation that included the area twenty miles east of Stillwater, where two smooth, rounded, grass-covered hills now known as the Twin Mounds rise conspicuously above the level ground north of the Cimarron. Four and one-half miles northeast at an old ford on Salt Creek in the southwestern corner of the present Pawnee

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[5] The information about the graves comes from Quayle's report.

[6] This item was copied by the *Daily State Journal* (Little Rock) December 5, 1861, Library of Congress files. The trader mentioned here was almost certainly J. W. Taylor, a white man who had operated a store in partnership with Opothle Yahola.

County[7] they found impressive remains of an abandoned camp. As 87-year-old Thomas Pratt described them in a sworn statement[8] in 1949, there were "various iron pieces," such as "parts of stoves, wagon irons, cooking things," and "similar things for about ½ mile southward from the rocky ford along the north side of the creek." He remembered that his uncle, Little Chief, told him "that during the fight that had occurred there . . . the people who had the wagons and camp things had pushed their enemy back to the south—fighting all the way to the little branch located on the north side and at the base of the Twin Mounds." Other Pawnees have similar traditions. They are not familiar with the historical background—Little Chief in fact got his information from some of the Indians who had served as scouts—but his account coincides surprisingly with Cooper's official report.

Major Edward Hale Bowman, United States agent to the Pawnees, connected this Indian tradition with the known fact of Opothle Yahola's exodus. William R. Little, who afterwards married Bowman's daughter, came to the reservation in 1880 to take charge of cattle issued to the Pawnees. At the Salt Creek location he found "many pieces of broken wagons, metal tires used on wagons, metal harness buckles, pieces of broken dishes and pottery,[9] iron cooking utensils, Indian bows and arrows, bones apparently of human beings,[10] and numerous other articles, and between this place and the Twin Mounds a few of such articles were found." He reported to the agent, who instructed him to bury the bones and gather up a wagon load of the irons to be used in the Goverment blacksmith shop at the agency; and he told his young employee a story[11]—somewhat inaccurate in detail—of Opothle Yahola's exodus and of the battle.

When the white settlers came to the region in the "Run" of September 16, 1893 they found the same tradition. It was frequently mentioned—with even greater inaccuracy—in the newspapers of the period. Typical is an article in the *Oklahoma State Sentinel*, published at Stillwater, in the issue of July 12, 1894.[12]

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[7] The Twin Mounds are astride the line between Sections 16 and 21, T19N, R5E; the ford is in NE¼ Sec. 31, T20N, R5E.

[8] PCHS, Collection, Affidavit by Thomas Pratt, April 16, 1949. This Collection has a great many such statements, which from lack of space cannot be presented here.

[9] This and other frequent references to "pottery" in these statements apparently refer to crockery, not Indian pottery.

[10] It is possible that these were human bones. It is not known whether the Confederates reburied the bodies they exhumed.

[11] PCHS, Collection, Affidavit by Andrew W. Little, son of William R. Little, April 28, 1949.

[12] Newspaper in the possession of Robert E. Cunningham, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

"How many people in Payne county know that during the rebellion a battle was fought in this county. It occurred in the eastern part of Pawnee township, not far from the Twin Mounds. It was between about 3,000 renegades and a regiment of Texas rangers who were attempting to capture and return the skedaddlers to Texas. The troops overtook the fleeing columns, when a battle ensued, but the fleeing party succeeded in escaping to Blackbear, where they fortified themselves and repulsed the pursuing party a little later on. For a number of years after the fight Indians picked up articles cast away by the refugees, and since the settlement of Oklahoma, wagon tires and fragments of wagons have been found on the site of the battle."

A still more inaccurate account was published in the *Cushing Herald,* June 11, 1897:[13]

"The battle of Twin Mounds, Payne County, fought near the close of the war between Texas Rangers and some northern men, when about thirty were killed and wounded, was not so much a skirmish between Unionists and Rebels as between certain Texas cattlemen who were trying to recapture their large number of steers that had been confiscated by a band from somewhere up north. The battle put a stop to occasional wholesale stealing of large herds of marketable beefs."

The only remnant of fact that can be discerned in this account is that the Union party was driving cattle and was pursued by Texans. It is of course completely contrary to historical knowledge to say that Northern men invaded Texas and drove out cattle during the war.[14] These newspaper editors, like other Oklahoma pioneers, were unfamiliar with Indian Territory history. But their frequent if distorted mention of the battle indicates the persistence of the local tradition. This was strong enough to give the name, "Battle Ridge," to a pioneer school in a location that exactly fits the terrain of the last sharp conflict, a prairie two miles south of the Salt Creek ford with small creeks north, east, and west—Cooper's "ravine in front and on the flanks."

Joseph B. Thoburn unquestionably drew on this tradition when at the time of statehood he wrote the first history of Oklahoma; for he located the battlefield as "Probably within the present limits of Pawnee or Payne counties."[15] Then in 1915

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[13] Quoted by Muriel H. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Civil War Report on the Battle of Round Mountain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1961-62), p. 395.

[14] *See* Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, 1930), pp. 21-31; or *Cow Country* (Norman, 1943), pp. 24-26 for this period in the cattle industry of Texas.

[15] Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco, 1908), p. 62n.

Annie Heloise Abel, drawing entirely on documents in Government archives, published the first of her three great volumes on the Civil War in the Indian Territory. Here[16] she reproduced a map drawn by Special Indian Agent John T. Cox and enclosed in a report he sent from Fort Gibson March 18, 1864. It showed the route of Opothle Yahola, and the three battle sites, each marked conspicuously by a United States flag; and the "Battle of Red Fork" was placed just north of the mouth of the Cimarron. This seemed to be authentic. Thoburn accepted it in his later writings, and so did other historians. This included the present writer, who did not even know of the Payne-Pawnee County location. Thus for more than a generation the local people with their battle site and the scholars with their map went their separate ways, each group generally unaware of the other's existence.

So far as the present writer knows, only one attempt was made to obtain a definitive settlement. In 1931 James H. Hale, a pioneer citizen of Pawnee, read an article by Rachel Caroline Eaton in the *Tulsa World* locating the battle in the hills north of Keystone; and he wrote a series of earnest letters[17] urging the Oklahoma Historical Society to investigate. "I have wondered for many years," he said, "if it was too late to have one who made the escape go over the ground," and he suggested the names of several probable informants. It was his own theory that Opothle Yahola crossed the Cimarron at a well known ford south and slightly west of the Twin Mounds,[18] and that after the battle and his abandonment of the camp on Salt Creek he retreated north, crossing the Black Bear two miles west of Pawnee and fording the Arkansas near Belford Bridge, twelve miles north of that city; but he was concerned only "to get the history as correct as possible." Unfortunately the Historical Society did not act. All his suggested informants have since died, and the difficulty of tracing the route has increased enormously.

It was not until 1948 that the historians—in the person of the present writer—and the local people confronted each other at a meeting of the Payne County Historical Society;[19] and an intensive investigation was instituted—not to support the local site, but to determine the facts. At that time, while this writer was still unconvinced, John H. Melton of Stillwater wrote to Grant Foreman, and received under date of October 26 the following reply:[20] "I am satisfied, from my own investigation, from yours, and the evidence assembled by you, that you have correctly located the site of this battle." But Dr. Foreman was in feeble health from his heart attack of the previous year—a condition from which he never recovered—and was unable to examine his files. It would be interesting to know what he had discovered.

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[16] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915), p. 263. The original map is in the National Archives, Cartographic Records Branch, Tube No. 1166, Map No. 7666. A reproduction is in Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

[17] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, James H. Hale to M. S. Barnard, January 13, 1931; to John B. Meserve, January 19, 1931 and April 11, 1932. Copies of these letters were furnished the Payne County Historical Society through the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[18] Between Sections 8 and 9, T18N, R5E, about 4½ miles north of the present Cushing and one mile west of SH 18. For a discussion of trails in the Twin Mounds area *see* Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Briefly, although the Payne County Historical Society has collected exact data tracing the trails through the region soon after the war, there is no known source of information regarding trails that may have existed in 1861.

The first break in the investigation came when a sworn statement[21] by D. N. McIntosh, James M. C. Smith, and Tim Barnett was obtained from the National Archives. It was notarized at Washington March 17, 1868 and it gave a detailed account of the exodus of Opothle Yahola and of the battles that followed. McIntosh of course commanded the Creek regiment. Smith probably was not present, although he joined Cooper in time to participate in the second battle on December 9.[22] Timothy Barnett, who lived near the present Wetumka, had been one of the leaders in negotiating the treaty with the Confederacy, and when a second Creek regiment was formed he became its colonel. Thus all three served as officers in the Confederate army. Their statement furnished startling corroboration of the Payne-Pawnee County site—the first the local people had ever received from a contemporary source. Historical research and local tradition were finally becoming merged.

The Payne County Historical Society has continued adding data to its files, meticulously furnishing duplicate copies to the Oklahoma Historical Society. It has given the widest possible publicity to its quest, inviting scholars and old-timers alike to contribute. The response has been generous: much evidence has been collected, and in some cases published. Some of this, although interesting, has no bearing on the location; some supports the Twin Mounds site; but with one tenuous exception—which will be discussed later—none of it corroborates the Cox map.

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[19] The writer's diary for November 14, 1948 has this entry: "In the afternoon I went to the Payne County Historical Society. A young fellow named Melton has some proof that the Battle of Round Mt. was fought in Payne County."

[20] PCHS, Collection.

[21] National Archives, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Choctaw, C676/1868, cited hereafter as "Statement." A photographic copy is in PCHS, Collection. The document also has Cherokee signatures, but the Cherokees of course were not familiar with the first part of the campaign.

[22] *Official Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 7, Report of Douglas H. Cooper, January 20, 1862.

Dean Trickett of Tulsa, who had written a scholarly account of the beginning of the Civil War in the Indian Territory,[23] contributed a sketch of Cox's life.[24] He had come from Ohio to Kansas in 1857, where he served as a surveyor. In the spring of 1862 he assisted in organizing a regiment of Opothle Yahola's followers who had fled to Kansas; and he accompanied them when they were merged with the expedition that attempted to recover the Indian Territory from the Confederates. From the southeastern corner of Kansas this army advanced to Fort Gibson, and he was engaged in mapping the country through which it passed. With various duties—first lieutenant, quartermaster, special agent in the Indian service—he remained with the Union Indians at Fort Gibson until he was transferred to Kansas in the spring of 1864. Thus he had excellent opportunities to learn of their exodus, and his map is entitled to serious consideration.

This writer once characterized it as an "excellent map,"[25] but the statement is only relative. It is much better than the Indian Territory maps in the *Official Records,* but it is far from accurate geographically. Indeed, as Dr. Berlin Basil Chapman of the history department of Oklahoma State University has pointed out, although the battlefield is located at the mouth of the Cimarron it is not in the Tulsa vicinity; on the course of the Arkansas it is as far above Tulsa as Fort Gibson is below. At the same time the second and third battles of the retreat are in an approximately correct location with reference to Tulsa. One can argue reasonably that not Tulsa but the Cimarron has been misplaced, and that from the standpoint of distance it supports the Twin Mounds site.

But its geographical inaccuracy could be overlooked if its historical accuracy were unassailable. It seems not to have occurred to those who are determined to accept it in spite of conflicting evidence that logically they must go all the way. They must accept the date, for it dates the "Battle of Red Fork" as November 15. This is disproved, not only by the official report of Cooper on January 20, but by his rough draft November 25, by Quayle's report November 20, by Brinson's report November 25, by Young's report November 30, and by a letter from Moty Canard and Echo Harjo to John Ross dated November 25.[26] All these documents give the date as November 19. How can the Cox map stand up against this overwhelming contemporary evidence?

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[23] *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVII (1939), 315-27, 401-12; XVIII (1940), 142-53, 266-80; XIX (1941), 55-69; 381-96—Ref., O.H.S., *Cumulative Index* (1961).

[24] "An Interim Report on the Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 492-94.—*Ibid.*

[25] Debo, *op. cit.,* p. 188.

The map also shows the beginning of Opothle Yahola's exodus below the confluence of the Deep Fork and the North Canadian north of the present Eufaula. For many years this was accepted without question, for the leader's home was in that vicinity and his town, Tuckabatchee, was settled there. But early in August Albert Pike of Arkansas, who had negotiated the Confederate treaties with the Indians, had authorized James M. C. Smith "to raise and command a company of Creek Volunteers, to be stationed at the North Fork Village [near the present Eufaula] . . . to act as a police force, watch and apprehend disaffected persons, intercept improper communications, and prevent the driving of cattle to Kansas."[27] According to Pike,[28] this company was soon raised and apparently remained in that vicinity. It is known that the Confederates were in undisputed control there in early November.[29] Thus it was manifestly impossible for a huge mobilization camp of families, baggage, and livestock to form in that locality. The 1868 "Statement" of the Confederate army officers begins: "About the first of August, A. D. 1861, Ho-poith-la-yo-hola commenced gathering his people into Camp on North Fork of Canadian, a few miles above Thlobthlocco or Greenleaf Town in the Creek Nation."

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[26] The reports were cited in Note 3. The letter is in the Thomas Gilcrease Collection of American History and Art, Ross Papers. It was dated at Cooper's headquarters at Concharty, and read as follows:

"I hasten to inform you of the hostility that now exists among our people.

"We have done all that was in our power to bring about peace and harmony.

"But alass! They have failed. And the result is war upon our heads. Blood has been spilt upon both sides. On the evening of the 19th Inst. a battle was fought at Red fork. The engagement lasted 6 hours. Our loss were as follow: killed Texeans 4. wounded 2. Creeks killed 2. wounded 2. Total lossed on our side 6. wound 4. We know not how many were killed on the opposite party. but several. on the evening before the battle Echo Harjo went into their camps and conversed with them. they proclaimed war, and affirmed that they were looking for Cherokees to aid them that they had promised to come to their assistance. They have a quantity of our property which they are taking Northward. [This "property" was mainly runaway slaves.] Should they be passing through your country please stop them. Brother let us be firm to the Southern Confederacy. United we stand divided we fall."

This letter raises interesting speculations as to the relationship between Cooper's command and the Creek civil authorities. And how did Echo Harjo manage an interview with the Union leaders before the battle? But obviously these speculations are irrelevant to the present problem.

[27] Pike to Confederate Congress, December 9, 1861. Quoted by Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919), p. 173, n. 468.

[28] *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, p. 720, Report to J. P. Benjamin, Confederate Secretary of War, December 25, 1861.

[29] Oklahoma Historical Society, Editorial Office, Civil War File, cited hereafter as OHS, Civil War File, Cooper to Colonel John Drew from "Head Quarters Indian Brigade Deep Fork Near Fishers," November 5, 1861. Fisher's Store was north of the present Eufaula.

Greenleaf Town was a settlement south and southwest of the present Okemah, and Thlobthlocco was close by. In 1937 two aged Creeks of Greenleaf Town, who had been children at the time of the exodus, located their mobilization camp on Hilliby Creek northwest of the present Boley.[30]

Other fullblood settlements extended south to the mouth of the Little River south of Holdenville. Here on the southwestern frontier far from the area held by the Confederate forces in the eastern part of the Nation "improper communications" (i. e. desperate appeals for the protection promised by the removal treaty and assurances that this protection would be forthcoming) had passed back and forth between Opothle Yahola and other Creek leaders and the Federal officials in Kansas since the middle of August. The sentiments of their recognized chief, Oktarharsars Harjo or "Sands," were expressed as follows by his interpreter at a conference at LeRoy, Kansas on November 4: "Wants the Great Father to send the Union Red People and Troops down the Black Beaver road and he will guide them to his country . . . That he cannot get back to his people any other way . . . Promised his own people that the U. S. Army would come back the Beaver Road . . .The way he left his country his people was in an elbow surrounded by secessions and his people is not strong enough against them and that is the reason he has come for help.[31] Thus the highway of these "improper communications" seems to have been the Beaver Road, now followed approximately by U. S. Highway 81 west of Oklahoma City and through Kingfisher and Enid.[32]

This all accords with the 1868 "Statement"—"The 'Talk' put out among the people was, that the Country would soon be over-run by a great army from the North, which would sweep over it like a besom of destruction: that the 'Old Chief' would lead his people, with their flocks and herds, into the Wilderness, westward out of the track of the army, where they could remain in peace and safety until the storm of war should be over."

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[30] Oklahoma Historical Society, WPA Project S-149, James Scott, June 26, 1937; Malucy Bear, October 25, 1937.

[31] National Archives, Indian Affairs, Special Files, No. 201, Southern Superintendency, 1861/C1400. For a more detailed account of this exchange *see* Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-92.

[32] For the history of the Beaver Road *see* Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 192 and n. 23. It had been used by the celebrated scout, Black Beaver.

The Confederate regiment under Colonel D. N. McIntosh was in fact in the vicinity of High Spring, where a council ground and log council house had been in happier times the capital of the united nation. (This was about twenty miles southeast of the present Okmulgee.) Sometime in October, according to Pike,[33] Colonel John Drew, commander of a Cherokee regiment stationed at Fort Gibson, was ordered there to reinforce it. These forces were soon joined by Cooper, who came up from his camp in the Choctaw Nation near Fort Smith with a portion of his Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment. According to the "Statement" of McIntosh and the other Southern Creek officers, "This was about the 1st of October 1861. Soon afterwards a delegation from Ho-poith-la-yo-hola visited the Camp . . . and arrangements were made for a friendly council at Thlobthlocco—about 45 miles a little South of West."

According to Pike the Cherokees were very reluctant to fight their Creek neighbors. Probably that was the reason, as is related in the "Statement," that "The Cherokee Regiment being, as it was supposed, no longer needed, returned to Fort Gibson." Cooper apparently was still there on October 27, for a communication from McIntosh to him was written and received on that date. This was an intelligence report as follows:[34]

"Camp Porter, Oct. 27, 1861

"Col Cooper

Sir The men sent to learn the condition of Hopothle a ho las party have returned and state that they were disbanded in three parcels The 1st under pretext of hunting were to repair to Council Grove. The 2 parcel pretending to return to their homes were to secure possessions and go out. The 3 parcel took a large lot of negroes and went from their present encampment north over the waters of Deep Fork In substance this about all.

"Your Obt Ser't D. N. McIntosh
"Comdg Creek Regt"

Council Grove was on the west edge of the present Oklahoma City. The well known Cherokee, Jesse Chisholm, had a trading post there. Probably the "parcel" that repaired to that place consisted of Sands and his companions on their way to the meeting with the Federal officials at LeRoy on November 4.

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[33] *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, p. 719, Pike to Benjamin, December 25, 1861.

[34] OHS, Civil War File, Grant Foreman Collection. Camp Porter was the name given to the High Spring camp.

Possibly in response to this appeal a few Kansas irregulars did go down the Beaver Road to join the Union Creeks, and this may account for the bodies of white men found the morning after the battle.

As for the ones "pretending to return to their homes," it is obvious that those from McIntosh and southern Okmulgee counties had to spirit away their property from an area occupied by Confederate armed forces. A few may have managed it, and this may be the origin of traditions in the Tulsa vicinity, which will be discussed later. Those who went north "over the waters of Deep Fork" (i. e., across the Deep Fork) were the ones with Opothle Yahola.

Cooper reached Thlobthlocco the night of October 29 and established his camp near the town square.[35] He reported that same night[36] to Colonel Drew: "In regard to Hopoithlahola's intentions. I have sent out after him and others to come to my camp under a Safeguard, and hope if I can see him to effect a peaceful solution of the Creek difficulties."

These contemporary statements from diverse sources dovetail so perfectly that they establish beyond a doubt that Opothle Yahola's exodus started from far up the North Canadian near the western edge of the Creek settlements, fifty miles west of the location below the mouth of the Deep Fork as shown on the Cox map. It now remains to be seen whether this map, shown to be in error on two counts—the date and the starting point—can be sustained on the third, the location of the battlefield.

When Cooper arrived at Thlobthlocco he found—according to the 1868 "Statement"—that Opothle Yahola had moved his camp to "some point above the 'Big Pond,' near the head of Deep Fork." The Big Pond was a swampy area about six or seven miles southeast of present Depew.[37] A camp above this location would be near the head of the stream now known as Little Deep Fork; for the longer branch heads near the present Oklahoma City. The "Statement" continues:

"The chief of Greenleaf Town, however came in and assured" Cooper of Opothle Yahola's "peaceful intentions . . . and became the bearer of fresh overtures to the old Creek chief —with notice that Col. Cooper would move over near Sells' Store on Deep Fork and await an answer. His Command then moved to Brown's Creek near Sells' Store, on the north side of [Little] Deep Fork." Sells' Store was a few miles southeast of the present Slick.[38] From this place he sent another message with no result.

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[35] A "town" at this period in Creek history was an agricultural community. The "square" was a plot of hard packed earth with arbors and buildings around it where the people assembled for recreation, ceremonials, and public business.

[36] OHS, Civil War File.

[37] PCHS, Collection, Statement of V. L. Todd to John H. Melton, April 17, 1950.

Before he moved his camp to the new location Cooper had some difficulty restraining his Creek contingent, and had to make it plain that *he* was in command. On October 31 Moty Canard and Echo Harjo and some lesser chiefs from "Camp near Thlobthlocco" addressed the following communication to him:

"Col. D. H. Cooper
"Com[mand]ing Choctaw & Creek Regiments
"Dr Sir

"We the undersigned Principal Chiefs, head men and warriors in Genl. Council assembled after a due consideration we have concluded to march from here to Hopoithle Yoholos Camp on Friday next[39] to put down if possible the hostile movements of Hopoithle Yoholo and his Party Provided, however, the time we have fix on meet with your approbation. At the same time we have also decided, that, all free negroes found with Hopoithle Yoholos Party and taken during this expedition shall be sold as slaves, for the benefit of the Creek Nation. And, that, all slaves who have joined Hopoithle Yoholos Party shall be sold also except in cases where the owner belongs to our party and is a member of this expedition in that event they shall be restored to him without pay and also Ponies.

"All Kinds of Property known to belong to the opposite Party shall be taken and sold for the benefit of the Creek Nation.

"All slaves in this expedition who have runaway from their owners who is resident of another nation shall be dealt with according to Creek Laws."

Cooper replied the same day under the same heading.[40] He informed the Creek chiefs that "the necessary preparations for marching from this camp" would not be completed by the designated date. Regarding the confiscation of slaves and other property he said:

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[38] The location of Sells' Store has been identified by Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

[39] October 31 was on Thursday; by "Friday next" they must have meant November 8. Actually, as will be seen, it was exactly a week later, on November 15, that Cooper started against Opothle Yahola.

[40] These communications are in a letter press containing minutes, letters, etc., of 1861-62 in OHS, Indian Archives Division, Section X, Creek Nation—War, Civil. They were obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Joseph Stanley Clark.

"So far as making restitution of runaways and other property to lawful owners, in case of hostilities or in case of a peaceful settlement of your party differences, I fully concur. But I am not prepared to admit that the war, should there be any, with Hopoithle Yoholo, is a war of the Creek Nation or waged for its exclusive benefit. The forces engaged will be mostly in the service and pay of the Confederate States, and all captured property or property of persons, found in arms against the Confederate States and confiscated in consequence thereof, will be deemed and held as the property of said States. While I shall, at all times, be glad to have the benefit of the experience and knowledge of the country and people, possessed by the Chiefs and other authorities of the Creek Nation, it is proper for me to say that all military operations within the Indian Territory, will be exclusively under my control and direction, untill I shall be superseded in command by the presence of a superior officer of the Confederate States Army.

"I request that you will say to the Creek people, that no depredations upon property or injury to the persons of all peaceful people of any party, will be tolerated, and that a state of war between your party and Hopoithle Yoholo cannot be recognized as existing until all measures properly in my judgement shall have been exhausted to bring about a peaceful settlement.

"Should Hopoithle Yoholo or any of his headmen, wish to visit me on business or in a peaceful manner, it is my desire they be permitted to pass without interruption or molestation and be safely conducted to the Head Quarters."

But Cooper finally concluded that attempts at negotiation were fruitless. His official report begins—"Having exhausted every means in my power to procure an interview with Hopoithle Yoholo—" and goes on to state his decision "to advance upon him with the forces under my command, and either compel submission to the authorities of the nation or drive him and his party from the country." He gives no indication of his starting place, but it is shown by his communications that the organization of his expedition took him far from his first camp at Thlobthlocco or the new location on Brown's Creek. On November 5 he wrote to Drew[41] from "Fishers" (i. e., Fisher's Store north of Eufaula) towards which place the Texas cavalry detachment was then on the march. Here he reported that "Hopoithle Yoholo's people are said to be moving towards Walnut Creek." As will be shown subsequently, this referred to the Walnut Creek in Kansas, which flows into the Arkansas just below the present Arkansas City.

Cooper was very apprehensive that the Kansas support for which Opothle Yahola had been appealing was collecting there to march to his relief; for on November 10 he wrote[42] to Lieutenant Colonel William P. Ross of the Cherokee regiment, "I am perfectly satisfied that he is now meditating an attack upon my camp, in conjunction with Doct. Jamison, and 1000 Jayhawkers, at this time near the Arkansas River." This was a reasonable deduction. Opothle Yahola's movements after he left the Greenleaf-Thlobthlocco communities indicated Walnut Creek as a probable destination; and if there had been a large force of irregulars in Southern Kansas a combined attack on Cooper's camp was a possibility.

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[41] OHS, Civil War File.

In his letter of November 5 to Drew, Cooper said, "I shall be in the Cherokee Country as soon as possible with the forces under my command." It is not entirely clear where he was on November 10. His communication is dated from "Camp Pike, Creek Nation." Later in the war there was a Camp Pike in the *Choctaw* Nation, northwest of the present Stigler.[43] On November 14 he wrote to Drew from Camp McCulloch near Park Hill, south of Tahlequah. He stated that he had five hundred men of the Texas regiment with him and that he would march from that place "tomorrow morning, with all my available force." He left his train under a guard of the Texans, with orders to move to Concharty, a Creek town on the Arkansas north of the present Haskell.[44]

It is entirely a matter of conjecture what route Cooper took in bringing his Texans from Park Hill to his Creek contingent (and apparently his Choctaws and Chickasaws), who had remained at his camp on Brown's Creek. One could deduce that he passed through Concharty, since his official report states that he "returned" to that place after the battle; but in his draft written at Concharty November 25 he first wrote "returned," then scratched it out and substituted "marched."

The first contemporary reference to this movement that has so far been located is found in a letter[45] dated November 22 from R[ichard] P. Pulliam at Fort Smith to Elias Rector, who was then in Richmond. It gives a concise account of current military events (mainly in Missouri) and includes this sentence: "Cooper is on the march after Opothleyohola, who it is said has taken Maj Emorys trail through Kansas towards Leavenworth." This was the Beaver Road, following U. S. 81 through Oklahoma. Opothle Yahola of course did not go so far west, but he was headed in that direction and the assumption was natural.

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[42] OHS, Civil War File.

[43] Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 377, n. 17.

[44] OHS, Civil War File, Cooper to Drew; National Archives, Record Group 109, Cooper's draft report, November 25.

[45] National Archives, Group 75, Southern Supt. Field Office, "Confederate Papers." Rector had served as Southern Superintendent in the United States Indian service before he accepted a similar position in the Confederacy, and Pulliam had been his clerk in the office. Although Rector's name does not appear in the letter, there is no doubt that it was directed to him.

The 1868 "Statement" and Cooper's official report agree that the Confederates moving up the [Little] Deep Fork reached the supposed camp of Opothle Yahola, found it abandoned, and followed his trail in pursuit. Cooper does not give the direction, but the "Statement" of the Creek army officers describes "a large trail leading in a Northwestward direction toward the Red Fork of the Arkansas, apparently a week or more old."

Could any map be plainer? Cooper was at Thlobthlocco near Okemah. He found that the Union Creeks had moved to a place above Depew, near the head of the [Little] Deep Fork. He then moved his camp north of that stream to the vicinity of Slick and continued his futile attempts at conference. He next took some time to travel east and collect his reinforcements; then with his united command he advanced up the Little Deep Fork, found Opothle Yahola's camp abandoned, and followed his "large trail" *northwest* to the Cimarron. This would logically bring him to the river crossing south of the Twin Mounds.

All contemporary accounts agree that the battle was fought north of the Cimarron. The 1868 "Statement" located it "a few miles North of Red Fork near a place called 'Round Mountains' in the Cherokee Country." The Creek-Cherokee boundary had been surveyed and plainly marked, and was well known. The Twin Mounds were not in the Cherokee country, but the Salt Creek camp was on the Cherokee side of the line. Cooper and his subordinates did not attempt to locate the place, but they did describe the terrain. Opothle Yahola's party was hidden in the timber along a creek; between the two camps, where the last conflict occurred, was a prairie with a "ravine in front and on the flanks"; and somewhere along the way was a "point of timber." There is no mention of hilly ground. Even the Cox map shows no hills, though it has a very impressive one to mark the battle of December 26, which actually was fought in the rugged terrain of Osage County. The "Round Mountains" in the account of the Creek leaders was clearly a reference to a recognized location, not to the terrain of the battlefield.

The "prisoners" whom Cooper captured before he reached the Cimarron confirmed his earlier intelligence that Opothle Yahola's people were on their way to Walnut Creek. According to his official report they were "near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River, on their route towards Walnut Creek, where a fort was being erected, and which had for some time been their intended destination in the event of not receiving promised aid from Kansas before being menaced or attacked." This statement has been the subject of some misunderstanding. There may have been several creeks by this name, but Cooper certainly referred to the one near Arkansas City. Later in this same report he described his pursuit of the fugitives that were streaming across the present Osage County after the disaster of December 26; and he mentioned "the total dispersing in the direction of Walnut Creek, Kansas of Hopoithleyohola's forces and people."[46] Even the Cox map shows the entire mass of refugees fleeing up the Arkansas to this same Walnut Creek. And it must be noted that this creek, which Cooper at the time of the battle believed to be Opothle Yahola's intended destination, is almost directly north of the Twin Mounds.

It has been asserted that Cooper's statement about the fort is ambiguous, that the clause, "where a fort was being erected," relates to "Arkansas River"; and therefore it is argued that the fort was on the Arkansas and just below the mouth of the Cimarron. This interpretation is rendered completely untenable by a reading of Cooper's original draft.

This draft shows his painful efforts to attain a correct style. He first wrote that the hostile party was reported to be "encamped near the Red Fork of Arkansas River, or had been in that vicinity on their route towards Walnut Creek, within a day or two, at which point a Fort is being erected." (Clearly his "within a day or two" belongs with "had been in that vicinity.") He then clarified his statement by inserting "latter," so that it read "at which latter point"; and made another try (illegible) that looks like "above point." He finally scratched out everything and substituted "where," so that it read, "their route towards Walnut Creek, within a day or two, where a Fort is being erected." This makes it clear that when in his final report he wrote that they "were near the Red Fork of the Arkansas, on their route towards Walnut Creek, where a fort was being erected," he meant exactly what he said—that the fort was on Walnut Creek. The United States had built a fort on the Arkansas just below the mouth of the Cimarron in 1834, but it was abandoned immediately; and it can be stated categorically that not one shred of evidence has ever been presented to show that it was rebuilt or occupied by Union Creeks during the Civil War.

This writer is not sufficiently familiar with Kansas Civil War history to know whether a fort was actually constructed on Walnut Creek. But the point made here is that the Confederates, judging from Opothle Yahola's movements prior to and immediately after the battle, were convinced that a point near Arkansas City was his intended destination. This deduction would have been impossible if they had encountered him at the mouth of the Cimarron twenty miles west of Tulsa.

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[46] *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, p. 13.

Cooper of course was mistaken in thinking that when the Union Creeks abandoned their camp the night after the battle they were on their way to Walnut Creek. The Confederate Creek "Statement" expressed the same misapprehension—"Ho-poith-lo-yo-hola having abandoned the Creek Country, and gone, as was supposed, to Kansas. . ." Actually they were in communication with Cherokees who shared their sentiments, and in order to unite with them were circling the area under Confederate control. This circling had in fact begun when they left Thlobthlocco.

"Soon afterwards," continues the "Statement" of the Confederate officers, "information was received that Ho-poith-lo-yo-hola instead of going off to Kansas had crossed the Arkansas and moved down to the Horse Shoe Bend, Cherokee Nation, near Skia-tooka's settlemen." Cooper also in another draft report,[47] apparently written shortly after December 9, stated that he also had learned that Opothle Yahola "was somewhere about, or in, the 'Big Bend' of the Arkansas River in the Cherokee Nation." This Big Bend or Horseshoe Bend was the location of a well known Cherokee community in existence at least as early as 1852. When the present writer presented the battlefield findings in *The Chronicles* article previously mentioned, all available evidence indicated the bend at the present Cleveland.[48] Shortly after this was published, additional information was obtained from Mrs. Minnie C. Manney, a home economist of Cherokee descent in the United States Indian service. She reported hearing Mrs. Annie Wilkerson, a Cherokee woman born in 1856, assert positively that in her childhood "we lived at Cleveland, and I remember it well, but we moved away when I was a little girl."[49]

Thus Opothle Yahola struck out north from the battlefield, causing the Confederates to think he was on his way to Walnut Creek, Kansas, but crossed the Arkansas and moved *down* that river to the Cherokee settlement, which as accurately as can be determined was in the bend at Cleveland. He did effect a junction with the Union Cherokees in the present Osage County, but his movements and camping places there are unrelated to the present investigation.

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[47] National Archives, Record Group 109. This draft in Cooper's handwriting is undated and unsigned. It begins with his arrival at Concharty after the Round Mountains engagement and closes with an account of the second battle of December 9.

[48] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.

[49] Minnie C. Manney to Angie Debo, Personal Interview, Durant, Oklahoma, July 18, 1949; also, Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-67. The historian will remember that in the treaty closing the Civil War the Cherokees

One digression is necessary in order to correct an error that has crept into some accounts of the battle of November 19. Captain R. A. Young, who commanded a Choctaw-Chickasaw squadron, in reporting on the second battle of the campaign began as follows: "On the morning of the 19th of Dec. . . ." This was a slip of his pen or his memory, for the correct date is December 9. A careless editor of the *Official Records,* seeing the "19," jumped to the conclusion that he was reporting the first battle, made a bracketed correction to "[November] 19," and headed it "the engagement of Round Mountain." This clumsy editing has led sincere historians into errors regarding the terrain and the events of the first battle. Only a comparison of Young's and Cooper's reports will demonstrate that it does not belong there.

Briefly this second battle, Caving Banks or Chusto-Talasah was fought on Bird Creek north of Tulsa. Believing that Opothle Yahola was on his way to Kansas, Cooper had set out the day after the Battle of Round Mountains to join his train at Concharty, reaching there on November 24. Then finding that the Union Creeks were among the Cherokees he had passed through Tulsa and joined Drew's regiment north of the present Sperry. But on the evening of December 8 almost the entire Cherokee regiment deserted and joined Opothle Yahola. The next morning Cooper attempted to retreat, marching south on the east side of Bird Creek. As his line was strung out on the prairie the Union Indians dashed from the creek and attacked his rear guard. He formed his command in three columns, advanced to the creek, and after severe fighting managed to dislodge them.[50] Now for a comparison of the two reports:[51]

YOUNG: On the morning of the 19th of Dec I was ordered to bring up the rear with my squadron and about six miles from camp the rear guard sent me a message that they were attacked by the enemy, I immediately wheeled the squadron and went back to there assistance and got about half a mile I discovered the enemy retreating towards the creek, I formed and Col Cooper rode up and ordered me to charge, after pursuing about two miles we came to the creek, . . .

COOPER: Leaving camp on the morning of the 9th . . . the command had proceeded about 5 miles, when the rear guard was attacked by a mounted party of about 200 of the enemy.

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consented to the settlement of other Indians in this area, and the Osages acquired the present Osage County.

[50] The best account of this battle is by Trickett, *op. cit., The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII (1940), pp. 270-76.—Ref., O.H.S., *Cumulative Index,* 1961.

[51] These excerpts are from Young's original report and from Cooper's draft in National Archives, Record Group 109. The reader may find the same parallels in the printed reports in *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, pp. 8-10, 15.

Capt. Young in command of a squadron, being in rear of the main column, and perceiving the encounter, wheeled his squadron, and advanced rapidly toward the enemy. Upon his approach the party, retreated hastily toward the timber of Bird Creek, a distance of about 2 miles, . . .

YOUNG: My squadron was on the right of our command. [Later in the battle, he attempted to move to the left of the Texans.]

COOPER: I caused the troops to quickly form in line of battle, with the Choctaw & Chickasaw Regiment and Choctaw Company, on the right, . . . and Texas cavalry in the center.

YOUNG: [I] discovered the enemy . . . in a bend of the Creek, formed around a house. I formed and charged, we routed them from this position and followed them into the swamp, two hundred yards they flanked us and I fell back to the house in order to prevent them from surrounding us, and advanced on them a second time and was compelled to fall back to the house, . . .

COOPER: Near the center of the Enemy's line, was a house and small corn crib, situated at . . . a bend in the creek . . . This bend was thickly wooded, and covered in front, near the house, with large, interwoven weeds and grass . . . Capt. Young of the C. & C. Md Rifles, was ordered . . . to attack them . . . and the Enemy were driven from their strong hold, and pursued into the bend . . . when receiving upon the flank a destructive fire, the squadron was caused to take position again at the house. . . . [Then] the attack upon the persistent foe was renewed . . . and . . . the Enemy was forced . . . through the bend and across the creek . . . [Then] the Enemy . . . rallied . . . and compelled a retreat again to the house . . .

It is not necessary to give parallel descriptions of the fighting about the house by other officers of the Choctaw-Chickasaw regiment[52] Enough has been shown to remove Young's report permanently from the Battle of Round Mountains. There is no mention of a house or any other sign of human habitation in the authentic reports of that battle.

There is some evidence, however, that the Twin Mounds were a recognized landmark. In 1848 Lieutenant Abraham Buford with a company of dragoons explored a wagon route to Santa Fe along the north side of the Cimarron. This road was not used by travelers, but it was shown on the map[53] of the Creek-

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[52] *Official Records*, Vol. VIII, pp. 19-21.

[53] The map was published in *House Executive Documents*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 104, map entitled "Boundary of the Creek Country." In this reproduction the two hills are blurred into one, but the original map shows them plainly. It is in National Archives, Cartographic Records Branch, Record Group 77, File No. Bdy. 17.

Cherokee boundary survey of 1849-50. This shows Salt Creek just south of the trail and the Twin Mounds are plainly marked, though neither the creek nor the mounds is named.

There are three known contemporary uses of the name in connection with the battle, and two of the three are in quotation marks. Cooper's draft report of the Battle of Chusto-Talasah begins, "Having reached my train on the 24-day of Nov. last immediately subsequent to the battle of 'Round Mountain' . . ."[54] In the Civil War File of the Oklahoma Historical Society is a typed copy of a letter supposed to have been written by a young Texas soldier (given name, Thornton; initials, T. B. M.) to his mother on December 23. There is no clue as to the location of the original, but the letter is apparently authentic. It gives a fairly accurate account of the first two battles, and it states, "The first battle was fought at *Round Mountain,* about five miles North of the Red Fork of the Ark."[55] The third use of the name was in the 1868 "Statement," which it will be remembered located it "near a place called 'Round Mountains'."

Is it singular or plural? One cannot tell from the Texas boy's letter, for the original is not available for examination. Cooper used the singular, and this form went into the *Official Records* and from that into general historical usage. He of course had never seen the locality before, and was interested only in the military terrain, not in scenic features or place names. The Confederate Creek officers, who knew their country well, used the plural. Dean Trickett once said in examining a photographic copy of their "Statement" that the "s" appears to have been added as an afterthought. This is a perceptive observation, apparent to any close observer. The "Statement" was transcribed by a professional penman, such as it was customary to employ before the invention of the typewriter; and the "s" was probably a correction requested by the men who signed the document. It is probable, however, that the singular form of the name has become fixed, even though it is a misnomer. (After all, the Battle of "Bunker Hill" was fought on Breed's Hill, but nobody expects to correct the name.)

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[54] Scholars have long puzzled over the origin of the heading, "engagement at Round Mountain," used in the *Official Records,* since no mountain or hill is mentioned in any of the published reports, but the puzzle is now solved. The editor had had this draft report of Cooper's at hand.

[55] Proponents of the Keystone site have objected that the Salt Creek camp was more than five miles north of the Cimarron. But much of the fighting was done between the two camps. Also this young soldier was vague about locations: writing from Choska across the river from the present Haskell, he located the Battle of Chusto-Talasah north of Tulsa, as "about forty miles west of our present camp."

So far in this analysis only the site shown on the Cox map and the site near the Twin Mounds have been presented; but there is a third tradition unrelated to either. It first appeared in an article by Thomas Meagher in the *Tulsa Tribune,* November 10, 1939. From accounts given him by elderly Indians he located the place six miles *south* of the mouth of the Cimarron, in the extreme southwestern corner of the western extension of Tulsa County;[56] and his "Round Mountain" was a rounded hill long known as a beacon point on early trails. When reminded that Cooper's report placed the battle north of the river, he brushed it aside with, "Well, I'd rather trust the Indian."

Similar newspaper articles have appeared in recent years. Some of them cite the testimony of Artusse Yahola, a son of Opothle Yahola, who was ten years old at the time of the battle and was still living in the 1930's. If Opothle Yahola had such a son it should be easy to locate him. Careful rolls were made of the Creeks when their land was allotted at the turn of the century, giving their age, their parents, and their town. But the Payne County Historical Society and the present writer have followed every possible clue—in the Muskogee Area office, in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and in inquiries of fullblood Creeks who were enlisted in the search—all without result. Aside from this, it is highly improbable that a son of Opothle Yahola would have been living in the Tulsa vicinity far from his town. Yahola was not a family name, but a title given ceremonially in the square—hence the great number of unrelated Yaholas in Creek records. There is a faint possibility that such a son of Opothle Yahola may be found under an English name, but unless this identification is made it can be assumed that an elderly Indian with a name similar to that of the great war leader yielded to a little vanity when questioned too closely by an interviewer.

Other Indian traditions were carefully collected by Orpha Russell in 1951.[57] One of her informants was Willie Bruner of Lochapoka Town, who believed he was more than one hundred years old. Lochapoka was the correct name for the town called Tulsa (Tulsey) by white men. It had branched off from Tulsa long before, and was recognized as a separate town at least as early as 1796. It was always known by the Creeks in government, census rolls, and place names as Lochapoka. The real Tulsa (Talasi) was located on the Canadian near the present Holdenville. It is well established that the Lochapokas although ardent supporters of Opothle Yahola did not join him until he moved towards Bird Creek.[58] Bruner's account had to come from second hand.

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[56] SW¼ Sec. 31, T19N, R10E.

[57] Orpha Russell, "Ekvn-hv'lwuce, Site of Oklahoma's First Civil War Battle, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1951-52), pp. 401-7.

Another informant was S. W. Brown, chief of the Euchees. The Euchees lived southwest of Sapulpa and formed a constituent part of the Creek Nation. Some of them joined Opothle Yahola near Slick,[59] but others may have moved independently and crossed the Arkansas below the Cimarron. Chief Brown remembered accounts given him years before by Indians who had since died; and by his father, who had not been present at Round Mountains, but had joined Opothle Yahola in time to fight at Chusto-Talasah. Mrs. Russell also secured an affidavit from Elizabeth Sapulpa, who reported a story told by her aunt.

All these Indians located the battle south of the Cimarron, but the "Round Mountain" that marked the place was the rounded end of the ridge that the highway skirts just before entering Keystone from the east. (This ridge will still be conspicuous after the valley is flooded by the Keystone Dam.) Besides being on the wrong side of the Cimarron their tradition of the battle differs from contemporary accounts in other respects.

All Brown's informants told him that this "first skirmish did not amount to much and that Opothleyahola only lost three men at the round end of the mountain." This does not square with the careful estimate of the dead buried in the Union camp. Mrs. Russell states also that "all first hand accounts of Opothleyahola's march given to Brown by the participants, said that the group had no wagons; ponies packed what the Indians could not carry on their person." Willie Bruner also insisted that "They had no wagons, and very few had ponies."

The evidence regarding the immense amount of property taken along by the Indians on their exodus is too well established to be repeated here. When they fled from their camp after the final battle in the Osage hills the Confederate officers compiled lists of the wagons, oxen, horses, cattle, and other property captured and turned over to the use of the army.[60]

Within recent years an attempt has been made to reconcile these Indian traditions with the Cox map by assuming that the battle began before Cooper reached the Cimarron and continued after the crossing. Full scale military maneuvers have been constructed, and details of the river crossing are conjectured. Even a cannon ball (weight 1¼ pounds, diameter 2½ inches) found southwest of Keystone has been cited to confirm these supposed events. But one may read the meticulous, factual reports of Cooper and his officers in vain to find any mention of cannon. All this elaborate picture hangs by two tiny threads. (1) Before Cooper crossed the Cimarron "some of the disaffected party were seen and a few prisoners taken"; thus it is argued there must have been a battle—with cannon. (2) The Cox map has a faint indication that Opothle Yahola's trail forked before reaching the river.

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 406; *see* also, for example, Oklahoma Historical Society, WPA Project S-149, Vol. 89, pp. 267-70, Joseph Bruner.

[59] Oklahoma Historical Society, *ibid.*, Willie Tiger, February 24, 1937.

[60] *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, pp. 13, 24, 31.

As to the capture of the "prisoners," Cooper, who was so careful in his reports, does not mention the firing of a shot, much less killing any of the enemy. The Creeks' settlements extended at least as far west as the Cushing vicinity. They lost this part of their land after the war, but when the Sac and Fox tribe moved there in 1869 their chimneys could still be seen on Euchee Creek.[61] One can assume that these settlers were Euchees, and in general the Euchees belonged to the "disaffected party." Cooper could have picked up some unarmed persons as he passed through. In his account of his last scout after the battle of December 26 many such "prisoners"—women and children—were "captured." As to the faint fork—if such is the meaning—on the Cox trail, again there is no indication of an armed encounter. Cox marked each of the three battles with a very prominent flag, but there is no flag south of the Cimarron.

The present writer, however, is not inclined to reject the testimony of the elderly Creek informants. Second-hand traditions are of course not as accurate as on-the-spot official reports, but these accounts sound truthful and convincing; and Mrs. Russell in particular is to be commended for preserving them. It is only the white investigators who have failed to relate them to known facts. Since they do not fit either the Cox map or contemporary accounts of the battle they are not relevant to the subject of this article, but because they have been used by proponents of the Cox site they must be examined here.

The story told to Chief Brown by his father begins with a pathetic incident, which checks remarkably with the contemporary record of communications between the Union Creeks and their Great Father in Washington. This young Euchee had been educated by a missionary and often acted as an interpreter. "Late in 1861" he received a message from Opothle Yahola to meet him at Fish Pond Town, on the North Canadian "about ten miles northwest and five miles south of what is now Okemah."[62] (This corroborates the statement of the two aged Creeks, who in 1937 located the mobilization camp in the Boley vicinity.) Upon arrival he was shown a letter from President Abraham Lincoln soiled with much handling. He read it twice to a listening group of three thousand Indians. This must have been the letter dated September 10 to Opothle Yahola and Sands, not from Lincoln but from E. H. Carruth, Indian agent in Kansas. When the Union Indians finally fled to Kansas after the disaster of December 26 this treasured message was found in their abandoned camp.

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[61] PCHS, Collection, Don Whistler to John H. Melton, May 2, 1949.

[62] This location of Fish Pond Town is probably correct. In post-war years it was farther east, but it is known to have changed its location after returning from the Kansas exile.

On August 15 the two Creek leaders had made the following appeal for protection:[63]

"Now I write to the President our Great Father who removed us to our present homes, & made a treaty, and you said that in our new homes we should be defended from all interference from any person and that no white people in the whole world should ever molest us . . . and should we be injured by any body you would come with your soldiers & punish them. but now the wolf has come. men who are strangers tread our soil. our children are frightened & the mothers cannot sleep for fear. . . . Once we were at peace. Our great father was always near & stood between us and danger.

"We his children want it to be so again, and we want you to send us word what to do. . . ."

Micco Hutke of Talasi and the Shawnees, Bob Deer and Joe Ellis, the latter their interpreter, carried this letter to Kansas, where they finally managed to find a Federal agent.

"Your letter by Micco Hutke is received," Carruth wrote in answer.[64] "I am authorized to inform you that the President will not forget you. Our army will soon go South, and those of your people who are true and loyal to the Government will be treated as friends. . . . His soldiers will soon drive these men who have violated your homes from the land they have treacherously entered."

One can imagine the feeling this letter aroused when it was read to the assembled camp.

Brown's story continues. "A skirmish with Colonel McIntosh's group followed and all Opothleyahola's town arbors were burned." This skirmish is unknown to history, and was apparently unknown to Cooper; but it may have occurred. On October 31 the Confederate Creeks in council had decided to attack, and Cooper had brought them up sharply. Then he had gone east to assemble his reinforcements. When he was safely out of the way did they start the war on their own?

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[63] National Archives, Creek B484/1861.

[64] *Official Records,* Vol. VIII, p. 25.

According to Chief Brown and the other Indian informants Micco Hutke and Nokas-Ho-Lo-Thla led a group of Opothle Yahola's adherents up to the Keystone vicinity from a camp north of Eufaula. It is possible that some of the "parcel" reported by McIntosh's intelligence as having left the camp at Thlobthlocco to return home and collect their property may have slipped out by that route. Other scattered groups may have moved out of the settlements farther north. If there was such a movement it is no wonder that they went with no wagons and few horses or that before they reached the Cimarron they were fired upon in some unrecorded skirmish; for they were escaping from a region under Confederate control.

Hale's "theory,"[65] as he called it, would support such a separate exodus. He believed that Opothle Yahola "sent runners" to collect the people to the east of his route. This view appears also in an account[66] written in 1901 by the prominent Creek, James R. Gregory. He was not present at the Battle of Round Mountains but joined the Union army later in the war. In this article he stated that there were two groups of Union Creeks—one with Opothle Yahola on the North Canadian [no doubt referring to the Thlobthlocco camp], the other "on the Arkansas River near the old Skiatook place"—and that Opothle Yahola was attempting a circling movement around Cooper ("one-fourth circle around the right flank of Cooper's army to the northeast") to join the latter group. But "Before the junction was effected Gen. Cooper's army overtook this faction of the Union Creeks, crossing the Cimarron just at dusk. [Actually Cooper had crossed the river, "pushed rapidly forward," and discovered the first camp at about four o'clock.] A battle occurred, which was fought after darkness had set in. After stopping the advance of the Confederates, the Union Creeks proceeded on the same night to form the junction . . . which they accomplished on the following day."

Gregory gave no clue as to where Opothle Yahola crossed the Cimarron. The argument has been advanced that he could not have reached the Big Bend settlement "the following day" if the fight had occurred near the Twin Mounds. But historians who have used old-timers' reminiscences all know that sequence of events is the least reliable of remembered data. And Gregory after forty years was relating events he had received at second hand. One has only to read his account of the third battle—where the facts are not open to question—to judge the unreliability of his memory.

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[65] Hale did not claim to have proof of his "theory." He was only giving his opinion and asking to have "this matter cleared up." Incidentally, he believed that Opothle Yahola went straight north to Kansas after the battle near the Twin Mounds, and did not participate in the later engagements.

[66] *Galveston News*, November 27, 1901. There is a photographic copy in OHS, Civil War File.

Thus Hale's theory and Gregory's second-hand account give some support to the traditions of the old-time Creeks around Tulsa, even though these traditions do not fit the Battle of Round Mountains. But their memory has apparently tricked them when they attempt to name the leaders who brought the evacuees up from Eufaula. Chief Brown said that Micco Hutke's group started earlier than Opothle Yahola's; but even so, it seems impossible to find a free date on Micco Hutke's schedule. He carried Opothle Yahola's letter of August 15 to Kansas, and was still there at the Shawnee Agency near Kansas City on September 18, when he affixed his signature (by mark) to another earnest appeal to the President.[67] He also visited Lawrence, where he had a long conversation with Evan Jones, a missionary refugee from the Cherokee country. He would not risk taking a letter from Jones to Chief John Ross at Park Hill[68]; apparently he returned to Opothle Yahola's camp by the wild but much safer Beaver Road. He soon returned to Kansas "over an unfrequented road," this time with Sands and a delegation of Union Seminoles and Chickasaws; and all met in council with Federal officials at LeRoy on November 4. (It was here that Sands offered to guide a relieving army down the Beaver Road.) They were shunted around in Kansas for more than a month, then taken to Washington to receive more reassurances of the Great Father's protection.[69] It was not until about December 27 that they returned to Kansas at Fort Leavenworth.[70] By that time it was all over, and their people were starving, freezing, and dying as they streamed north through the Osage hills.

This illustrates what every historical scholar has discovered: that traditions, valuable as they are, must be checked and evaluated by contemporary documents. The Indian informants seem to have been mistaken also in their tradition about Nokas-Ho-Lo-Thla. They believed that he was a member of Greenleaf Town,[71] and that he led the people of that town from the

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[67] National Archives, Creek, B787/1861.

[68] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1861, p. 658, Evan Jones to William P. Dole, October 31, 1861.

[69] National Archives, Indian Affairs, Special Files, No. 201, Southern Superintendency, 1861/J530.

[70] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, pp. 266-67.

[71] Mrs. Russell gives the Creek form of the name, with the spelling *Use larnappee*. Ethnologists use the spelling, *Asilanabi*. It sometimes appeared in Indian Territory newspapers as *Usillarnubbee*. In Creek lists of towns, however, the English name, *Greenleaf*, was more commonly used. This is not an exact translation. The original name came from the plant used by the Creeks in their "black drink" ceremony.

Eufaula vicinity to the mouth of the Cimarron. It seems incredible that the Greenleaf people would have left their secluded refuge near Okemah and the protection of Opothle Yahola's warriors to take this roundabout journey through the area under Confederate control.

The informants remember that the evacuees who crossed the Arkansas near the mouth of the Cimarron built "four big caves" below the confluence of the two rivers. There is no reason to reject this statement, but it has no relation to the battle site. After Opothle Yahola crossed the Arkansas and *moved down* to the Big Bend, his subsequent movements and the camps of his followers are completely irrevelant. It should be stated also that there is no apparent significance in the fact that Cox placed the name, "Camp Gouge" close to the battlefield. If "Thornton's" letter is to be trusted, Opothle Yahola may have been known as "Gouge"; for one of the young soldier's sentences begins, "The (Opothleyoholo, or Gouge) . . ." If this is true, the name on the map means only that Cooper attacked Opothle Yahola's camp, a fact that is undisputed. Cox also placed "Camp McDaniel," from the name of Opothle Yahola's Cherokee ally, close to the two subsequent battles.

Much less dependable than the Indian tradition is the story[72] told to a newspaper writer sixty-two years after the battle by June Peak of Dallas, who as a youth of seventeen, had served with Cooper's Texas contingent. It gives no evidence as to the location of the battlefield, but it must be mentioned here because it has been cited in other articles. According to this account Cooper began his march against Opothle Yahola "an Osage," from "Dwight's Mission southwest of Fort Gibson." Dwight Mission of course was north of the present Sallisaw, southeast of Fort Gibson. Equally inaccurate is his timing—"We met early one morning in October at Round Mountain. The day was spent in skirmishing, without any losses or advantage to speak of on either side. We went into camp for the night on a level prairie, covered with sedge grass waist high, beginning to dry considerably. Making a corral with our wagons, we placed our stock within it.

"We retired with the understanding that the battle would begin early in the morning." Then Captain Young's quiet mention of "the prairie on fire at my right" during the last sharp conflict of the battle becomes a catastrophe with Hollywood trimmings. "At 1 o'clock we all of one accord leaped to our feet. The prairie was on fire in hundreds of places around us, and a fierce wind was carrying blazing grass hundreds of yards and starting new fires." Then the "weird beauty of the landscape," "our panic stricken train," the screaming of the mules, the enemy "raining bullets into our confused rout," make an exciting picture.

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[72] W. S. Adair, "Civil War Repeated in Indian Territory," *Dallas Morning News,* July 1, 1923, published in Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. II, p. 836.

"We abandoned the whole of our provisions, and left in our wake a dozen or so wagons, scores of mules, and fifteen or twenty dead and wounded men. . . . We were more than two hours getting out of the fire, but once out, we did not loiter on our way back to Dwight's Mission."

It is inconceivable that Cooper would have concealed this military disaster; and we have the reports of his subordinate officers that instead of fleeing from the place in such panic that they even abandoned their wounded, they counted the wagons and examined the graves in Opothle Yahola's camp. They were still in the vicinity late in the forenoon; for when Quayle reported the death of Captain Stewart at "about 10 o'clock"—and certainly they took time after that to bury him—he dated it "on the Red Fork of the Arkansas River." There is a modicum of fact in Peak's account, but it cannot be used to prove anything.

Mention was made earlier in this article of the one bit of evidence that supports the Cox map. It was contributed at a meeting of the Payne County Historical Society March 6, 1949 by the late Ola J. Rogers, longtime resident of Cleveland. He quoted J. C. Byers, who came to the present Osage County in the early 1870's, and who said that in 1876 he found remains of wagons near a high round hill three miles north and seven miles west of the mouth of the Cimarron.[73] The present writer presented this evidence in the *Chronicles* article[74] of that year, thinking that it might be supported by additional data; and pointed out at the same time that although the location was not at the mouth of the Cimarron where historians relying on Cox had always placed it, it was close enough to be so shown on a map not drawn to exact scale. This suggestion has been followed by proponents of the Cox site, who have moved their battlefield from a place directly across the river from Keystone to the Byers location. This would be entirely legitimate if supporting evidence had been found, but it still stands alone. Incidentally Mr. Rogers himself rejected it when he examined the Twin Mounds data.[75]

The present writer is not intimately familiar with all the terrain at the new site, but superficially this rough, timbered area does not seem to fit the prairie setting so evident in the account of those who participated in the battle. Also the wreckage found by Byers could not have been extensive, for no investigator has reported finding any in recent years. The broken wagons he saw in 1876 could be the record of any private misfortune on the trail.

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[73] Sec. 13, T20N, R8E.

[74] Debo, *op. cit.,* pp. 190, 203.

[75] Ola J. Rogers to Angie Debo, Personal Interview, Stillwater, Oklahoma, May 26, 1949.

But at the Salt Creek ford northwest of the Twin Mounds, although the larger irons were used up long ago in the Pawnee blacksmith shop, even yet after a rain or a recent plowing the ground is strewn with fragments of dishes—thick ironstone china decorated with blue flowers—pieces of cast iron cooking pots, crockery, sometimes showing the handle or neck of a jug, wrought-iron nails, perhaps a rusted lock or hinge from a chest or trunk. The writer has in fact picked up many such fragments in recent years.

This evidence cannot be argued away by saying it represents an unrecorded fight between rival cowboys or outlaw gangs. Cowboys did not carry blue-flowered ironstone china dishes in their chuck wagons, neither did outlaws burden themselves with such baggage. Equally untenable is the theory that there must have been an unreported battle there between Indian tribes later in the war. Only civilized Indians had such possessions, and their Civil War history is well known. These articles are eloquent testimony to a whole people's exodus, people who loaded their household treasures into their wagons along with their provisions and bedding and clothing and moved out with their families. A movement of such magnitude could not have occurred unknown to history "later in the war."

Moreover, since the Payne County Historical Society began its intensive investigation additional findings have been reported and verified. These statements are by people unfamiliar with the orginal sources and unaware of the uncanny accuracy with which they fit the official records.

Joe Fleming[76] of Stillwater as a young man was out hunting squirrels on Salt Creek one day in 1902 or 1903. Near the old ford he found a rusty buggy step. Having never heard of Cooper's report of the abandoned buggy, he puzzled much over its origin. "It was an odd thing to find a buggy step in such a place"—far off the section-line roads that had replaced the early trails. Also the white settlers—the only people with buggies—had come only nine or ten years before, and this step "by its weathered condition, looked pretty old."

The late Henry Moebius lived on his farm two and one-half miles north of the Twin Mounds.[77] Salt Creek crosses the land and the old ford is 1¼ miles northwest. Thus it is in the location described in the running battle that accompanied the retreat of the Texans from the Union camp. When it was first brought under cultivation several rusted rifle barrels were found in the field near the southeast corner along the creek. Then in 1926 on a small hill overlooking the creek bottom he found a worn powder flask dented on one side.[78] It is military equipment of the type used during the Civil War.[79] Besides the side markings and insigne it bears a manufacturer's stamp dated "1838 U. S." and near the mouth are the faintly scratched initials, "W. S." It was many years before John H. Melton, director of research of the Payne County Historical Society, learned of this find; then at once he related it to the "5 powder-flasks" reported by Captain Brinson as lost during the battle.

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[76] PCHS, Collection, Joe Fleming, Statement, January 25, 1956.

[77] S½ of NE¼, Sec. 5, T19N, R5E.

A more significant find aroused some neighborhood talk, but escaped historical notice. In the fall of 1940 the county road grader uncovered human bones on the east-west section road about a mile and a half southwest of the Twin Mounds.[80] Francis M. Pratt of Stillwater, who was six years old at the time, was living with Thomas Pratt, his grandfather. He remembers the incident vividly. "I saw the bones after they had been scooped to the side of the road by the grader. The place . . . was on the top of a low hill on which the grader had been lowering the level of the road. A rusty sword, about three feet long, was uncovered with the bones. I held it by the handle. . . . This happened on the way home from school when others were with me and it was recognized as a sword by them too. A friend of mine, Bill Dobson, lived on top of this same hill and his house was close to the road, and . . . he would tell me when more bones were dug up . . . Altogether several skulls were uncovered. . . . My grandfather told me that the dead ones may have been in the big fight that happened at the Twin Mounds."[81]

This would have been a logical place for Cooper's camp.[82]

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[78] PCHS, Collection, Henry Moebius, Statement, January 2, 1956; Homer L. Knight to John H. Melton, November 10, 1961. A photograph of the flask appeared in *Orbit* of the *Daily Oklahoman,* December 3, 1961.

[79] At the beginning of the war the Confederate army of course used the equipment found in United States arsenals and military posts.

[80] The location is at about the mid point of the section line road on the south side of Sec. 20, T19N, R5E.

[81] PCHS, Collection, Francis M. Pratt to John H. Melton, July 11, 1961; Billie Joe Dobson, Statement, October 2, 1961. Dobson was between eight and nine years old when the bones were uncovered.

[82] From this location the Salt Creek ford is slightly west of north. Quayle's report stated that he pursued Opothle Yahola's scouts north-*east*. He may have started from a point farther west; or possibly from farther east, closer to the Mounds, and his clerk might have made

It is four miles north of the Cimarron ford used so extensively in the years immediately after the war, and well back from the actual fighting. Were these skeletons those of the Confederate dead? And was the sword that of Captain Stewart? All students of Southern history know how typical it was for a Confederate officer to carry the sword used by his father or grandfather in the Mexican War or the Revolution.

A buggy step, a powder flask, an officer's sword — who could have expected them to leap out of yellowed reports a century old to take material form on this western prairie? True, they do not of themselves prove the location; but they add dramatic confirmation to proof already established.

In the Fort Smith Council at the close of the war Sanford Perryman, who himself had grown up in Tulsa, presented the case for the Union Creeks, using these words, "we commenced moving out west for our safety."[83] It has been objected that instead of seeking safety "out west" the Creeks would have hugged the settlements; that they would have been afraid to venture near the range of the prairie tribes. This is a denial of the whole course of Creek history.[84] And when the United States abandoned its military posts in the Indian Territory that did not change the situation; these posts had never been maintained to protect the Creeks from the Plains Indians. Opothle Yahola's people were in great fear, but their fear was of Confederate invaders and of their own Confederate leaders. This is apparent in all their appeals for protection. As for the trails they followed on this "far western route,"[85] it must be remembered that the only prewar trails in the Creek country known to historians are those laid out or at least traveled by white men. The Creeks certainly had communicating trails between their woodland settlements and trails by which they traveled the western prairies for hunting and for councils with the "wild" tribes; but those who could have traced these routes have long since died.

The fact that Confederate regiments were ordered to the border of Southeastern Kansas has been cited as indicating that Opothle Yahola could not have been as far west as the Twin

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an error in transcribing the word "northwest." The report shows some evidence of haste; it was written while the command was still in the vicinity and bears a scrawled postscript in Quayle's own hand.

[83] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1865, p. 328.

[84] For the relations of the Creeks with the Plains tribes *see* Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 128-29. They continued these established relations in the post-war period also, *ibid.,* pp. 205-9 and ff.

[85] The expression was used in a letter dated April 7, 1873 by Cherokee Agent John B. Jones to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, quoted by Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist,* p. 268 note 545.

Mounds. This requires little comment; for that phase of the Civil War has been adequately treated,[86] is well known, and should not be presented here. Briefly these movements were dictated by Confederate over-all military strategy and had nothing to do with Opothle Yahola. The general plan was to invade Southeastern Kansas, prevent invasions of the Indian Territory from that direction, and cooperate with the campaign in Missouri and Arkansas. In his letter to Drew from Thlobthlocco Square on October 29 Cooper expressed great annoyance that the Creek trouble prevented his joining this campaign. "It is Extremely Vexatious to be detained here by party feuds amongst the Creeks, but it is unavoidable inasmuch as the Creeks would probably refuse to march northward and leave their matters unsettled at home." Indeed it *was* important to guard the northeastern frontier; when the Union forces did invade the Indian Territory the following summer they came from Baxter Springs and marched down the Grand River to Tahlequah and Fort Gibson.

The author accepted Cox's location in writing two books on Creek history.[87] This was a reasonable interpretation of the data then available. But when other evidence was presented it became necessary to revise this conclusion. And surely the time has come now for a definitive identification of the place. Additional findings will be made no doubt from time to time, but they can only confirm what is already known. In these centennial years state historians have an obligation to evaluate the data now assembled and make their conclusions accordingly.

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[86] *See,* for example, Abel, *ibid.,* 240, 249 note 502, 252 note 511; Trickett, *op. cit., The Chronicles of Oklahoma* XVIII (1940), 146, 267, 270-71; XIX (1941), 56-61, 382-96 (ref., *Cumulative Index,* 1961); Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), p. 106.

[87] In *The Road to Disappearance;* and *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman, 1943).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX TO THE CHRONICLES, 1962

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XL, 1962, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for the Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

THE OKLAHOMA CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL MAP

The Oklahoma Civil War Commission Chairman announces the publication of a full color map of the Civil War in the Indian Territory, early-day Oklahoma. Twenty-nine combat sites are located, along with forty-nine related installations, mostly identified for the first tme. Combat drawings, photographs, and a sketch of the War in the Indian Territory are included. All sites indicated on this pictorial map are shown on the approximate locations in Oklahoma.

The map is the work of Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles,* and LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of history in Oklahoma State University. Copies of this pictorial map are available without cost from the Planning Division, Oklahoma Department of Highways, Jim Thorpe Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma. Flat copies for display purposes will be sent when specified.

RECENT ACHIEVEMENT BY THE OKLAHOMA CITY JUNIOR SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Aileen Stroud Libke presented the article, "Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra," that appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in the Autumn of 1959 (Vol. XXXVII, No. 3), and contributes the following notes on recent achievements of the Junior Symphony organization of which she is permanent historian. Mrs. Libke is a member of the Women's Committee of The Oklahoma City Symphony Orchestra. She is a member and past president of a number of women's organizations of Oklahoma City (Music clubs, Sorosis, etc.).

National Recognition Achieved by Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Orchestra

For the third successive year, the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony will be featured on the program of a national convention this spring. In April (1963) the National Association of Elementary School Principals will convene in Oklahoma City, and listed on the official program will be a short concert by the Junior Symphony. The orchestra will assist on other convention programs, also.

Under T. Burns Westman, conductor for the past four years, the Junior Symphony has programmed only authentic symphonic music, which has resulted in a fine up-grading of their performance as well as improved repertoire.

In 1961, the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony joined the Youth Orchestras of Racine (Wisconsin) and Kansas City in a massed orchestra concert under the baton of the well-known director, Thor Johnson, for the National Federation of Music Clubs' biennial convention in Kansas City. In addition the Junior Symphony presented a 20-minute program of their own, using for an encore OKLAHOMA! for which they received an ovation.

To raise the $2,000 trip-expense, a candid record was made from tape recordings of their most outstanding past concert performances. These records were sold by the young orchestra members themselves, during the period proclaimed by Oklahoma City's mayor, James Norick, as "Oklahoma City Junior Symphony Week."

The legislature, in session at the time, was so intrigued by the enterprise of the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony, designed as it was to bring favorable notice of the nation to Oklahoma's young people, that the House of Representatives passed Resolutions of Commendation for the Junior Symphony.

Their 1962 national convention appearance was made by the Junior Symphony in Chicago at the National Conference of Music Educators. To defray the $4,000 required for the expense of this trip, another record was made and sold by the orchestra members.

However, the greatest distinction achieved by the Oklahoma City Junior Symphony was when their first record was brought to the attention of then Senator Robert S. Kerr by the historian of the Junior Symphony Board, in the summer of 1961. In response to Senator Kerr's letter to the State Department, Assistant Secretary Brooks Hays referred the matter to the United States Information Agency.

Mr. Angelo Eagon, Music Advisor of U.S.I.A., was impressed on hearing the record, and ordered the purchase of 250 of them to be included in the department's overseas packets. These were sent to all posts abroad for propaganda use in Iron Curtain countries.

The Junior Symphony currently numbers 109 teen-age musicians who meet every Saturday for four-hour rehearsals. Most are from Oklahoma City homes, with perhaps 20 members from other towns of the state's central area.

—Aileen Stroud Libke

Members of the 29th Oklahoma State Legislature

This year marks the 70th Anniversary of the founding of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory, by the Oklahoma Press Association in its annual meeting May 27, 1893. Commemorating this 70th Anniversary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the organization recognized by an act of the Oklahoma Territorial Legislative Council approved on February 21, 1895, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* here presents the names of the honorable members of the State Senate and the State House of Representatives of the Twenty-ninth Oklahoma State Legislature meeting at the State Capitol in 1963:

STATE SENATE 1963[1]

Name	*Address*	*Counties*
Walt Allen	Chickasha	Grady
Don Baldwin	Anadarko	Caddo
Dewey F. Bartlett	Tulsa	Tulsa
J. H. Belvin	Durant	Bryan, Choctaw
Ed Berrong	Weatherford	Custer
Roy C. Boecher	Kingfisher	Blaine, Kingfisher
Wilford E. Bohannon	Checotah	Haskell, McIntosh
Robert H. Breeden	Cleveland	Noble, Pawnee
Joe Bailey Cobb	Tishomingo	Murray, Johnston
Charles E. Colston	Marietta	Love, Marshall
Boyd Cowden	Chandler	Lincoln
Byron Dacus	Hobart	Kiowa, Washita
Leon B. Field	Texhoma	Beaver, Cimarron, Harper, Texas
Ray Fine	Gore	Adair, Cherokee, Sequoyah
Denzil D. Garrison	Bartlesville	Osage, Washington
Harold T. Garvin	Duncan	Jefferson, Stevens
Roy E. Grantham	Ponca City	Grant, Kay
Ralph W. Graves	Shawnee	Pottawatomie
Glen Ham	Pauls Valley	Garvin
Clem M. Hamilton	Heavener	Latimer, LeFlore
Fred R. Harris	Lawton	Comanche, Cotton
Bill Haworth	Muskogee	Muskogee
Ryan Kerr	Altus	Jackson, Tillman
Robert C. Lollar	Miami	Delaware, Ottawa
Leroy McClendon	Idabel	McCurtain, Pushmataha
S. S. McColgin	Reydon	Dewey, Ellis, Roger Mills
Arthur G. McComas	Elk City	Beckham
Clem McSpadden	Chelsea	Nowata, Rogers
Hal L. Muldrow	Norman	Cleveland, McClain
Robert M. Murphy	Stillwater	Creek, Payne
Allen G. Nichols	Wewoka	Pontotoc, Seminole
Tom Payne, Jr.	Okmulgee	Okmulgee, Wagoner
Jean L. Pazoureck	El Reno	Canadian
Louis H. Ritzhaupt	Guthrie	Logan
Cleeta John Rogers	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Richard E. Romang	Enid	Garfield
Roy Schoeb	Cherokee	Alfalfa, Major
Alfred Stevenson	Holdenville	Hughes, Okfuskee
Gene Stipe	McAlester	Pittsburg
Tom Tipps	Ardmore	Carter
Bob A. Trent	Caney	Atoka, Coal
John C. Wilkerson, Jr.	Pryor	Craig, Mayes
G. O. Williams	Woodward	Woods, Woodward
Basil R. Wilson	Mangum	Greer, Harmon

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[1] The names of the State Senators are here given in alphabetical order with their home towns and the one, or more counties represented within their districts. The State's 77 counties make up 36 Senatorial Districts, not numbered in this list.

STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 1963 [2]

Name	*Address*	*County*
Lonnie L. Abbott	Ada	Pontotoc
Red Andrews	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Harlon S. Avey	Okemah	Okfuskee
Bryce Baggett	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Herman L. Baumert	Coalgate	Coal
Donald W. Beauchamp	Lawton	Comanche
Spencer T. Bernard	Rush Springs	Grady
Earl W. Bilyeu	Keota	Haskell
Maynard E. Blackard	Muldrow	Sequoyah
G. T. Blankenship	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Art F. Bower	Fairview	Major
W. D. Bradley	Waurika	Jefferson
Bill Briscoe	Claremore	Rogers
Bill Bull	Muskogee	Muskogee
James W. Burger	Ponca City	Kay
William R. Burkett	Woodward	Woodward
W. W. Burnett	Wynnewood	Garvin
James F. Burnham	Canton	Blaine
J. W. Bynum	Locust Grove	Mayes
Ed Cole	Okmulgee	Okmulgee
Brian F. Conaghan	Tonkawa	Kay
James W. Connor	Bartlesville	Washington
Jim Cook	Wilburton	Latimer
Barbour Cox	Chandler	Lincoln
Tracy Daugherty	Walters	Cotton
Ray Lewis Davis	Blackwell	Kay
Larry Dale Derryberry	Norman	Jackson
M. A. Diel	Clinton	Custer
Henry Dolezal	Perry	Noble
C. W. Doornbos	Bartlesville	Washington
W. Timothy Dowd	Tulsa	Tulsa
Carl G. Etling	Boise City	Cimarron
Heber Finch, Jr.	Sapulpa	Creek
Stona Fitch	Wetumka	Hughes
Dick Fogarty	Guthrie	Logan
J. B. Fowler	Hollis	Harmon
George Russell Gear	Guymon	Texas
Robert L. Goodfellow	Anadarko	Caddo
Don R. Greenhaw	Sentinel	Washita
James H. Gungoll	Enid	Garfield
Laurence W. Gunnison	Tulsa	Tulsa
Ralph W. Hamilton	Norman	Cleveland
Raymond Bruce Hammer	Lone Grove	Carter
Bill T. Harper	Stilwell	Adair
Jack M. Harrison	May	Ellis
Jake E. Hesser	Stillwater	Payne
Homer R. Holcomb	Sayre	Beckham
Wayne Holden	Duncan	Stephens
Guy K. Horton	Altus	Jackson
Laurence P. Howze	Seminole	Seminole
Harold V. Hunter	Waukomis	Garfield
Elmo B. Hurst	Mangum	Greer
Walter Hutchins	Lawton	Comanche
J. M. Kardokus	Apache	Caddo

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[2] The names of members of the State House of Representatives are given in alphabetical order, with their home towns and their counties.

Name	*Address*	*County*
George C. Keyes	Jones	Oklahoma
A. J. Lance	Alex	Grady
Merle Lansden	Beaver	Beaver
Clayton H. Lauer	Buffalo	Harper
John T. Levergood	Shawnee	Pottawatomie
Paul G. Liebmann	El Reno	Canadian
J. D. McCarty	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Tom McChristian	McAlester	Pittsburg
Pat S. McCue	Miami	Ottawa
John W. McCune	Tulsa	Tulsa
John Massey	Durant	Bryan
William W. Metcalf	Hobart	Kiowa
Jodie S. Moad	Cheyenne	Roger Mills
Burke G. Mordy	Ardmore	Carter
Harold D. Morgan	Vinita	Craig
Joseph E. Mountford	Miami	Ottawa
A. L. Murrow	Dacoma	Woods
Joe E. Musgrave	Tulsa	Tulsa
E. D. Nichols	Leedey	Dewey
Delmas L. Northcutt	Willis	Marshall
Jack Odom	Norman	Cleveland
Martin Odom	Hichita	McIntosh
V. H. Odom	Wagoner	Wagoner
Bert F. Page	Enid	Garfield
Frank G. Patterson	Grandfield	Tillman
Milton W. Priebe	Kingfisher	Kingfisher
Rex Privett	Maramec	Pawnee
Raymond William Reed	Wewoka	Seminole
Ralph S. Rhoades	Tulsa	Tulsa
Clive Rigsby	Ada	Pontotoc
Clarence D. Robertson, Jr.	Wapanucka	Johnston
Russell Ruby	Muskogee	Muskogee
Max Rust	Muskogee	Muskogee
Garfield Settles	Millerton	McCurtain
William K. Shibley	Bristow	Creek
Bill Shipley	Alluwe	Nowata
Jack R. Skaggs	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
William H. Skeith	McAlester	Pittsburg
Norman A. Smith	Purcell	McClain
Wiley Sparkman	Grove	Delaware
H. L. Sparks	Cushing	Payne
Lucien C. Spear	Hugo	Choctaw
Tom Stevens	Shawnee	Pottawatomie
Tom E. Strickland	Stratford	Garvin
Jerome Sullivan, Jr.	Duncan	Stephens
Pauline Tabor	Durant	Bryan
J. Thomas Taggart	Oklahoma City	Oklahoma
Jim Taliaferro	Lawton	Comanche
Tom D. Tate	Tulsa	Osage
Richard F. Taylor	Tulsa	Tulsa
Alfred Thomas	Lawton	Comanche
Harold Thomas	Atoka	Atoka
Lynn Thornhill	Wakita	Grant
Virgil B. Tinker	Fairfax	Osage
Tom Traw	Arkoma	LeFlore
Ray Tucker	Finley	Pushmataha
Scott Edward Tuxhorn	Helena	Alfalfa
Ralph Vandiver	Heavener	LeFlore

Ralph Watkins	El Reno	Canadian
Mort A. Welch	Broken Bow	McCurtain
Carl Williams	Sulphur	Murray
Willard O. Willis	Marietta	Love
William P. Willis	Tahlequah	Cherokee
Douglas C. Wixson	Tulsa	Tulsa
Leland Wolf	Noble	Cleveland
Tommie J. Yates	Henryetta	Okmulgee

BOOK REVIEWS

Arthur Capper. Publisher, Politician, Philosopher by Homer E. Socolofsky. (University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, 1962. Pp. 232. Notes and Index. Illustrations. $6.00.)

This is a biography that many of Kansas and neighboring states have always wanted. Even though the native Kansan, Arthur Capper, was known to everyone, no one actually was ever really close to the man to be able to reveal him as he was. Writer Socolofsky has attempted to bring out the virtues, the thinking, the activities and the business acumen of this man who was known to be strongly loyal to the Republican political party but a "lone-wolf" politician just the same.

Homer E. Socolofsky does a fine job tracing Capper through his day by day growth from his immigrant father and Quaker mother through western Kansas schools and the days when he became a printer in Topeka. He traces step by step as Capper attains his first ownership of a newspaper. He follows through in detail all of the many other acquisitions until the Capper publishing empire reached over the five million circulation and the final disposition of these properties.

Even though the wind up of the affairs of the Senator are not too interesting these items are detailed and bring out the outstanding traits of character and humanitarianism of the Senator: his love for children and his great endeavor at endowment, support and promotion of the crippled children's program of work for Kansas.

The writer also pictures Arthur Capper as the Senator. He expresses the philosophies, particularly those of "Stay Out of War" but when in war, "Fight to the Finish." The Senator is also shown as the leader of the Agricultural block in the Senate through the years. He spent much effort and time trying to improve the lot of the farmers. He even made great gains with a Democratic President but later opposed this President because of his deep loyalty to his own political party.

The author describes the personality of Senator Capper as very quiet, unobtrusive, polite, never boastful and a man who never gave orders but more or less said on each occasion, "Let's do so and so. . . ." He regarded his employees as members of a great family. He was loyal to them all through the years. He did not argue with them even though at times some of his own editors disagreed with something he had said or done in public life.

Capper had the ability to draw good administrators around himself. He was able to keep them with him until they began to think and act as he did. He was a definite "teetotaling" prohibitionist and worked with any movements to ban the sale of intoxicants in his state. About the only criticism he received as a business man was that he accepted advertising in his publications that were harmful to the welfare of the people. This he denied. He was a leader in policing advertising, often turning down many thousands of dollars worth of paid publicity because he thought it was unworthy.

Capper was a man who tried to head all of his enterprise and hold his office under his own leadership. He did well in maintaining that position until his death at eighty-six—a long life in a great state. He always kept his finger on the pulse of opinion of the people. He had the ability to interpret what the people were thinking and wanting. Because of this, he was elected to office by increasing majorities seven times even though the country would change to other political leadership.

From a biographical standpoint one will eagerly enjoy the first 85 per cent of the book. One will not even want to lay the book down. The latter part of the book is interesting if the reader should want to finish the details of the business attainments, concluding observations, acquisitions and distributions.

—Joe W. McBride

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

My Life on the Plains. By General George Armstrong Custer, with an introduction by Edgar I. Stewart (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1962. Pp. 418. $5.95).

Much of the color and glamour surrounding George Armstrong Custer grew from his own published accounts of his adventures. Originally published serially in *The Galaxy* magazine, starting in May, 1872, Custer displays the flair for the glamourous and flamboyant that was his most distinguishing characteristic.

Although he had been nothing better than an average student at the United States Military Academy, Custer developed into a serious student after the close of the Civil War with his special interests being history and literature. His writing ability shows a great talent in ignoring his mistakes and, instead, building his reputation as an Indian fighter.

An early edition of *My Life on the Plains* is not too difficult to obtain, but for the first time there is combined in a single volume an excellent introduction by Edgar I. Stewart and the reprint of a pamphlet entitled *Some Corrections of "Life on the Plain,"* by General W. B. Hazen.

Mr. Stewart, without doubt, is our foremost authority on Custer. His introduction presents a skillful background to the action described. More important, the reader is given a clear insight into the character and temperament of Custer.

General Hazen felt compelled to answer charges Custer made about him in regard to the Battle of the Washita during the Winter Campaign of 1868. Custer vigorously denounced Hazen's interference in protecting the Indians (Kiowa) from attack.

During his life, Custer was surrounded by controversy and even more so after his death. This new edition of his *My Life on the Plains* will be interesting and rewarding to all Custer enthusiasts and readers of Western Americana.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JANUARY 24, 1963

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the Board of Directors Room on Thursday, January 24, 1963. President Shirk called the meeting to order at 10:00 a.m.

Mr. Fraker called the roll. Those present were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydston, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Miss Genevieve Seger and Mr. George H. Shirk, President.

Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Anna B. Korn and Mr. H. Milt Phillips asked to be excused. Mr. Allard made the motion that they be excused. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Shirk asked for reports of the various committees.

Mr. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, made his report, which included a report as to the new members, both Life and Annual, and the gifts presented to the Society during the quarter. Miss Seger moved that the applicants for membership be elected as members and that the gifts be accepted. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Mrs. George L. Bowman read her report as Treasurer of the Society for the period from October 1, 1962 to December 31, 1962.

Mr. Shirk passed around the monthly reports of the non-appropriated funds of the Society and called attention to the renewals in membership.

Mr. Fraker reported for the Microfilm Committee in the absence of Mr. Phillips. Mr. Shirk said that the Microfilm Department employees were to be commended, along with the Newspaper librarian, for the good work they were doing.

Mr. McBride reported that he had no report as Chairman of the Publications Committee as it was impossible for the committee to meet when called; that a meeting would be held at 2:30 p.m., January 24, 1963.

President Shirk said that the Historic Sites Committee had met twice; that their goal has been to erect one marker a month, but this has been exceeded.

Mr. Bass reported as Chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He said the newspapers have cooperated in publishing the day-by-day paragraphs; that he is keeping a scrap book of those articles and would like to see them published in book form; and that the Bibliography is being prepared by Dr. A. M. Gibson and Mrs. Dorothy Williams. The State Highway Commission, said Mr. Bass, is preparing a beautfiul map of the Civil War in Oklahoma on the back of the 1963 official highway map now being published.

Attention was called by Judge Busby to the Bibliography of the Cherokee Indians being prepared under the auspices of James J. Hill.

Dr. Morrison reported on the Fort Washita Restoration Commission work, stating the Highway Department is now in the process of setting up a roadside park; that the Merrick Foundation of Ardmore is providing $30,000.00 to be used for restoration work at Fort Washita this summer, which he hoped may be the beginning of annual contributions for several years; and that there is possibility that another fund will be also available to supplement the generosity of the Merrick Foundation.

As Chairman of the Tour Committee, Mr. R. G. Miller suggested that the next tour be run West and Southwest. He asked to be relieved as Director of the Tour due to his lack of time. Mr. Allard made a motion that Mr. and Mrs. Miller be guests of the Society from now on on the annual tours, as a token of appreciation for the outstanding service Mr. Miller had rendered to the Society in organizing and directing previous tours. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and unanimously adopted.

After expressing regret at Mr. Miller's finding it inadvisable to continue as Chairman of the Tour Committee, President Shirk recommended that Mr. Fraker be made Tour Director for 1963. The Board concurred in the recommendation. Mrs. Bowman was named Chairman of the Tour Committee. After some discussion, it was determined that the tour be on June 6, 7, and 8, 1963.

Mr. Shirk stated that the Oklahoma Historical Society will be 70 years old on May 27, 1963, and that subject to the approval of the Board, the Executive Committee proposed an "Open House" to be held on May 26 and 27, 1963; that the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce would extend all possible assistance; that some outstanding exhibits have been arranged; and that Lowe Runkle Advertising Company has agreed to take on the entire project as a public service. He also said plans called for the Annual meeting of the Society to be held on May 27, and that a reception for the Legislature and Governor should be held. Mr. Curtis made the motion that the suggested plans for the Open House on May 26 and 27, 1963, be approved, and that the annual meeting of the Society be held on the morning of May 27 in the Society's Auditorium. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion, which passed. Mr. Allard suggested the reception for the Legislature and Governor be held on Monday, the 27th of May. Mr. Shirk then appointed Mr. Robert Newton, a member of the Society, of Oklahoma City, as General Chairman of the Open House Committee.

Dr. Harbour brought up the matter of the humidor from the Battleship Oklahoma having been removed from the collection in the museum, and said that Mrs. Cook, of the museum staff, did not tell her it was gone, as inferred in certain minutes of the Board and published in The Chronicles. Dr. Johnson moved that those minutes be deleted so far as they referred to Mrs. C. E. Cook. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion. Dr. Johnson then stated that his motion was to ascertain simply whether the statement about Mrs. Cook as it appeared in the former minutes, was actually made in the Board meeting, and if it was not, then that it should be deleted. Judge Busby moved, with the second of Mr. Curtis, that the motion be tabled. The motion to table was adopted, with Dr. Johnson voting in the negative.

Mr. Shirk then read from Section 3, Article IV of the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, pertaining to the annual election of Directors, and stated that a petition was filed, properly signed, for the nomination of Mr. Richard Cloyd of Norman, as a Director.

He then asked Mr. McBride, Mr. Muldrow and Mrs. Bowman to retire and certify the election of the Directors to the Board as provided by Article IV.

Mr. Muldrow stated that Mr. Shirk had read the ballots with Miss Atkins standing behind him to check, and Mr. McBride, Mr. Fraker, and himself, tallying. The result of the election, he announced, for five Directors was: Judge Busby, 394 votes; Dr. Morrison, 379 votes; Mr. Boydston, 370 votes; Mr. Cloyd, 363 votes; Mr. Finney, 357 votes, and Dr. Johnson, 336 votes. He then made the motion that the report be accepted, with Judge Busby, Dr. Morrison, Mr. Boydston, Mr. Cloyd and Mr. Finney being elected as Directors of the Society for the five year term beginning January, 1963, in accordance with the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

"I would like to say," Dr. Johnson remarked, "that I have greatly enjoyed my service on this Board, and further, that I consider myself the most expendable of the five nominees who were members of the Board. I would now like to excuse myslf."

Mr. Shirk advised that the matter of the stagecoach was now settled, and that vandalism insurance in the sum of $3,500.00 had been acquired at an annual cost of $80.00. Mr. Miller made a motion that this insurance be continued. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, which passed.

In connection with the next quarterly meeting of the Board, Mr. Shirk observed that the Oklahoma Press Association has a new building; that the Press Association is the "god-father" of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and that it has invited the Board of Directors to hold its next meeting on the 27th of May in its board room. The plan was approved unanimously.

Mr. Shirk then appointed Mr. McBride, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, with Lou Allard, Henry B. Bass, Joe Curtis, Milt Phillips, Elmer L. Fraker, and George H. Shirk, as members.

Dr. Chapman called attention to an article by Dr. Angie Debo relative to the first Civil War Battle in Oklahoma and that it had not been published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma;* that the Payne County Historical Society started the project of locating this battle site fifteen years ago, and wants to finish the project by publishing this article during the Civil War Centennial. After much discussion, Mr. Bass moved that Dr. Debo's article be published in *The Chronicles.* Mr. Miller seconded that motion. Judge Busby moved to amend the above motion to read "that the Board of Directors hereby directs the publication in a forthcoming issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* a manuscript that has been in the possession of the Editor over the name of Dr. Angie Debo, containing her analysis of the first battle in the War between the States fought in Oklahoma, and that the publication be preceded by a suitable headnote prepared personally by the Publications Committee, which headnote will state that the Board of Directors of the Society has never at any time indicated its official determination of where it believes the battle to have taken place, but that this article is presented in a spirit of reflecting both sides of any meritorious historical research by eminent historians." The amendment was seconded by Mr. Allard and upon a vote, adopted. The motion as amended was then adopted.

Governor Henry Bellmon was escorted into the Board of Directors room by Mr. Bass. The members of the Board were presented to him by Mr. Shirk who remarked that the Governor is an Ex-officio member of the Board. He then called on Governor Bellmon for any remarks he might wish to make.

In his remarks, the Governor said: "It is an honor for me to have this opportunity to meet with you briefly. I am sure that you know that the first few weeks are busy for a new governor. I want to tell you if you don't already know that my father and mother were pioneers in Oklahoma. I have a high regard for the history of our state. You have a Chief Executive that will work with the Society and help advertise our state and help encourage visitors from other cities and states. My wife has been in contact with someone over here and she is making arrangements to borrow some of your treasures to use in the mansion. She has an interest in antiques and they will be carefully kept and returned to you in as good shape as when she got them. I also would invite the curator to display any items he would like in the governor's office. There is a lot of traffic there right now.

"I don't know what you expect of me. I will cooperate with you. I am sure you will ask for an additional budget. If you have a reasonable request, I will give you whatever support the administration can. I would like to see the Historical Building used by the young folks. And now I would like to put one thing straight: my father did not make the Run. At the time of the Run, he was nineteen years of age. He proved up on a relinquishment. My mother came in 1907 and taught school in Noble County. My wife's grandfathers both made the Run and are original settlers." Governor Bellmon then introduced Mr. Andrew Hickam, his administrative assistant.

Mr. Shirk stated that the Society felt honored that Mrs. Bellmon, as one of her first official acts, had visited the Oklahoma Historical Building and spent the afternoon inspecting the exhibits.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, Judge Johnson moved that the meeting adjourn. A second was made by Miss Seger and the motion was adopted.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

LIST OF GIFTS

LIBRARY

1. *Some Recollections of Indian Territory Days*—W. J. Milburn
   Donor: Ed Gill, Muskogee
2. Two physicians certificates, 1905, 1906.
   Donor: Charles Benjamin Taylor
3. 5 copies *Americas* Magazine
   Donor: Mrs. Ladys A. Warren, Oklahoma City
4. "An Oklahoma Oil Family"—Thomas N. Berry
   Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City
5. *Dufordring til den Homaendte af Richard Baxter,* Copenhagen, 1843
   Swinton's Progressive English Grammar, 1872
   Independent Fifth Reader, 1876
   Analytical Fourth Reader, 1867

Book for Daily Religious Reading (Printed in Danish)
Psalm Book (Printed in Danish), Sleswig, 1804
Donor: A. Catherine Coles, Stillwater

6. "Oklahoma Poetry" November 1962
Donor: Leslie McRill, Oklahoma City

7. "Brief Biography of Murray (Alfalfa Bill) the Statesman and Sage of Oklahoma" 12 newspaper clippings on William H. Murray
Donor: W. L. Waldon, Oklahoma City

8. "Indian Land Law"—C. L. McArthur
Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City

9. Historical and Recreational Map of the Muskogee Area
Donor: Mrs. Turner Bagg, Muskogee

10. "Your Introduction to Oklahoma City"
"Oklahoma City from A to Z"
Donor: Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce

11. *Through Embassy Eyes*—Martha Dodd
Collection of 19 European guide books issued to American Expeditionary Forces, World War II
German-English pocket dictionary issued to German troops for invasion of England
Group of three "Special Orders for American-German Relations"
Photograph of Hermann Goering
Postcard of Adolf Hitler
"A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Masterpieces of European Painting, Rome, 1944"
Map of Cairo
"Handbook for Emergency Battlefield Burials and Graves Registration by Troops"
French map of the Pacific Ocean
"International Convention relative of the Treatment of Prisoners of War"
Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 for the Protection of War Victims
"Oklahoma County Bar Association, 1962"
Newspaper clipping on Fort Sill—*Lawton Constitution Morning Press,* Jan. 6, 1963
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

12. "Oklahoma Land Records"—Berlin B. Chapman
22 copies of lists of searchers at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Letter from W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa, Oklahoma containing a copy of "Hopoeithleyohola of the Creeks"
Questionnaire on Ora E. Mohler
Biographical sketch of Ora E. Mohler
Letter from Valerie Brown, Tampa, Florida
Copy of translation of letter from Comanche Indian chiefs, 1867
"Norman as Recorded in the Oklahoma Tract Books"
Photocopy of *The Wichita Daily Beacon,* July 29, 1901
"The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet, Oklahoma"—Anthony F. Rice
Zerox copy of Peter L. Mason's homestead papers, Guthrie, 1890
Donor: Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater

13. Microfilm: 1860 Illinois (Shelby-Wabash Counties)
Donor: Mrs. Richard M. Hansen, Duncan

14. U.S.S. Oklahoma City Evolution CL-91 (1944-1947)—CLG-5 (1960)
    Donor: Governor Henry Bellmon, Oklahoma City

15. "Much About Totems"
    Donor: Pacific Northern Airlines

16. Microfilm: 1870 Census of Georgia (Chatham-Colquitt Counties)
    Donor: Mrs. Esther Baggett, Oklahoma City

17. 59 issues of *The National Geographic Magazine* 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962
    Donor: Bob Wilkins, Oklahoma City

18. *The State Parks*—Freeman Tilden
    Donor: U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

19. *My Journal*—James Manford Carselowey
    Donor: O. K. Bivens, Oklahoma City

20. *Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War*—Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Beers
    Donor: National Archives, Washington, D.C.

21. *Brewed in America*—Stanley Baron
    Donor: Lone Star Brewing Company, San Antonio

22. *Formative Years in the Far West*—Gerald T. White
    Donor: Standard Oil Company of California, San Francisco

23. *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* Volume 10
    Donor: Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota

24. "Outline Calendar of the Rise and Fall of Governor J. C. Walton"
    Donor: Mr. W. D. Grisso, Oklahoma City

25. Photostat copy of letter from Park Hill dated 1846
    Donor: J. L. Hargett, Okmulgee

26. Photostat copy of *The Washington Telegraph,* Washington, Arkansas, July 19, 1843
    2 Nursery lists from Marshall, Missouri 1890, 1892
    Advertisement of auction at Marshall, Missouri, 1883
    List of members under the eldership of Foster Bartlett, Marshall, Missouri
    Advertisement: Boston, 1885
    Advertisement: Kirksville, Missouri
    Newspaper clippings
    Donor: Judge Harry Lemley, Hope, Arkansas

GIFTS RECEIVED

MUSEUM

Elizabeth Borden, Color photograph
Donor: Elizabeth Borden

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Warren Payne
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman

Consistory Class at Guthrie, 1916
162nd Depot Brigade World War I
Washington School

Irving School
Book of pictures of Oklahoma City
Donor: Mrs. Wesley J. Peshek

Malmaison, Home of Greenwood LeFlore, Greenwood, Mississippi
Guest House at Malmaison
Front Door and Columns at Malmaison
Dining room, Malmaison
Parlor Malmaison
Grounds at Malmaison
Hall and Stairway at Malmaison
Interior showing grand piano
Greenwood LeFlore's carriage
Interior scene, Malmaison
Stairway at Malmaison
Interior showing mantle, clock and oil paintings
Greenwood LeFlore's carriage with Negro coachman
Donor: Copied from negatives secured by George Shirk

James Europe's "Million Dollar Band"
Donor: John E. Witherspoon

Sequoyah's Cabin
Donor: Planning and Resources Board

Photograph of an envelope carried on the Butterfield Overland Mail
Donor: George Shirk

Photograph of medal given to Levi Colbert by John Quincy Adams
Photograph of flag carried by Levi Colbert in Battle of New Orleans
Donor: Meyers Photo Shop

Exhibits:
Document, appointment for special police officer
Donor: Mrs. Wesley J. Peshek

Brick from old New Hope School
Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook

Spectacles, owned by Uriah D. Murray
Donor: William L. Weldon

Plate, gold hand painted
Donor: Virginia Worley Allhands

Flag, with 15 stars and 15 stripes
Donor: Mrs. J. H. Collins

Tag, automobile license plate, 1962 number 1-1108
Donor: George Shirk

Medal, Abraham Lincoln Commemorative Medal
Medal, Lindbergh, "Medal of Congress"
Medal, Research and Industry, Chicago Exposition 1933
Badge, Reserve Officers Association Convention 1940
Donor: George Shirk

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Cover: The front cover of this summer number of *The Chronicles* gives a photo taken by George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on May 27, 1963 during the noon hour at which time three flags floated over the State Capitol, in commemoration of the Oklahoma Historical Society's 71st Birthday. This scene in color shows the gable end of the south wing, over the main entrance to the State Capitol Building. The three flags are seen afloat from the flagstaff: At the top of the staff, is the old United States Flag with 46 stars commemorating Oklahoma as the 46th State in the Union, admitted in 1907; the 2nd flag below, is the Confederate Flag (the accepted replica of the "Confederate Battle Flag") commemorating the Centennial period of the American Civil War, in which the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) had an important part on the Western Frontier; the 3rd flag below on the staff is the Oklahoma State Flag with its field of azure blue and central design which shows an Indian warrior's shield superimposed by an Indian peace pipe crossed by the laurel branch, the White Man's symbol of peace.

THOMAS JEFFERSON HARRISON

*By John C. Wilkerson, Jr.**

A hallowed life was that of Thomas J. Harrison, a citizen of Pryor, citizen of Oklahoma, citizen of mankind. He was born on March 7, 1885, at Fayetteville, Arkansas, and lived in Pryor from 1892 until his death on March 18, 1963. His mortal soul was consecrated to the Master in services held at the First Methodist Church in Pryor on March 21, 1963. It should be noted that a reverent city, mourning the passing of a noble son, suspended all operations during the funeral.

He is survived by his brother, Welch Harrison, and a sister, Mrs. O. R. Graham, both of Pryor. His wife, Bea, preceded him in death in early 1962.

What words can be found to describe the illustrious life Thomas Jefferson Harrison lived in our midst. Nothing good in this community escaped his touch, and everything he touched was bettered.

He was a member of the Masonic Lodge, the Knights Templar in Muskogee, and a charter member of the Pryor Rotary Club, which he helped form. He served sixteen years as Mayor of Pryor in the 1920's and 30's, and also was City Treasurer. Known throughout Oklahoma for his interest in the history of Oklahoma, he was probably best remembered for his collection of historical documents. He owned one of the country's most famous Bible collections, including some of the earliest ever printed.

No greater tribute can be paid to a man than to say that he was a good Christian. Thomas J. Harrison was that, in the true meaning of the word. Ask any friend, any neighbor who came in contact with him and one will receive the glowing account of an ordinary but exceptionally fine citizen. If he had a single philosophy, it was to leave every little corner of his world better for his having been there.

He helped organize the Pryor Chamber of Commerce, the Mayes County Free Fair, and the Mayes County Poultry As-

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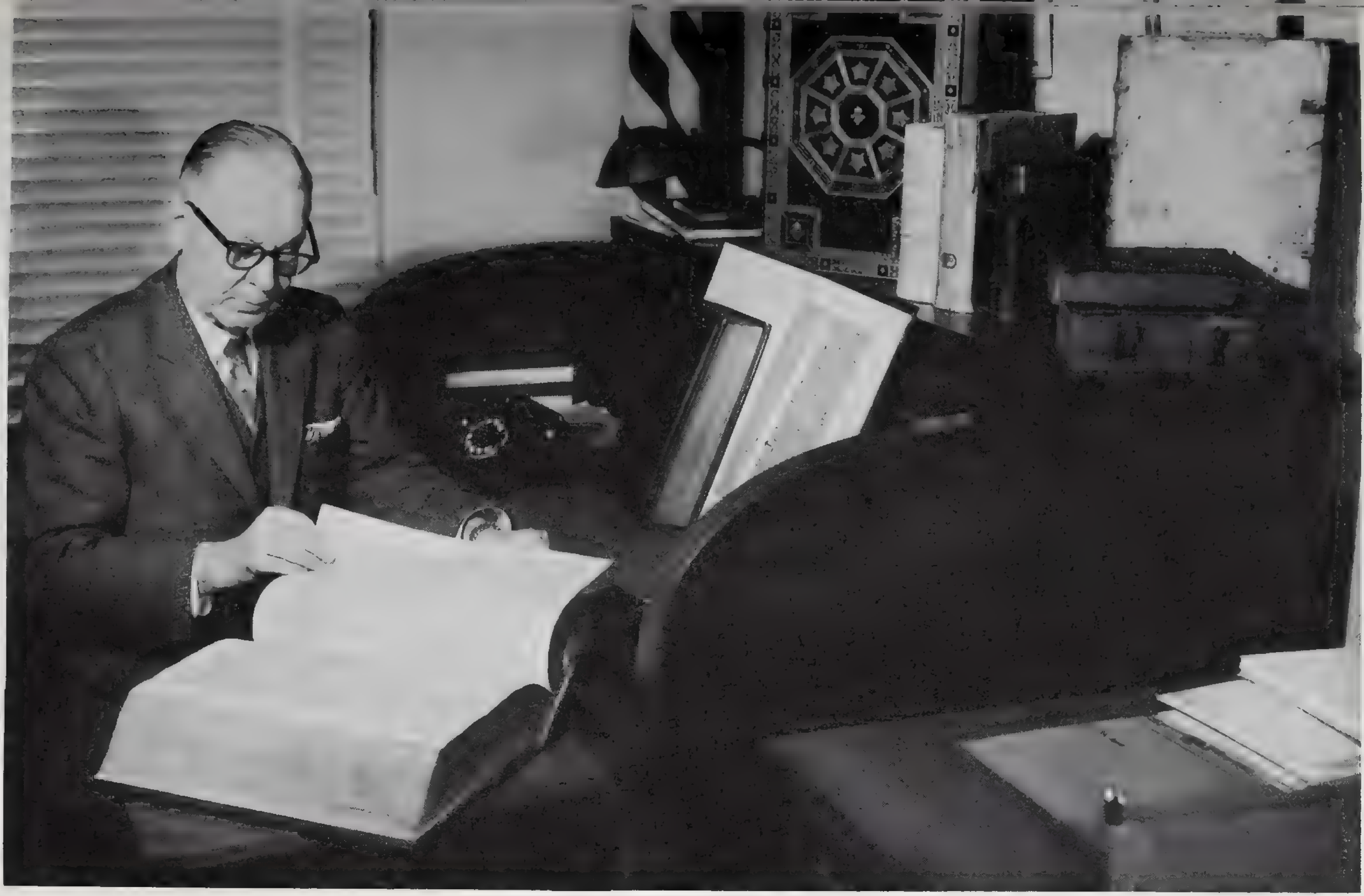
*This tribute on the life of the late Hon. Thomas J. Harrison, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was prepared and read by his friend and neighbor, State Senator John C. Wilkerson, Jr., before the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, May 27, 1963. Senator Wilkerson makes his home in Pryor, and has served several terms in the State Senate, elected by the citizens of Craig and Mayes counties, District 29 of Oklahoma.—Ed.



THOMAS J. HARRISON

Seated at his desk showing some of the noted Bibles of his fine collection that includes such original items as the Matthew Bible of 1548, the Great Bible of 1540, the Geneva Bible of 1582, the Bishop Bible of 1568 and the King James of 1611.

sociation. He was the first president of the East and West Trail Association, which later became Oklahoma State Highway 20.

Mr. Harrison was a diligent worker and at great personal and financial sacrifice, he helped perpetuate and preserve the colorful history of Oklahoma, and for this he will be remembered long after those of us gathered here are gone. Among his endeavors was the establishment of a new and modern library for Pryor which, under his personal guidance, opened its doors in 1939. He donated 1,000 books at that time and continued to give books and periodicals to the library, including literally hundreds which he paid for from his pocket. His life's dream came true in 1958 when the new $100,000 Pryor Library was dedicated. One of his last gifts to the library was a new flag of the State of Oklahoma.

Elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1941, he was a member of many committees through the years, including the Oklahoma House and Grounds Committee, Oklahoma Historical Day Committee at Salina, Will Rogers Birthplace Committee, and others.

A visionary, he was a prime mover behind the State's acquisition of several sites of significant historical value. Some of these he purchased from his own funds and donated to the State, and on several occasions paid for shelters erected at these sites for the comfort of visitors. He contributed documents of historical significance to the Oklahoma Historical Society in the year preceding his death.[1]

A man ought to first be known for what he contributes to the welfare of his community, not only in monetary matters, if he is able, but more particularly in civic, spiritual and matters of good will. This is where Thomas J. Harrison's star shines above all others.

The writer has counseled with him many times on personal and political problems, and knows that he is only one of scores who have been aided by Mr. Harrison's wise counsel. How proud one is to say that Mr. Harrison was a neighbor in his hometown! He was a personality who most of those who knew him can only hope to have the opportunity of knowing and working with but once in a lifetime. He was overly generous with his material goods, but most importantly, with the goodness of his heart. One of his philosophies of life was that after all, life is but the memory one leaves behind. He always strived to leave happy memories. All who knew him, and they are many, will say Thomas J. Harrison fulfilled his aim in his life time, and left the world a better place in which to live.

---

[1] "Thomas J. Harrison Collection of Rare Pamphlets" listed and catalogued by Mrs. Rella Looney in the Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Socety, appears in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Summer, 1962). pp. 195-199.—Ed.

FERDINANDINA: FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN OKLAHOMA

By Leslie A. McRill

Introduction

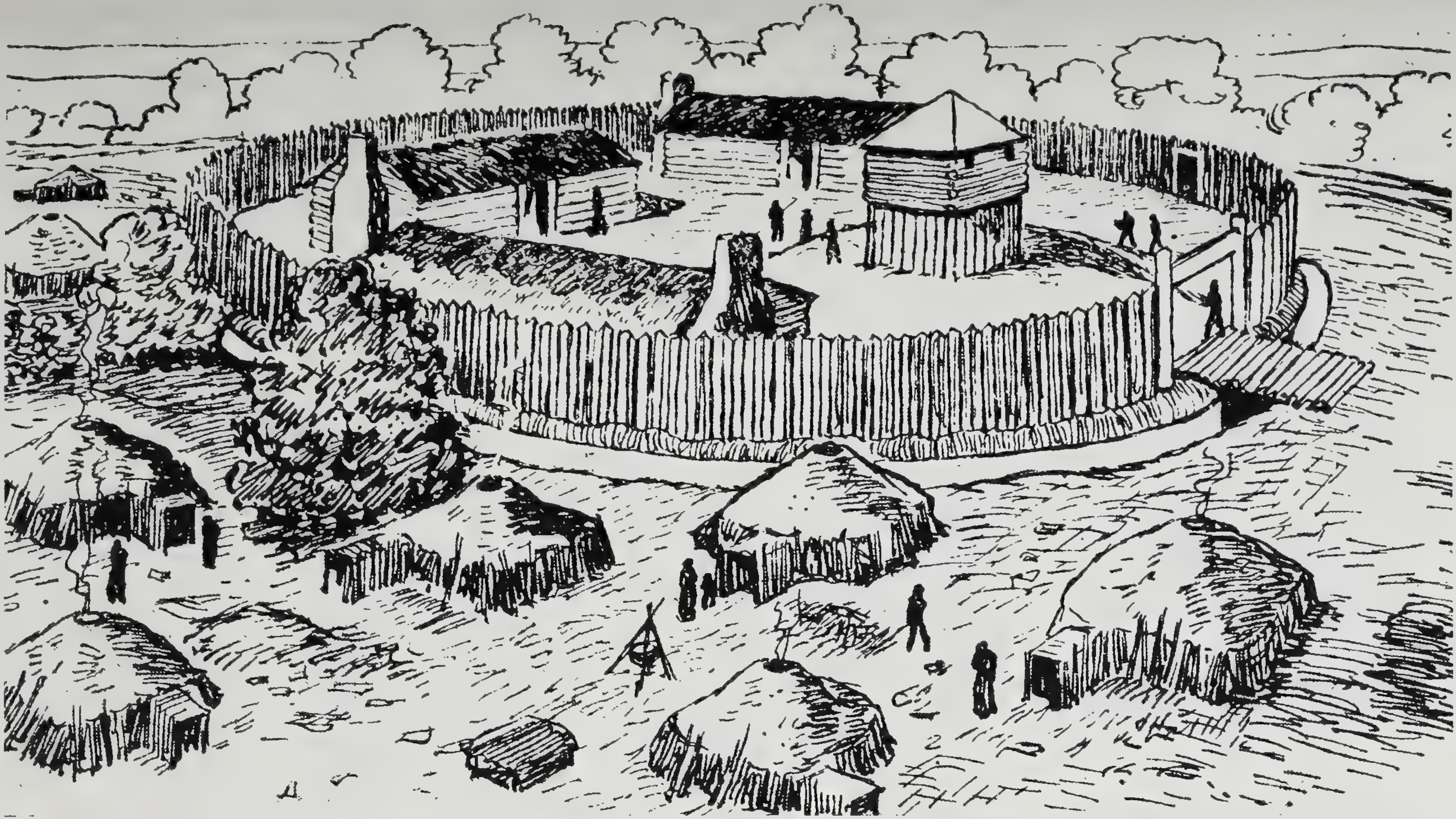
Much has been written from time to time concerning the trading post on the Arkansas River in northern Oklahoma, designated on old English maps as "Ferdinandina." It is the purpose of this article to gather together whatever has been learned about this first location of white men in establishing a settled post with the intent of trading with the Indian of that far-away day, two hundred years ago.

So without claiming any monopoly on the information, we bring together as much as we have been able to discover, after reading the French accounts and related materials. To these old writers the results of the research have been quoted, done by Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn in his excavating and establishing the exact location of two or three of the villages of the Pani in the Arkansas River valley. These villages bear a very close relation to the villages mentioned by Claude du Tisné and described by him. Sources cited in the footnotes of this article have been read very carefully in an effort to bring to light every possible detail that may have an exact bearing on the study.

This study is divided here into two parts: The first will be the discoveries made by Claude du Tisné and Bénard de la Harpe. With these accounts, we shall review books by du Pratz and others that have some bearing on the subject in hand. The second part will be the discoveries made on the sites of these old Indian villages by Dr. Thoburn and notes given by residents who have had an interest in the sites for many years. Then a few observations will be made in the way of conclusions. It is hoped that this study will prove to be both interesting and informative to readers who are curious to know more about the oldest known white settlement in Oklahoma.

Part I

This study of the first settlement of white people in what is now Oklahoma falls naturally into two distinct parts: The first begins, so far as the white people are concerned in the year 1719. It is the forerunner of a "Forest Trading Post," as the Canadian French termed their posts, among the Caddoan Indian peoples along the Middle Arkansas River above the mouth of the Canadian and extending to the vicinity of the present Kansas state line.



(Sketch by L. P. Thompson, 1956, in **The Daily Oklahoman**)

An artist's conception of how Ferdinandina looked in the early 1700's, with the stockade trading post in the midst of the Indian village.

Lieutenant Charles Claude du Tisné, French explorer under the auspices of Sieur de Bienville, of New Orleans, acting for the French Colony of Louisiana, came to the Pani (Caddoan) Indian villages overland from the Illinois country, in this year (1719).[1] His purpose was to find out about the lands, the peoples, the trading possibilities and the likelihood of reaching the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, or at the very least discovering how to make a passageway through the unfriendly tribes particularly the Padouca (or Comanche) barring the direct route to Santa Fe. The French reports of explorers, voyageurs, and others give reasonably accurate accounts of conditions in the then unknown lands of "La Louisianne." In the same year, 1719, two representative explorers arrived with credentials from the same source, New Orleans. Bénard de la Harpe coming overland from the Red River country, in the present state of Louisiana by way of Southeastern Oklahoma, visited the Indian tribes located at the mouth of the Canadian and farther north along the Arkansas. He met in conclave with the several tribes at or near the present town of Haskell, in Muskogee County.[2] The purpose of all the French explorers of the time was to reach New Mexico and establish trading relations with the Spanish settlements.

This study begins with the different events that made it possible, as well as feasible, for the French to reach what is now Oklahoma, and lay the foundations for future explorations and settlements for trade. The French from Canada had already sent missionaries and traders down the Mississippi and up its tributaries to settle and establish the fur and hide traffic. Policies had been set by the Canadians so that trading with the Indians would be limited to themselves. But it was soon discovered that trading could not be thus controlled. Voyageurs, who were assigned to deliver missionaries to their posts, after having fulfilled that duty, would disappear, escaping down the river to set up their own fur trades with the natives, until laws were passed threatening the galleys for any Frenchman who left the Canadian colony without express permission. It was declared that the Indians should come to Montreal to trade and that traders should cease to go among them. Governor Frontenac opposed this policy and defended the system of French posts. One commentator has stated that Frontenac was right, that the opposing policy was impracticable, and "nothing less than a perpetual cordon of troops could have prevented the Canadians from escaping to the backwoods."[3]

---

[1] The term "Pani" refers to the Southern Pawnee of the Caddoan Linguistic stock which includes the Caddo, Wichita, Anadarko, Waco, Tawakoni and other tribes mentioned in ethnological and historical studies of the Caddoan peoples along the Arkansas and the Red rivers. For the early names of these tribes with the names by which they are known today, see editorial and explanatory notes by Joseph B. Thoburn for "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-1719" by Anna Lewis in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. II (Ref., *Cumulative Index,* compiled by Rella Looney, O.H.S., 1961).

[2] Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952), p. 247.

Thus, freedom of the rivers and back country was assured so far as the voyageurs and traders were concerned. This made possible all such enterprises for the future and may be seen as a foundation principle for the trading posts along the Arkansas River.

In the year 1717 "Lettres Patentes" were issued in Paris by the French Government establishing a Company of Commerce under the name of "Compagnie d'Occident."

This was two years before the explorations of Benard de la Harpe and Charles Claude du Tisne.[4] The contract was to be good, beginning January 1718, to last until December, 1742.[5]

But before the Company of the West mentioned above, a grant had been made in 1712 by the Louisiana authorities to a Sieur Crozat. Bolton in his "Historical Introduction to *Athanase de Mezieres* states:[6]

> Interest in the Red River country on the part of the French had been quickened by the Crozat grant of 1712. In that year the King ceded to Antoine Crozat, a fifteen-year monopoly of the trade of all the country between the Spanish and the English colonies. Of this grant, it has been said that "it ushered in a new era for the French colony—an era in which commercialism prevailed to the detriment of political and territorial interest."

Bolton's introduction to the de Mezieres volume states:

> To further the object of the Crozat grant Luis Juchereau de Saint Denis was sent in 1713 to the Natchitoches tribe to open up a trade with the Indians and using Father Hidalgo's letter as a pretext to try to establish an overland commerce with the Spaniards of Mexico.[7]

* * * * * *

> The supremacy of the French among the Caddo and the Wichita, excepting the Adaes tribe, in whose very midst the Spanish fort was planted, was from the outset almost complete, and the feeble efforts of the Spaniards to eradicate the French influence from among them were futile so long as Louisiana remained a French province.[8]

---

[3] Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV* (Boston, 1891).

[4] References to du Pratz in this article on Ferdinandina are translated from the original French by Mr. Leslie McRill, found in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, De Bure, l'aine etc., 1758), Vols. I-III.—Ed.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780.* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1914), Vol. I, p. 36.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

We learn from Captain Bossu of the French marines in his *Travels Through That Part of North America Called Louisiana* that "in 1719 M. de Crozat put Louisiana into the hands of the West India Company, who sent a thousand men to people it."[9]

In *A Memoir of John Law,* some light is thrown upon the activities of that gentleman in France and in the Louisiana trade circles:[10]

> There was much said of the magnificence and fertility of this new country, of the abundance of its products, of the richness of its mine . . . Law, taking advantage of this current of opinion, projected a company which should unite the commerce of Louisiana with the fur trade of Canada. The regent granted all he asked by an edict given in August 1717, fifteen months after the first establishment of the bank [in France].
>
> The new company received the title of the "West India Company." It was to have the sovereignty of all Louisiana on the condition only of liege to the King of France, and a crown of gold to thirty moncs at the commencement of every new reign . . ."
>
> Law promptly commenced the initiatory steps for the establishment projected in America. Vessels were armed, troops embarked, vagabonds and prostitutes were collected in order to send them to those solitudes which it was attempted to people. Grants of land were made, and Law rallied, even from the interior of Germany, farmers who went to Brest to embark.

The significance of all this activity in regard to the Oklahoma trading post on the Arkansas will be seen later in this study. Another source gives further information on the activities of this company to settle the Mississippi posts. M. Bossu, who came to the Louisiana country aboard the ship "Pontchartrain," was given a post on the Illinois five hundred leagues distant from New Orleans. It is interesting to know what he has said about the settlement of the country:[11]

> The Marquis de Vaudreuil is to receive twenty-four companies of marines, to augment the forces in Louisiana; these troops come on board of merchant ships, freighted for the King's account; there are likewise some female recruits enlisted in France who come to people these climates. Industrious soldiers who chuse to marry these girls, get their dismission, and a certain number of acres of ground to cultivate; they get victuals from the King for three years together, and he makes them a present of half a pound of gunpowder, and two pounds of shot every month; of a gun, a hatchet, a pickaxe, and corn to sow their fields, with a cow, a calf, cocks and hens, etc.

But an even more interesting part of the report is the following:[12]

---

[9] *Travels Through That Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana* by M. Bossu, Captain in the French Marines. Translated by J. R. Forster (London, 1771), Vol. I, p. 33.

[10] *The Mississippi Bubble, A Memoir of John Law.* By Adolphe Thiers (New York, 1859).

[11] Bossu, *op. cit.*

[12] *Ibid.* (The "wild nation called the Akancas" referred to here is the Siouan group known in history as the Quapaw.—Wright, *op. cit.* pp. 218-19.)

> The first places you come to on your voyage are two villages peopled with Germans, being the remainder of a grant made in 1720, by the King, to Mr. Law. This colony was to consist of Germans and Provencals, to the amount of 1500 persons; the ground for it was laid out near a wild nation called the Akancas; it was four leagues square and the colony was created into a duchy. They had already transported thither the ammunition and stores for a company of dragoons, and merchandise for the value of upwards a million of livres, but Mr. Law failed, and the India Company, which was at that time established in Louisiana, took possession of all the goods.
>
> The colonists separated and the Germans settled ten leagues above New Orleans; they are very laborious, and are looked upon as the providers and victuallers of the town. The two villages are under the direction of a Swedish captain.

The above letter of Mr. Bossu was dated September 10, 1751. It is interesting in this study for the facts stated. It is significant in that no mention is made of what became of the Provencals. They undoubtedly could look out for themselves and doubtless did so, very probably choosing other locations as fortune provided. Provence was the first Roman colony made in France, and it may well be that these natives from that part of France were the first men with the motto of "Go West, Young Man." Some of them may well have drifted up the Arkansas after the failure of their colony with the Akancas, and could have had a part in the establishment under study here.

In this connection it is of interest to note what Parkman, in his writings of Frontenac and his activities long before in setting the policies of the Canadian French, has to say of French settlements: "It was the nature of French colonization to seize upon detached strategic points, and hold them by the bayonet, forming no agricultural basis, but attracting the Indians by trade and holding them by conversion. A musket, a rosary and a pack of furs may serve to represent it, and in fact, it consisted of little else."[13] Evidently one of the changes made as to colonization mentioned in connection with Mr. Law was brought about by the fact that he was not a Frenchman, but rather attempted really to settle his new concession in America by bringing in the Germans who were farmers indeed.

Of the size and scope of Mr. Law's plan we have this information:[14]

> A celebrated episode of this period was the financial experiment of John Law, a Scotchman, who had gained the ear of the regent. His system involved the creation of a bank and the formation of a giant trading association known as the Mississippi Company. The government lent its credit to the bank, and granted the company for settlement the territory of Louisiana, the vast indefinite region in North America opened up to French enterprise by the explorations of LaSalle. Rumors

---

[13] Parkman, *op. cit.*

[14] P. C. Meyers, *Mediaeval and Modern History* (Boston, 1905).

were spread abroad of the discovery of mountains of gold and precious stones in the territories of the company. The shares of the association rose by leaps and bounds to fabulous prices. The end was soon reached. The inflated scheme, which was to make everybody "rich and happy," collapsed, spreading broadcast bankruptcy and financial ruin, and passed into history as "The Mississippi Bubble."

Another authority says, concerning the settlement of the country: "In 1729, a ship from Dunkerque brought to Louisiana 300 galley slaves, hardly a valuable contribution to the development of it, since few of them could be induced to take up any kind of work, let alone a laborious occupation like agriculture."[15]

Of some of the "vagabonds" brought over by M. Law, Bolton's *de Mézières* names a few. He savs: "Among the 'vagabonds' who came in we learn the names of Lami, Francis Beaudoin, a magnate of the Arkansas, and Francois Morvant."[16] Doubtless some of the vagabonds, so-called, were sharper than was thought. The Spanish document writers use "courreurs de bois," or "vagabond," and as a term of opprobrium.

There are important facts concerning the Pani Pique and Paniouassa settlements along the Arkansas in northern Oklahoma.[17] The visit of Claude du Tisné has already been mentioned. His written report and also Bénard de la Harpe's report concerning the visit of the year 1719 are as follows:

REPORT BY DU TISNÉ

The report by du Tisné is prefaced by a letter to M. de Bienville of New Orleans:[18]

Monsieur, I take the honor of writing you the present to beg you to continue to give me your protection; you know, Sir, that I have been obliged to relax with the Missouris, not having wished to leave to go to the Paniouassas, which has caused me to take that direction when I come back to the Illinois, to offer myself to M. de Boisbriant to go there across country, which he had allowed me to do. It is not without difficulty, my people having fallen ill on the march; as for me, I have been very well; I send you enclosed a little story of my trip.

When I have turned in with the Osages, I have been well received at my arrival. Having explained to them your intentions, they have responded favorably in the matters touching them; but when I spoke of going among the Panis, they have not wished to consent. Having known that they did not pretend at all that I should carry the goods which I had, I proposed to them to allow me to go alone

---

[15] N. M. Miller Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Regime* (Columbia University, New York, 1916).

[16] Bolton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 92.

[17] The term "Pani Pique" was applied to the present day Wichita (Caddoan) tribe (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 256). The term, "Paniouassa," has reference to the "Southern Pawnee" (Caddoan) located in the late 17th and the early 18th centuries along the Arkansas and the Red rivers in Oklahoma. (J. B. Thoburn note, Lewis, *op. cit.*)

[18] Letter of du Tisné to M. de Bienville, dated from the Kascakias, the 22nd of November, 1719, in Margry, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 307.

> only with three guns for myself and my interpreter, and in spite of their response, if they would not consent, that I would go in spite of them, and that you would be indignant with them if they did not allow me. Knowing the character of these Savages, I did not hesitate at all; I set out; in four days I was very badly received, the Osages having made them understand that our intention was to trap them and make slaves of them. That exposed me to twice having the tomahawk held over me; but having convinced them of the deceit of the Osages, and by the boldness which I used in defying them to use the tomahawk, as brutal as are this sort of people, they consented to make alliance with us and treated me very well. I traded with them my three guns, some powder, some pick-axes and some knives for two horses and a mule branded with a Spanish brand.
>
> I proposed to them to let me pass to go to the Padoucas, to which they were violently opposed, being their mortal enemies.[19] Seeing that I had not been able to succeed, I asked them about the Spanish; they told me that they had been in other times to their villages, but that the Padoucas barred the way. They showed me a very ancient silver cup and told me it would necessitate more than a month to visit them. One could, as it seemed to me, have access to the Spanish; it would be a matter of rendering them slaves (obedient) and of making them presents. I told them that your intentions were that they be allies. One would be able then to attempt the passage of the Missouri, going from the Panimahas to carry these presents.[20] I have offered myself to M. de Boisbriant to go there; if that is your intention, I am always ready to execute it in order to merit the honor of your protection.

Bénard de la Harpe, in making his report concerning his discoveries of the several tribes on the Arkansas in Oklahoma near the present Haskell, Oklahoma, adds these remarks concerning the visit of du Tisné to the Pani villages of the northern part of Oklahoma along the the Arkansas and its tributaries:

> It is to be noted that, in the time that I was making the discovery of this branch of river upon which the Touacaras[21] are located, M. du Tisné was discovering the branch of the Northwest, a quarter of the same river.[22] I have inserted here the narration of his discoveries; but it is useful to know that this river empties into the Mississippi 183 leagues from New Orleans by the river. It lies in this territory East Southeast and West Northwest. At 60 leagues it forms two branches: one which runs northwest, a quarter north, and the other which goes to the west a quarter northwest to the villages of the Toucaras ,situated 37 degrees, 20 minutes latitude.

De la Harpe continues the narration of conditions with the Panis as follows:

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[19] The "Padouca" here referred to are the tribe known now as the Comanche.—J. B. Thoburn note in Lewis, *op. cit.,* on La Harpe's Expedition.

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 202-03; Bolton, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 174. Also, Panimaha has reference to "Skidi," (a Pawnee band) in Frederick Webb Hodge *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* Part II, Bur., Amer. Ethnol. *Bulletin 30* (Washington, 1912).

[21] The Touacara mentioned are later known as the Tawakoni in Oklahoma history.—Wright, *op. cit.,* p. 247.

[22] The Arkansas River.

From the Osages to the Panis it is 40 leagues into the southwest, all prairie road and with lands filled with wild buffalo; the lands are fine and well wooded. There are four rivers from the Osages to the Panis which one must cross. The largest is that of the Alcansas, which has its course to the northwest, a quarter of which the Sieur du Tisné crossed; he found there rapids of three feet of water; the other rivers are of no consequence; they empty into the river of the Osages. This river of the Alcansas is about 12 leagues to the east from the Panis village.[23]

It is situated on the edge of a stream on a bank, is closed in by high prairies to the Southwest, on which side there is a wood which is for them of great use; this village is of 130 cabins and of 200 warriors. At a league to the northwest, on the bank of the same stream, they have another village as strong as the first; they have in these two villages 300 horses which they esteem very highly and with which they do not wish to part.[24] This nation is brutal; but it would be possible to soften them by making presents of guns, of which they are extremely fond, not having but six among them; there are many other villages of the Panis in a west-northwest direction, but they are unknown.

According to this report, it is 15 days journey overland to reach the large village of the Padoucas; they often encounter them six days from their villages; they have together a very cruel war, even to eating one another. When they make war, they equip their horses with a breast-plate of tanned leather; they are very adroit with the bow and arrow; they use a lance which is at the end of a sword fastened in wood. At two days distance from their village, to the west, they have a salt mine of rocksalt which is purified and very fine. Every time they give food to strangers, the chiefs cut the meat into bits and carry it to the mouth of those whom they feed. The Sieur du Tisné planted there the white flag the 27th of November, 1719, in the midst of their villages, which they received with pleasure.

These details are very interesting as the description of the village fits the later site of Ferdinandina, as it appears today.

The council made by du Tisné with the Panis now sets the stage for future events. Keeping in mind the important objectives of the French and the authority to promote these objectives of trade and making a route through the yet hostile tribes between the Panis and Santa Fe, we turn to a memoire written in 1720, here cited to M. Duvergier, Direction, Ordannateur of the Colony of Louisiana, concerning the different operations which he is charged to make to perfect establishments of the said colony. This memoire is sent from the Company of the Indies and signed by its authorized officers. After instructions concerning many strategic locations to further access to the Spanish, to encourage crop-raising and commerce, then this entry appears:[25]

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[23] Margry, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 310 ff. The league in measuring land distances originated in Gaul where it was equivalent to 1.4 statute miles. In England in the middle ages, the league was nearly 3 statute miles; the French posting league, 2.634 statute miles, and the Flanders league 2.634 statute miles. This last has been the one usually assumed by the most competent standards of Spanish explorers in the New World. -*Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition*, 76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71 (Washington, 1939), p. 104.

"The French officer Bénard de la Harpe, as a result of lengthy acquaintance with the Caddo Indians, said that they reckoned 5 leagues to a day's journey by land. This would be reckoned in French leagues and would amount to about 12 miles."—*Ibid.*

[24] The description here of the stream, the locale and two Pani (Caddoan) village sites fits that of the two Caddoan village sites and evidences of an early trading post (French) brought to light by the "Marland Archeological Expedition" under the direction of Joseph B. Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society, on Deer Creek (west side of the Arkansas) in Kay County, in 1926.—Muriel H. Wright, "Pioneer Historian and Archeologist of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XXIV.)—O. H. S., *Cumulative Index,* 1961.

> These establishments cause us to put in permanent condition and to hold on our part the savage nations of this canton, which will augment our forces against the enterprises of the Spanish which are very near the river of the Cannes [Kansa?] taking its source where their mines are situated. The great distance which intervenes between their mines and the establishments from which they draw necessary aid and merchandise of which they have need, ought indubitably to cause them to have recourse to us to procure for themselves these things.
>
> The Compagnie orders furthermore another establishment in the height of the Arkansas River toward the Padoucas who trade with the Spanish.
>
> We should neglect nothing in forming these establishments. The Company has recommended to send to it states of quality and quantities of merchandise necessary for the opening and carrying on of commerce.
>
> Made and sealed by us, Directors of the Company of the Indies, at Paris, in Headquarters of the said Company the 15th of September, 1720.

This is the authoritative word. Sometime between this date and the middle of the century, the Indian village on the Arkansas, or at least one of the Pani villages, is turned into a French trading post. According to du Tisné, the several villages were some distance west of the Arkansas River. But this kind of situation was an easy one for the French, ever zealous to carry out trade before the Spanish might get to it. They could move whole peoples to strategic points along the streams to facilitate trade.

The "Memoires d'Iberville," according to Margry, the chief source material here, reads: "The Panis, who are 2000 men, can be brought together with the Manton,[26] who are a hundred leagues in the Arkansas River, and by land 50 to 60. There is always three feet of water in low waters to the Manton. Five hundred pounds of 'Quincaillerie' hardware would make them change place; this would be all people who would hunt buffalo and deer."

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[25] Margry, *op. cit.,* Vol. V, p. 628.

[26] The Manton refers to the Mandan (Hodge, *op. cit.*) who must have lived on the Missouri River in remote times.

And this was just the "set-up" for the Pani villages along the Arkansas. To bring them to locate at a strategic point such as the Ferdinandina village site was, with its wide entrance where Deer Creek emptied into the river, near to the great herds of buffalo. What place could be more convenient? M. d'Iberville continues:[27]

> The greater part of these people have war against the Spanish of New Mexico and against the Inchas and Penaca, who are friends of the Spanish.
>
> Having made all these movements to the places where I mark, or to the environs, which is able to be done with less than eleven to twelve thousand pounds, which does not appear to me to be dear for changing (moving) more than 12,000 savages.

The date of these remarks was 1702, and Iberville further reported that "there would be more than 200,000 pounds of hides—bear, wild cats, beaver, wolves, etc., which would give to the King more than 250,000 pounds." Unfortunately the places were not marked for this great removal scheme, and it was not carried out at that time. But the germ-idea was there ready for smaller operations at convenient times and places. It evidently "took fire" and was used to advantage by other French authorities. The company had designated a location up the Arkansas nearer to the Padoucas from which the Spaniards of New Mexico might be reached.

Promises of reward and blandishments of every kind seem to have been used by the French to carry their points. M. de Bourgmont, Knight of the Royal and Military Orders of St. Louis, Commandant of Fort Orleans, on the Missouri River, under order of the King to establish peace between this nation and all of the neighboring nations of Missouri, in a speech to tribes he visited to the north of the present Oklahoma line, gave this high sounding word of his mission. The date was July, 1724. The speech serves to pinpoint the purposes of the French with regard to all the Indian nations of that day:[28]

> I assure you firmly, on the part of the sovereign of all the Frenchmen, that he wants all of the nations of this country to live in peace among themselves and with the Frenchmen. He has sent me into this country to bring peace and merchandise, to help the nations, render the nations more human and more sociable . . . Thus I announce to you that when you shall come to the Frenchmen you shall be received well to trade peltries with them, which you bring to exchange for merchandise which you need.

This account of Bourgmont's trip says that the Indians "in the villages far distant from the Spanish have knives made of flint from which stone they also make axes. The largest ones

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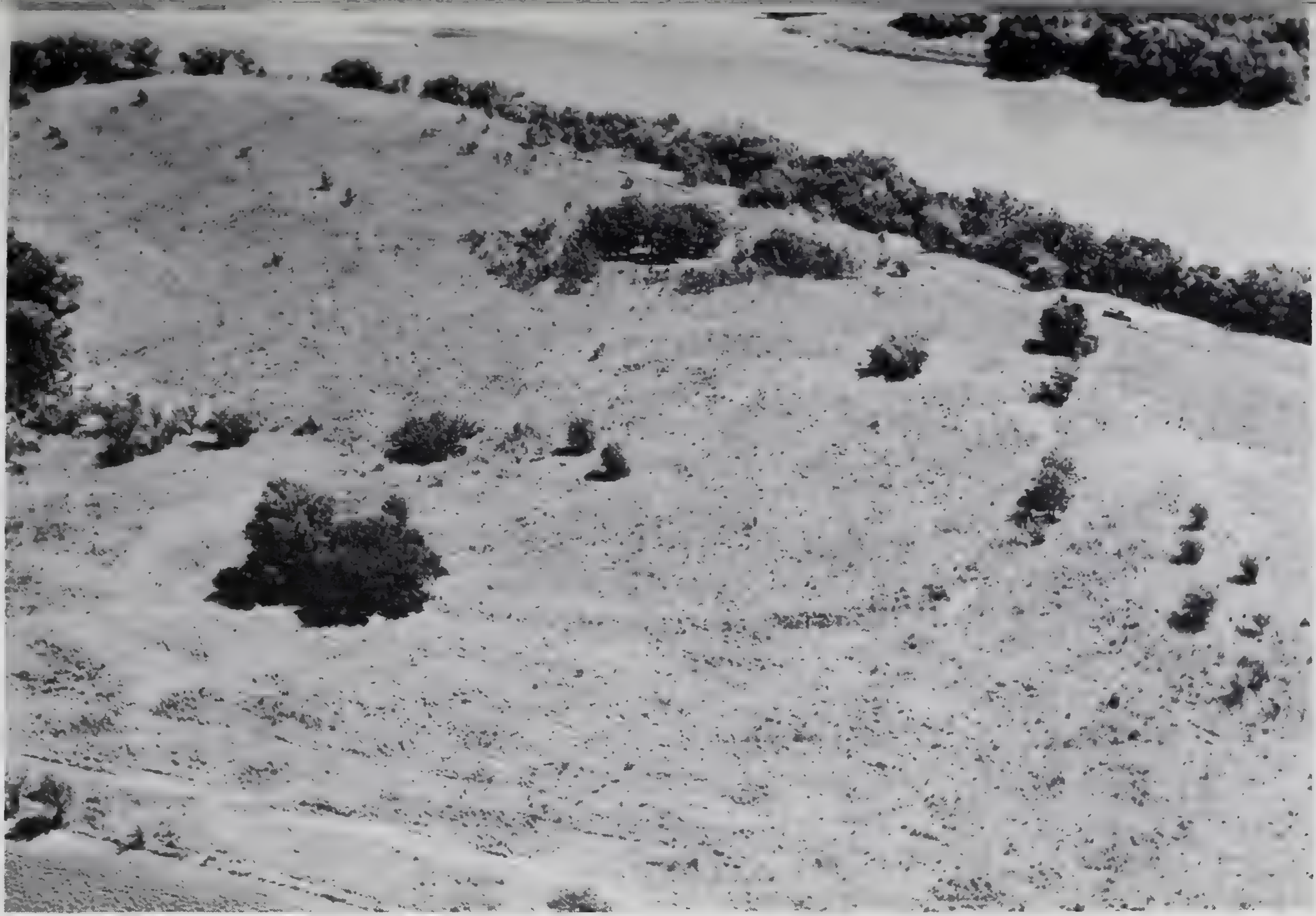
[27] Margry, Vol. IV, p. 599.

[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 404.



View from the air, showing the stockade ring of trading post on Ferdinandina site, Kay County, on the Arkansas River.

(Aerial Photo, 1962. Courtesy of Donald G. Koller and Bill Cook.)

serve to cut down medium and small size trees, and the smaller ones are for skinning and cutting up the animals which they kill."

He was speaking of the Padoucas (Comanches), but later discoveries in the villages of the Panis showed them to be owners also of flint-made objects. It has been suggested that they probably got their flint from near Hardy, Kay County, Oklahoma, where there is a so-called "old Spanish mine." Here in the hills is flint rock which the Panis used and from which they procured materials for their different tools, later unearthed in the ruins of their villages along the Upper Arkansas in Oklahoma.

Bénard de la Harpe added also his recommendations for the establishment of posts or forts to furnish supplies for explorers up the Arkansas to the vicinity of New Mexico.

The re-establishment of the Arkansas Post at this same period became the basis for extensive trade among the tribes of the Arkansas River. Writers of the time state that New Orleans depended on the tribes of the Arkansas for bear grease, tallow, and like products:[29]

> In the French settlements of the interior barter was always the way in which by far the larger number of exchanges were effected. Almost from the beginning of French occupation, also, produce from the Arkansas, Natchitoches, Wabash and Illinois districts found its way to the Gulf region, there to be exchanged for other merchandise.
>
> Tallow had been put upon the market as early as 1729 by the hunters from the Arkansas district. It was widely used by both the French and the Indians for illuminating purposes and by the former was sometimes mixed with myrtle in making candles.
>
> The natives of Louisiana learned from the Indians to use bear's oil . . . By 1719 the settlers of Natchitoches were carrying it to New Orleans . . . In 1721 it was plentiful and sold at twenty sols a pint. There was a shortage the next year due to the fact that the Arkansas Indians who usually furnished New Orleans with something like 2500 or 3000 pots of oil annually, this year had none to sell.

The villages of the Panis were at the cross-roads of traffic, it would seem, as mention of them is made by the Mallet Brothers when they made their successful overland trip to Santa Fe from the Panimahas. Several attempts had been made, it seems, to go to the Spanish of New Mexico, but the mistake was made of going too far north, following the wrong streams. But we are told that "the explorers [Mallet Brothers] took, on the report of some Savages, a route quite different, and leaving the Panis, they crossed the lands (went overland) . . ."[30]

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[29] Surrey, *op. cit.*

[30] Margry, *op. cit.*, Part VI, Chapter XII, (as translated by Mr. McRill): "Trip of the Mallet Brothers with 6 other Frenchmen, from the Panimahas [Pawnee] River into the Missouri as far as Santa Fe (1739-1740)." This very interesting account of their expedition states that the Mallet Brothers set out from the mouth of the "river of the Panimahas" (Pawnee) on the Missouri, on May 29, 1739. They reached

Later, we find in the narration, that "that they had made then 155 leagues according to their estimate, of travel into the country since they left the Panis, almost always to the west. They estimate that this river and the same that they have found lower on their return, the 10th day of their departure from Santa Fe, is a branch of the Arkansas."

Also on their return "they followed this river; this last day three of the seven took the part of leaving their comrades to make the route of the Panis to return to Illinois." So we learn that "the route of the Panis" was already established, since there they found friends and allies, friendly reception, and doubtless supplies, if needed.

Another authority gives an account of other travelers appearing in the Panis villages:[31]

> For the period between the expedition of La Harpe and the middle of the eighteenth century little is known of the movements and whereabouts of the Wichita tribes, but there seems to have been a general movement southward, though Jumano continued to live on the Arkansas.
>
> But trade with the Wichita tribes seems to have been contacted freely from the Nassonite and Arkansas posts, while an occasional French trader or deserting soldier made his way through their country to the Comanche or New Mexico. As we shall see later on, it was claimed that the French flag had been flying at the Tawakoni village since 1723 or earlier, and this may have been true, though it does not necessarily mean that the village had remained all that time in one place.

It is significant that the volumes on M. de Mèzières do not mention du Tisnè nor his visit of 1719. However, the work of de Mezièrès lay on ". . . The Louisiana-Texas Frontier." La Harpe made a report of the visit as well as the report by du Tisné. But Bolton in his account of de Mèzières does bear out the fact of the Panis having possession of the French flag, possibly the one given them by du Tisnè in 1719 when he made a trade treaty with them and made them French allies. Bolton continues:[32]

Santa Fe after traveling 265 leagues, remaining there until May 1, 1740. They set out traveling eastwardly, came to several large streams and finally after making 220 leagues overland from Santa Fe, they built two boats of elm, left their 18 horses (7 men in the party) and set out down a river having "little current." They were agreeably surprised to reach the Arkansas River on June 24, and after traveling 42 leagues in their boats they came to "a cabin of the Canadians" above the "Fourche" [fork]. They joined these Canadians on a buffalo hunt, finally filled a boat with salt meat, and traveled down the river to the "fort on the Arkansas" (Later called Arkansas Post, that had been re-established in 1722, downstream from present Pine Bluff, Arkansas). This return journey had brought the Mallet Brothers through Oklahoma.—Ed.

[31] Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The reference [of the flag] may have been to the first visits to the Touacara, while they were on the Canadian. A Spaniard, who in 1749, passed through the Jumano villages on the Arkansas River on his way to New Mexico, with a party of Frenchmen, wrote that those Indians were all well supplied with firearms by the French traders, possessed a French flag, and had just received a bountiful supply of presents in the name of the French King.[33] In 1753 Governor Kerlerec of Louisiana, was able to write with all apparent sincerity of the Touacara, Hyscanis, and Ouitaeinge (Tawakoni, Yacanis, and Kichai) in common with the Hasinai and the Caddo tribes, that "they all agree unanimously in recognizing the French governor of La Louisianne as their father, and they never deny his wishes in the least."

This same writer also confirms the return trip route of the Mallet Brothers: "In 1739-1740 the Mallet Brothers made their way through the Comanche country to Santa Fe and were allowed to return, part going by way of the Pawnee, and part down the Arkansas to New Orleans."[34]

In the light of discoveries presented in Part II of this study, the main Pani village may have been moved to the Deer Creek site, if it had not been on location there before, and map-makers of Europe show the exact location under the name of "Ferdinandina." One map in the Oklahoma Historical Society shows the location and the names on the west side of the Arkansas, a few miles above the tributary shown by the name "Sha-was caskah" (now, the Chikaskia). The name of this stream, however, is out of place on this map, and would rightfully be either Chilocco Creek or Deer Creek.[35]

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[33] This testimony was given by Felipe de Sandoval at Santa Fe, on March 1, 1750, who had recently arrived here with six Frenchmen, having traveled west up the Arkansas River by way of Arkansas Post, out of New Orleans. A native of Santa Maria, de Sandoval had been captured by the British and taken to Jamaica. He escaped, fled in a French vessel headed for Mobile and made his way to New Orleans (Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 47, fn. 47.) This reference to Felipe de Sandoval is something of a sidelight to the brief historical sketch offering data in the brief account of how *Ferdinandina* on the Arkansas River, in Oklahoma, was named, in *Appendix* at the end of this article.

The "Jumano" mentioned by Bolton are the present day Wichita (Caddoan stock) in Oklahoma.—Ed.

[34] Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[35] Map titled "United States—*Pacific States,* including California, Oregon, Utah, Washington, New Mexico, Nebraska, Kansas, Indian Territory, &c, "drawn and engraved by J. Bartholomew, Edinburgh. Published by A. & ? Black, Edinburgh." No publication date is shown but apparently appeared in 1870 to 1872, as it gives the line of the Union Pacific Railroad and the Central Pacific Railroad, which was completed in 1869, from Omaha City Nebraska to San Francisco. The name "Ferdinandina" is clearly printed south of the Kansas-Indian Territory line, on the east side of the present Chilocco Indian School region, on the Arkansas.

There is also a photograph of the Kansas and the Indian Territory part of the North American map published by Lloyds of London, Delisle's map of 1737 shows locations of the Paniouassa, the Ouatchitas and the Mentons along the Arkansas River. The Paniouassa are shown on this map on the east side of the Arkansas, while the Ouachitas are clearly shown on the river, west side. However much the Pani tribe may have moved about, it was recognized as being of the Arkansas, close to either bank, east or west. Village sites have been discovered, on both sides of the river in Kay County.

CADDOAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE ARKANSAS RIVER REGION IN OKLAHOMA

PART II

"As to the antiquity of the Caddoan settlements in the Arkansas River region, there can be no question . . . the Caddoan people took possession of that region, approximately seven centuries ago . . ." This statement appears in the manuscript (p. 49) of an unpublished monograph titled, "The Northern Caddoan Peoples of Prehistoric Times and the Human Origin of the Natural Mounds, so called of Oklahoma and Neighboring States," by Joseph B. Thoburn (The Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1930).[36]

Dr. Thoburn gives a brief account of the "Paniouassa" or "Southern Pawnee":[37]

THE PANIOUASSA

> When the Caddoan people of the Arkansas River, below the mouth of the Canadian, moved northward to Missouri, those ranging above the Canadian remained in their old habitat, where they were still numerous when the first French exploring expeditions—those of La Harpe and du Tisne—penetrated that region in 1719. French traders began to visit the Arkansas River country, in the present Oklahoma, shortly afterward, their traffic being almost wholly with the Caddoan people of that section, where they called the Paniouassa (i.e.: "Lower" or "Southern Pawnee") in distinction from the Panimaha ("Upper" or "Northern Pawnee") of the Platte River country. When the French traders began their commercial operations among the Paniouassa and Pani Pique [Wichita] people, they carried casks of gin or other strong alcoholic beverages in stock; also the white man's diseases followed in the wake of the traders. So, between dissipation and disease—between demoralization and death, as it were,—there was a rapid decrease in the population of the native tribes on both the Arkansas and the Red Rivers. Within less than fifty years, this decrease amounted to almost a decimation. The weakened tribes on the Arkansas (Ouisita, Touacara,

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England (1869), in the Editorial Office (M.H.W. file of data). This map gives the name and *site* of "Ferdinandina" in the "Cherokee" country, south of the Kansas-Indian Territory line a few miles, on the west side of a bend in the Arkansas River.

[36] The citation of this unpublished manuscript will be given as "Thoburn Manuscript" for following annotations and footnotes in this article.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

Hueco, etc.) finding that they could no longer hold their own against incursions and attacks of the Osage, the remnants abandoned their ancient range on the Arkansas, during the latter part of the 18th century, and drifting slowly southward to the Red River country, where they became confederated with their kinsmen of the Pani Pique.

One of the most interesting and colorful points of very early prehistoric Oklahoma, in fact before the birth of the United States, and yet in territory which was later to become a part of the United States, and much later a part of this state, there was a French Indian Forest Trading Post in what is now Kay county. Two hundred years ago the French explorers voyageurs, and representatives of the Compagnie D'Occident, came to the Pani Indian villages along the Upper Arkansas in Oklahoma. Here they found several villages, took news of several more farther up the tributary streams, and made a treaty for trade relations. At the main village in 1719 Charles du Tisné raised the white flag of France signifying the making of a treaty. At the same time Bénard de la Harpe was holding a council with the different tribes on the Arkansas near what is now Haskell, Oklahoma.[38]

These data concerning the Pani village east of Newkirk on the Arkansas River have reference to the archeological work carried on under the direction of Dr. Thoburn, in 1926:[39]

> The work in Kay County was carried on during the summer of 1926, financed by the late E. W. Marland of Ponca City . . . Discoveries made were not only significant in the archeological field, in the excavations of a number of mounds on an old Indian village site, but in the historical field as well in bringing to light the location of an early trading post shown on old maps of more than one hundred years ago as "Ferdinandina" (sometimes spelled Ferdinandino) in the valley of the Arkansas River in what is now Kay county. Ferdinandina is thought to have been established by the French nearly two hundred years ago and therefore the site could be pointed to as that of the first white settlement in Oklahoma, according to Dr. Thoburn. Rarely are Indian mounds of prehistorical times connected with settlements made and recorded in the early historical period. In this, the discoveries made by the expedition in 1926 in Kay county were unusual in the archeological and the historical field in Oklahoma.
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> * * * * * *
>
> The site of Ferdinandina was discovered about nine years ago by Thoburn. While its existence was known, the exact site had never been determined. Lying out from this post, and particularly north along the Arkansas River, were the Indian villages, Pawnee, Wichita or Caddo . . . Originally surrounded by a deep trench, this village occupies land now included in the Ingleking and Bryson farms . . .[39]

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[38] These statements in the foregoing paragraph are here adapted from Wright, "Pioneer Historian and Archaeologist . . ." *loc. cit.*, p. 404.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 407. These paragraphs are quoted from an account in the *Blackwell Morning Tribune* (June 1, 1926), written under the direction of Dr. Thoburn as a news item on the Archaeological Expedition in Kay County in 1926, and included as *Addenda A* in the Wright article here cited from *The Chronicles* (1946).

> Not far from this Indian village, still northward along the river and also included . . . the old shop site of the Indians, the place where they wintered and manufactured the various crude tools that they used, chiefly of flint . . . Among the relics just found there, is the lower millstone of a pair so frequently used among the very early settlers to grind meal.
>
> There is still sufficient and convincing evidence that the French fur traders who established Ferdinandina had an immense stockade, built of high upright posts and with ample earthworks thrown up, a protection from the various Indian tribes. The trench excavated in throwing up the earthworks shows the stockade to have been fully 250 feet in diameter. This trench is still intact marking the outlines of the post. Within this, which also housed the fur traders and their soldiers, was also conducted the trading post where deals were made with the red men.

Dr. Thoburn has left manuscripts covering his discoveries in the Oklahoma Historical Society shelves, and these data not found elsewhere, giving facts concerning the Pani and their villages along the Arkansas, Building upon the discoveries and accounts of the Frenchman Charles du Tisné in 1719, this modern work of Dr. Thoburn corresponds surprisingly with the old French accounts of de la Harpe and du Tisné.

The Thoburn "Manuscript" reads like a best seller and is of great interest and importance in the study of this Indian village:[40]

> One of the most interesting and instructive fields for the study of the more recent and modified forms of Caddoan culture, is the one presented by the Kay county village sites, which date back nearly two centuries and which though always in contact with European culture, had not as yet had its arts and crafts greatly affected as the result of such contact. There are three of those villages, brief description of two of which follows:
>
> *The Deer Creek Site*
>
> In 1914, Mr. Wilson Fischer, of Newkirk, Oklahoma, who was then a student in the University of Oklahoma, turned over to the writer a small but interesting collection of vestigia, which he had gathered from a village site located at the mouth of Deer Creek, on the western bank of the Arkansas River, in Kay County, located about five miles east and a mile and a half north from Newkirk, the County Seat. The specimens included in the collection were mostly of chipped chert, with a few abrasives and a few items of European origin that were suggestive of a primary contact with French traders at the beginning of the Historical Period together with a few potsherds. As none of the stone-age items were of a class that could be accepted as type artifacts of any culture with which he was acquainted, the writer merely supposed that the specimens had been secured from the site of an Osage encampment, dating back, possibly, to the beginning of the 19th century. Upon the occasion of his first visit to the site, he was therefore, greatly surprised to find the ruins of a village over which were scattered the low, circular domiciliary tumuli of some of the Paniouassa (Lower Pawnee, Wichita, or Tawakony) of the fore part of the 18th century.

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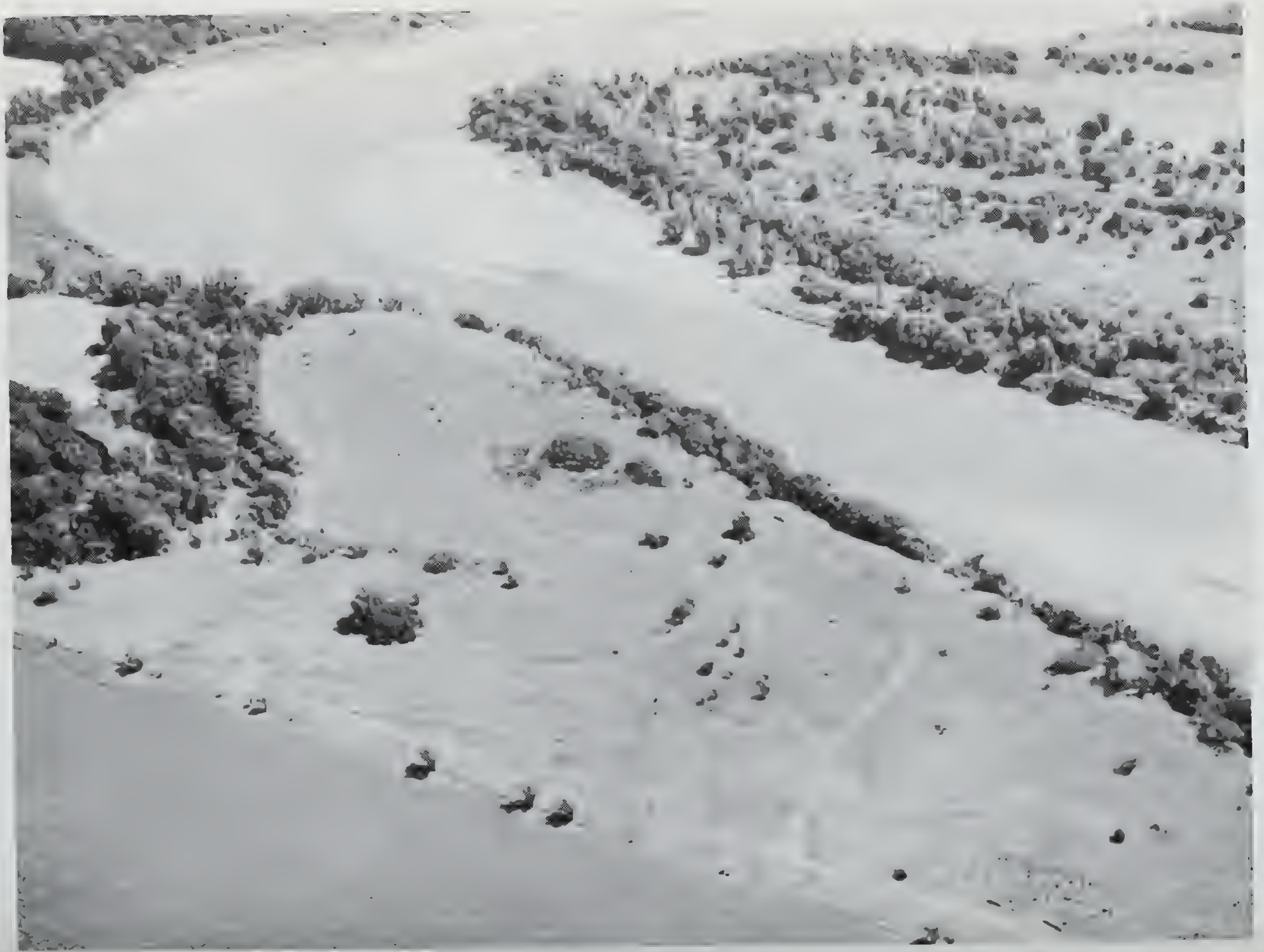
[40] Thoburn Manuscript, (in Editorial Department, O.H.S.), pp. 72-89.



View from the air, looking northeast over a large area of the Ferdinandina site, Kay County. The stockade ring of the trading post site is seen to the left of the present day road. To far left are the

This site proved to be a most interesting one. It is located on the NW¼ of Section 15, Twp. 28 N., Range 3, W. I. M., on a low limestone bluff on the south side of Deer Creek, extending back from the river bank a quarter of a mile, with a slightly rolling prairie surface. A hundred yards above (northwest) the upper extremity of the village site, a fine spring of clear, cold water gushes forth from a limestone ledge on the near bank of the creek, affording a splendid water supply for domestic purposes. The creek has a wide, bayou-like mouth which evidently afforded a convenient mooring place for pirogues or bateaux and even for the launching of small crafts.

Scattered over the site are sixty-five low, circular mounds each of which marks the site of a timber-framed dome-shaped, earth-covered domicile. These vary in size from the diameter of twenty-five feet to one of fifty feet, and in central height from twelve to thirty inches. As there is reason to believe that this site was occupied more or less continuously for a third of a century or more, it is probable that there were not more than ten or a dozen of them at a time. However, since the people of that stock are known to have used the lighter framed, dome-shaped grass huts or lodges to an even greater extent, the number of house-mounds can scarcely be available as a basis for population estimates. A small part of the village site is in cultivation but most of it is still in prairie pasture. One of the interesting features of the site is a circular or horse-shoe shaped trench, varying in depth, from two to five feet, twelve to fifteen feet wide, and with a radial distance of approximately 125 feet from the center of the enclosed area to the inner edge of the trench. The open part of this "horse-shoe" lies in a north north-west direction from the center. The encircling trench enclosed the head of a small ravine which falls northward into Deer Creek.[41]

As already stated, the vestigia of this Deer Creek village site indicate a primary contest of the primitive Stone-Age Caddoan culture of the Paniouassa people of the middle third of the 18th century with that of Europe as represented by the adventurous French voyageurs and traders of the same period who had penetrated to the interior of the continent in the course of their commercial exploitation of the primitive industries of its native inhabitants. Crudely fashioned iron implements—axes, hatchets, hoes and knives—made by the blacksmith, bits of hoop-iron, brass, copper and glass, fragments of gunlocks, a piece of musket barrel, all betokened the presence and activities of white traders. In one of the smaller mounds which were dissected by the writer [Thoburn] in company with Dr. Fred Stearns of Harvard University, in the summer of 1917, not only were several iron hoes and short iron rods unearthed, but also a small chunk of bituminous coal, which had evidently been transported from some outcropping coal vein near the river banks between the sites of the present cities of Tulsa and Muskogee, and thus seemingly warranting the inference that a blacksmith shop had actually been in operation in this village. Supposedly, this village site was also the location of the French trading center known as *Ferdinandina* [italics supplied here]. The selection of such a site for trading operations was doubtless made with regard to its proximity to the open plains and the big buffalo herds. That it

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[41] See accompanying map drawn by O. W. McGinty and aerial views of the Deer Creek site indicating the traces of the trading post of Ferdinandina, these views taken under the direction of Mr. Donald G. Koller of Derby, Kansas, and Mr. Bill Cook of Haysville, Kansas, both connected with U.S. survey and engineering works on the Arkansas in Kansas.

> was chiefly engaged in buffalo robe industry is abundantly evidenced by the almost countless numbers of chert "turtle-back" or "snub-nose" skin-dressing picks which may be found upon the village site to this day. Its men were hide-hunters and its women busied themselves with the curing and dressing of the hides into finished robes.
>
> The presence of the chert skin-dressing picks is of interest not only because of the unusual quantity in which these artifacts are to be found on this site, but also because of the fact that these implements represent an acquisition as the result of contact with some other culture, for the prehistoric Caddoan people of two to four centuries earlier in Eastern Oklahoma and neighboring states do not seem to have known or made use of such an implement. On the other hand, the "double-cone" clay pipes, which may occasionally be found in fragmentary form on this Deer Creek site, are identical in design and size with those of the ancestral stock, as also are the broadly elliptical, shallow metates or mortars with which they ground their grain and the double-bitted stone hoe, with which they tilled the soil.
>
> Of the other two village sites, one is two miles below, and on the opposite side of the river, while the other is two miles north and on the same side (west) of the river. It is inferred that both of those other sites were outlying settlements.

This last observation by Dr. Thoburn is backed up by the du Tisné' accounts of the villages which he visited in 1719. He mentions that there were several villages of these Pani Pique's locations, further up the same stream.

Dr. Thoburn continues with his narration mentioning these "outlying settlements" as follows:

> It is inferred that both of these other sites were outlying settlements and more or less subsidiary to the one at the mouth of Deer Creek, and that at least two, possibly all three might have been simultaneously occupied. While it is evident that the Deer Creek village site had been occupied longer than either of the others, as well as being more extensive in its area and in the size and number of its ruins, it was not found available for systematic excavations at that time, hence, arrangements were made for a series of excavations on the site of a village which had been located two miles north and east of the Deer Creek site . . .
>
> *Buffalo Cliff Village Site*[42]
>
> This village site was located on and around the southern extremity of this elevation, on Sections 2 and 3, Twp. 28 N., Range 3, East Indian Meridian, not over one-third of its area being situated in Section 2, the remainder being nearly evenly divided between the southeastern part of the northwest quarter and the northeastern part of the southeast quarter of section 3. At least two-thirds of the area of the site has been under cultivation for many years past, with the result that traces of some of the smaller domiciliary mounds have nearly, if not quite, disappeared and most of the vestigia has been carried away, lost or disintegrated. A ravine, or upland water course heads in the slope at the south end of a hill. Around the head of this depression, are to be found the traces of a circular trench, horse-shoe shaped in outline, with the opening extending across the source of the same, similar

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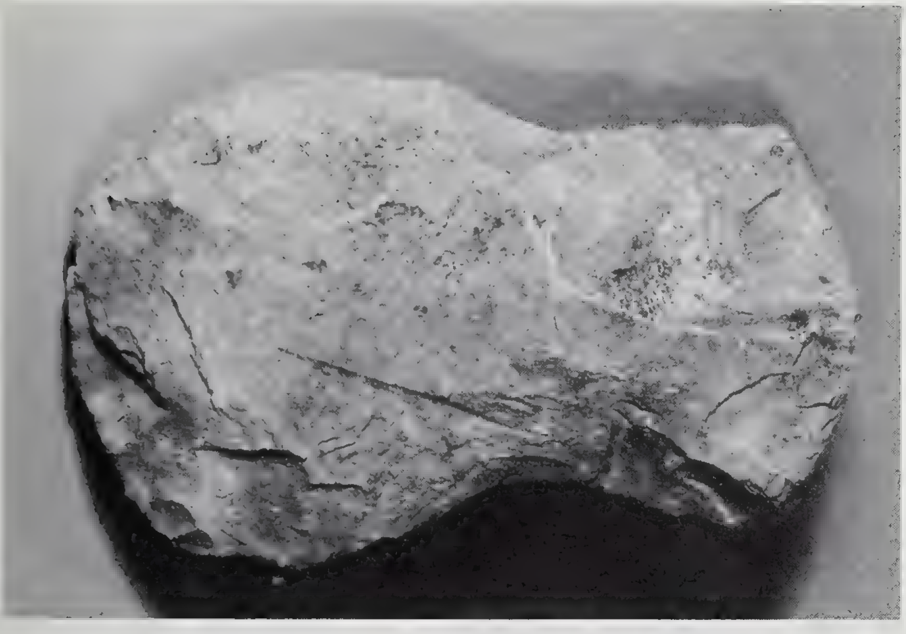
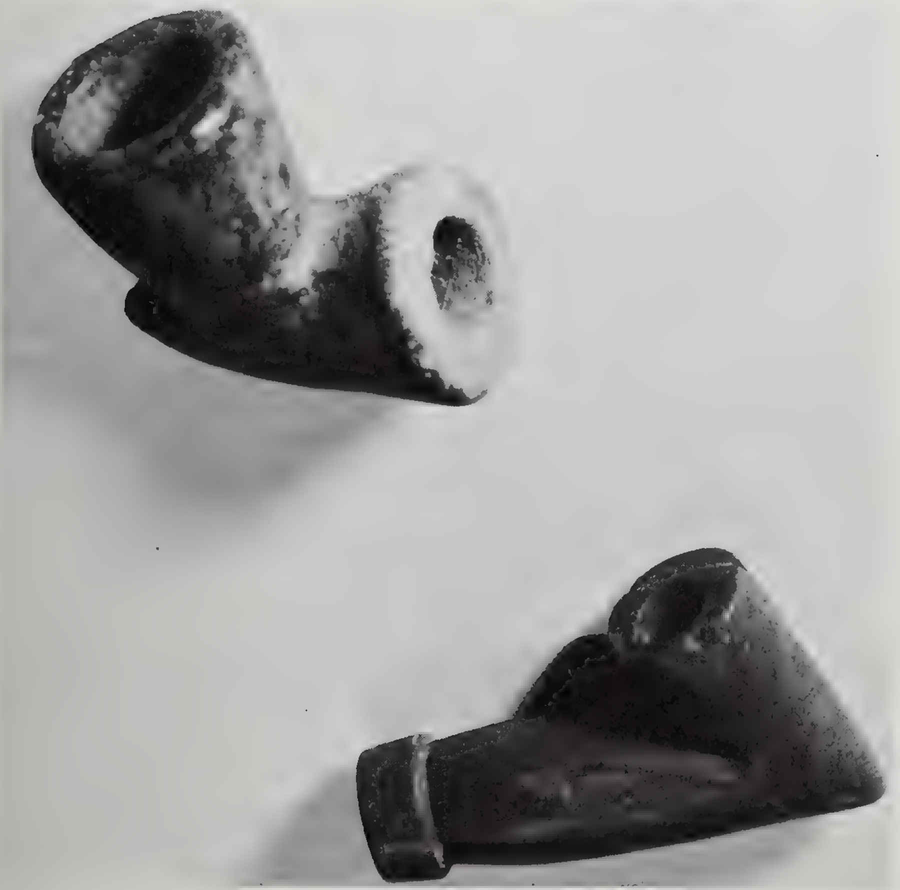
[42] Thoburn Manuscript, *loc. cit.*, p. 75 ff.



Stone hoe (Caddoan), actual size 3½ by 2½ inches.

(Photos, Ferdinandina Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society)



Pipes from Ferdinandina site. At upper left, double-cone clay pipe (Caddo); at lower right, redstone pipe (Wichita). Actual size, double-cone pipe 2 by 1⅞ inches; redstone pipe, 2⅝ by 1½ inches.

(Photos from Wright Collection)

to the one already described at Deer Creek Village site. The mounds are scattered on both sides of the ravine and at varying distances therefrom as well as around the head. The mounds do not seem to have averaged as large, either in diameter or in height, as those which are to be found on the Deer Creek site . . . .

Mr. Bert Moore, of Winfield, Kansas (deputy county clerk of Cowley County) who first brought this site to the attention of the writer, in doing so, expressed the belief that the occupants of this village might have constructed a V-shaped passage, or driveway, with the wide end extending up-hill, and with both sides enclosed by a stoutly built fence of timber or brush, at some distance north of the village, down which buffalo might have been stampeded in considerable numbers, thus crowding the animals over the precipitous limestone ledge at the foot of the slope, the fall killing and maiming them in a wholesale way at a minimum of exertion, thus saving ammunition and obviating the necessity of transporting pelts and meat from varying distances from out on the open range. Such a method of killing buffalo in quantity is known to have been practiced by the Indians of the upper Missouri and elsewhere in the Northern Plains regions, so it is not impossible that some of the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern Oklahoma may have resorted to the same means as the most economic and expeditious method of killing the animals for their hides. That this was not improbable seems to be indicated by the scarcity of arrow points among the vestigia which would seem to bear out the assumption that some other means of killing buffalo must have been resorted to rather than by use of bow and arrows. The great abundance of the chert "turtle-back" skin dressing picks bears evidence that the hide-dressing, robe-tanning industry must have been an extensive one. On other village sites, where the killing of buffalo and the dressing of robes was only to serve the needs of the people themselves, not only were the skin-dressing picks much less abundant but arrow points were much more common than they were on this Buffalo Cliff Village site.

The village site is distant approximately half a mile from the spot which is believed to have been selected for the construction of the cliff trap over which buffalo are supposed to have been stampeded, and, in a direction somewhat to the west of south, so it can readily be seen that prevailing winds from the southwest or the northwest, would have carried the noxious odors of decaying buffalo carcasses in other directions, thus leaving the village free from annoyances of that score. On the other hand, there would seem to have been at least a possibility that after the removal of the pelt and such meat as might have been wanted, each carcass might have been dragged into the channel of the river, only a little more than a stone's throw distant and left to float away to some distant sandbar or drift pile. The practically entire absence of traces of buffalo bones on the ground below the foot of the ledge at that point is probably not without its significance in this connection.

The village water supply was undoubtedly secured from the nearest spring which gushes forth from a crevice in the limestone ledge near the top.[43] The faint traces of two trails or footpaths leading down to this spring from the village site are still plainly visible. Moreover, the occasional occurrence of pottery fragments, along these footpaths and about the spring, bear strong evidence of the visits of the maids and matrons of the village as its water carriers. This never failing spring of clear, cold water was not without its influence on the selection of a site for a village. Other and more copious springs were to be found at lower levels and at the foot of the massive ledge of limestone, but it is quite evident that the high spring was the favorite, if not the only source whence water was carried to the village.

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[43] This spring is still seen down near the creek on the north side of the old village site.

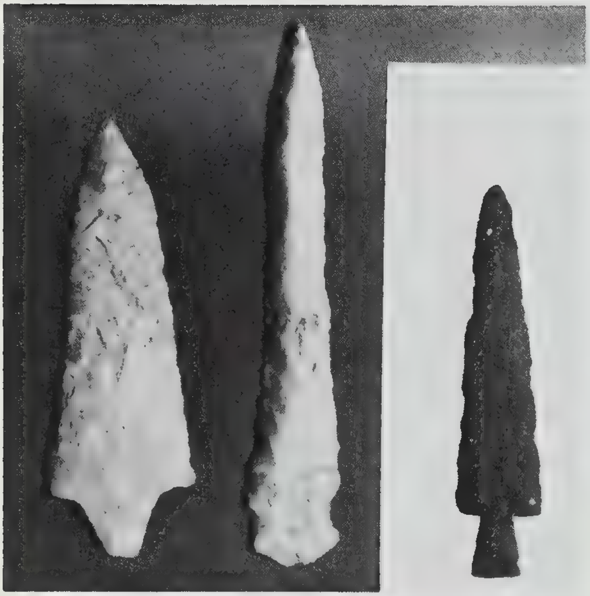
As already stated, the hill-top adjacent to the village site commanded a fine view in all directions. This was of advantage since it protected the village from surprise attacks by any raiding enemy. It also doubtless facilitated the location of buffalo herds which came within such a range of vision. The slope of the ground, on and near the village site, was such as to afford easy and rapid drainage, thus simplifying the problem of sanitation and health.

The presence of mortars, or metates, and mullers used in grinding corn, and of cobs and kernals of corn and roasting ears, with the husks still covering the ear, and all in a charred condition, together with charred beans, in the ruined house-mounds, all seemed to indicate that the inhabitants must have obtained at least part of their sustenance by the cultivation of small patches of soil. It is conceivable that these were located on the alluvial soil of the river flood plain, below the foot of the cliff, where there was much more fertility than on the upland prairie, with more natural moisture and less atmospheric evaporation, and where it would be comparatively easy to fence out the invasions of grazing wild animals. In addition to such evidences of agricultural industry, the presence of quantities of bones of buffalo, deer, wild turkeys and other game animals and birds and the bones and scales of fish from the river, in the house-mounds and the subterranean storage-pits beneath, bear unmistakable evidence of an even larger dependence upon the chase . . .

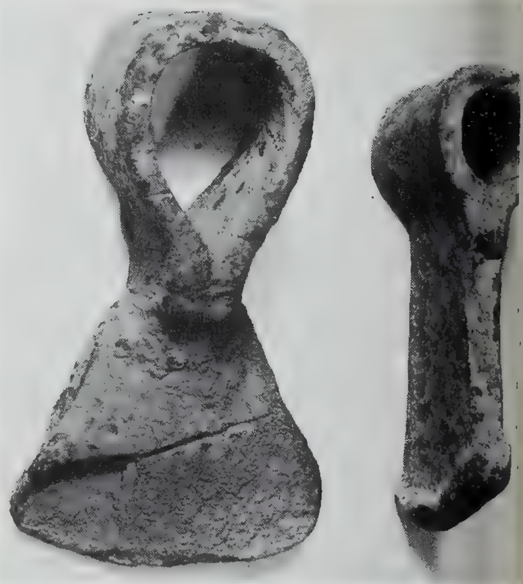
Among the other vestigia, there were numerous Caddoan burned clay tobacco pipes, nearly all of the conventional "double-cone" pattern which had been so characteristic of the Caddoan culture in its earlier occupancy of the lower valleys of the Arkansas and Red Rivers as to warrant its selection as one of the type-artifacts of that culture. (Nearly all of these were found in a fragmentary condition but with all of the parts of a number of them, so they were easily restored, making perfect museum specimens.) The survival of this type of pipe among the people of the Panìouassa people on the Middle Arkansas for more than two centuries after their closely related kinsmen of the Panimaha (i.e., Upper or Northern Pawnee), and the Quivira or Taovoyas (i.e., the Red River Pawnee, or Pawnee Pique [Wichita] had abandoned the small clay pipe of their ancestors for a smaller stone pipe of an Algonquian pattern, is one of the most interesting facts developed during the course of this particular investigation. Only twice during the course of the season's work were fragments of the small pipes of the pattern used by the cognate tribes on Red River and the Platte found on this village site, the inference being that these had been broken or lost by some visiting representative of these related peoples . . .

In several of the ruined house-mounds, there were found fragments of burned clay plaster, showing the imprint of the woven wattle-lath and giving evidence of the division of the lodge into two or more rooms, by means of such a plastered partition . . .

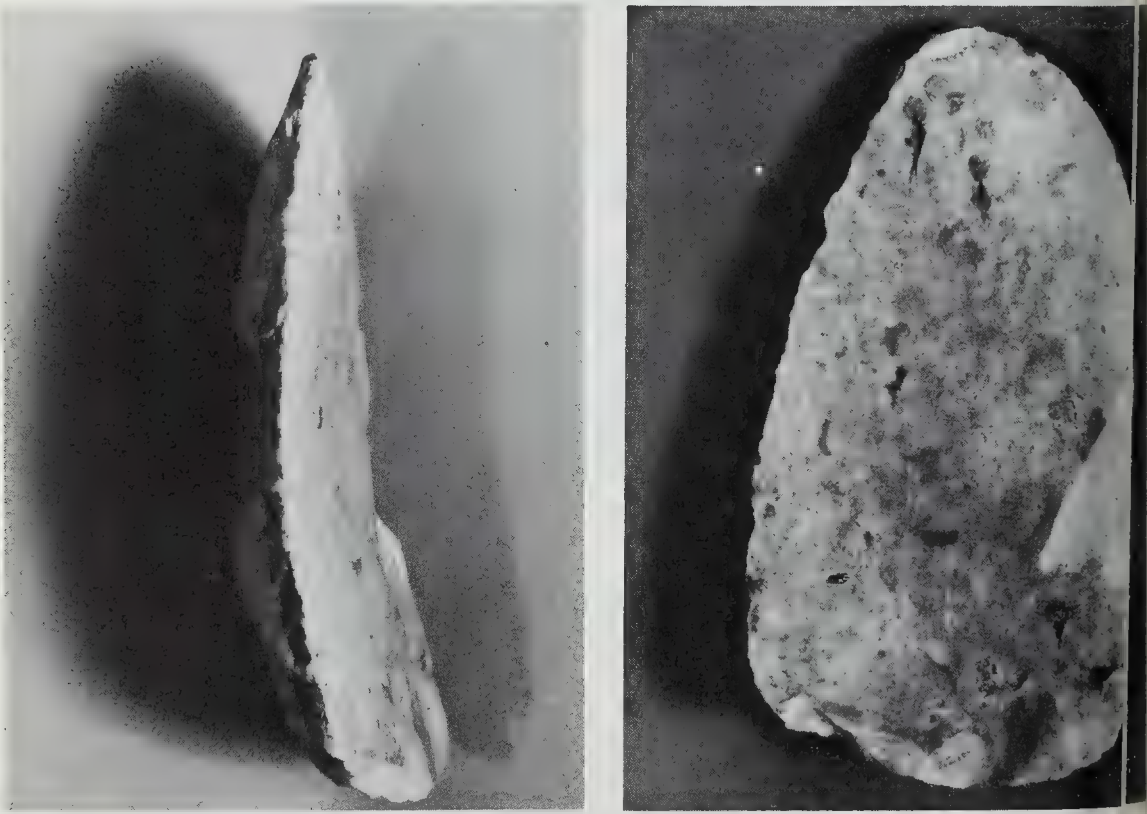
As a result of excavating beneath the floor-level in these domiciliary mounds on the Buffalo Cliff Village site, caches, or storage pits, which had been emptied and refilled with earth were found. The finding of similar pits beneath the floors of such ruins, on the Deer Creek Village site and in the more ancient Caddoan domiciliary ruins



Spear points: 2 at left of flint (actual size, center point 5 by 1 inches); iron point.



Iron axes. Actual size, large ax 6½ by 3½ inches; small ax 5 by 2½ inches.



Flint scraper actual size 3¾ by 2 inches. At left, shows edge of scraper with convex surface; at right, smooth inside surface.

(Photos of scrapers from the "Buffalo Cliff Village Site," Ferdinandina Collection, Museum Oklahoma Historical Society.)

in Le Flore County, are recorded elsewhere [in the Thoburn manuscript]. Incidentally, it is worthy of remarks, from the amount of wood ashes, bits of charcoal, broken and calcined bones, clam shells, broken stone implements and weapons, potsherds and other rubbish and refuse which seems to have been gathered up and dumped into the emptied storage pits, it is evident that the inter-space between lodges was carefully "policed" and cleared of such unsightly material before refilling the same with earth, hence the almost total absence of such vestigia on the surface of the average Caddoan village sites at this time as well as earlier. This absence of anything in the line of artifacts on the surface of the average prehistoric Caddoan village site has been one of the strong arguments against the theory that its mounds were of human origin.

Numerous fragments of red catlinite were found in the excavating of the ruins of this village site, but no perfect pipes or other artifacts of the material.[44] However, the presence of that material under such circumstances and of that site seems clearly indicative of trade relations with the distant North, probably through the medium of the kindred Pawnee peoples of the Platte and Republican Rivers. One of the most interesting items secured in the course of the season's work was a fragment of a thin earthenware bowl, or waterbottle of a bright red color, highly polished, and decorated with a complicated design which had been etched upon the surface after the vessel had been burned in the kiln, this process of decorations on the surface of the pottery of the Caddoan peoples who performed that operation after the moulding of the vessel had been completed but before it had been kiln-burned. It is significant that when this fragment came to light, three of the members of the party who had belonged to the field party of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the summer of 1925 when they helped dissect a mound of the true Mound Builder type, instantly recognized and identified it, from its appearance and decoration, as being typical of the ancient culture with which they had become familiar, a year before . . .

A number of graves were located in the vicinity of the Buffalo Cliff Village site. Some of these had been disturbed by "relic-hunters" and other curiously-minded folk, many years before this expedition set forth on its tour of investigation . . .

The Paniouassa or Arkansas River Pawnee, which included the Wichita people, the Touacara (Tawakony) and several other closely related tribes appear to have lived in the valley of the Arkansas and those of its principal tributaries throughout the period of French control in Louisiana. Between 1750 and 1800, they disappeared from that region, and under circumstances concerning which history has as yet been unable to offer any definite details in the way of explanation . . .

From the *Fourth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Dr. Thoburn quotes the authority of Dr. Wm. F. Holmes, as touching the pottery found among the Caddoan tribe:[44]

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[44] A large part of the discoveries made by the Marland Archeological Expedition of 1926 at the "Deer Creek Site," under the direction of Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, including Indian artifacts and pieces of old iron and copper objects (gun barrels, gun plates or trim, scissors, axes, adze, hinges and locks) of foreign (French) manufacture was given over to the Chilocco Indian School by agreement. These were placed

There can be no reasonable doubt that the manufacture of this ware began many hundreds of years before the advent of the white race, but it is equally certain that the art was extensively practiced until quite recent times. The early explorers of Louisiana saw it in use and the processes of manufacture are described by Dumont and others.

Possibly du Pratz had in mind some of the identical vessels now upon our museum shelves when he said that "the women make pots of an extraordinary size, jars with a medium sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs, plates and dishes in the French fashion.

SOME LATER CONCLUSIONS

It must not be forgotten that corroborations of deductions as to the time of the Pani villages and the artifacts found there have also been made. Mr. Bert Moore, of Winfield, already mentioned by Dr. Thoburn, had gone to the trouble of sending artifacts to Mr. Arthur Wood, director of History and Anthropology of Los Angeles County Museum of History and Art, and received this reply:

> In checking over beads and photographs from the Oklahoma site I find that all the factors combine to indicate these items belong in the same general period which is during the early decades of the 18th century. I incline toward the 1720's rather than the 1760's, mainly for the reason that the beads are of the type from other areas associated with the late 17th and early 18th century materials.
>
> . . . In my estimation these (square pieces of flint for musket or pistol locks) gunflints, are Indian made gun-flints, fashioned out of native material in imitation of European gun-flints.

We have already mentioned the probability of flint materials being obtained from the flint regions of northeastern Oklahoma. The Oklahoma Historical Society has a large collection of the artifact material from this Deer Creek site and from the Buffalo Cliff site, some of which has been cleaned and put on display, but much more of which is yet to be sorted and put on display.[45]

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on exhibit and formed a large part of a museum at the Chilocco School. The Editor (M.H.W.) visited the museum and made a list of the "Ferdinandina" pieces, which was published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* "Notes and Documents" section, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1946) pp. 491-94. The "Thoburn Manuscript," *loc. cit.,* p. 85, states: "The collection of specimens which was gathered by the Marland Archeological Expedition, during . . . 1926, is still packed and in storage. Ultimately, it is to be divided between the Oklahoma Historical Society and a local museum which has been projected for establishment in Kay County." The "Thoburn Manuscript" bears the date of *1930,* and apparently the Chilocco Museum collection was in line with Mr. Marland's plans for a museum in Kay County, especially since the archeological work of 1926 had been done on a part, if not wholly, of the Chilocco School reserve of 9,000 acres, extending east and south of Chilocco Creek. Only a part of the specimens was given over to the Oklahoma Historical Society when the Marland Archeological Collection was divided.—Ed.

[45] The acquisition of the Bert Moore collection, privately owned by Mrs. Bert Moore at Winfield, Kansas, was arranged and the collection became the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society in

In this material are to be found the two kinds of arrow heads described by Dr. Thoburn, buffalo-skinning flint shaped for use in this work, pieces of old French guns, especially brass and copper gun-plate decorations evidently from the French guns. Du Tisné also remarked about the two kinds of arrow heads used by the Panis and the two purposes for which they were to be used.

Recently, the writer here, accompanied by Mr. O. W. (Jack) McGinty, of Ponca City, made a trip over to the Deer Creek site at the mouth of Deer Creek. At first sight, there was nothing seemingly visible to indicate that the grassy field was or ever had been anything else than pasture land. But, armed with the section, township and range numbers, we were sure that we were on the desired site.

Then we began to see the outline unmistakably and sufficiently clear, just as Dr. Thoburn had pointed out in his description written in 1930. After examining the site, Mr. McGinty retired to his car and made a drawing of the site as we found it, showing the horse-shoe shaped trench, the spots where the gate-posts had set, and of course some of the tumuli that still speak mutely of the ruined domiciles of a people long since vanished. On our return trip to Ponca City, Mr. McGinty, who is thoroughly conversant with the location of lands in Kay County, suggested that we stop at the Kay County Court House and see if there might not be aerial photographs made by agricultural experts of this particular site. Much to our amazement one of such photos was so like Mr. McGinty's drawing that they might have been two of a kind.

So after nearly two centuries, the Arkansas runs by this ancient village site and after mingling with the waters of Deer Creek, seeks its goal down to the Mississippi, but "Old Man River" gives no indications of the secrets happening here at *Ferdinandina*, nor of the fate of the village post, nor even of the Indian inhabitants who vanished after their busy and thriving

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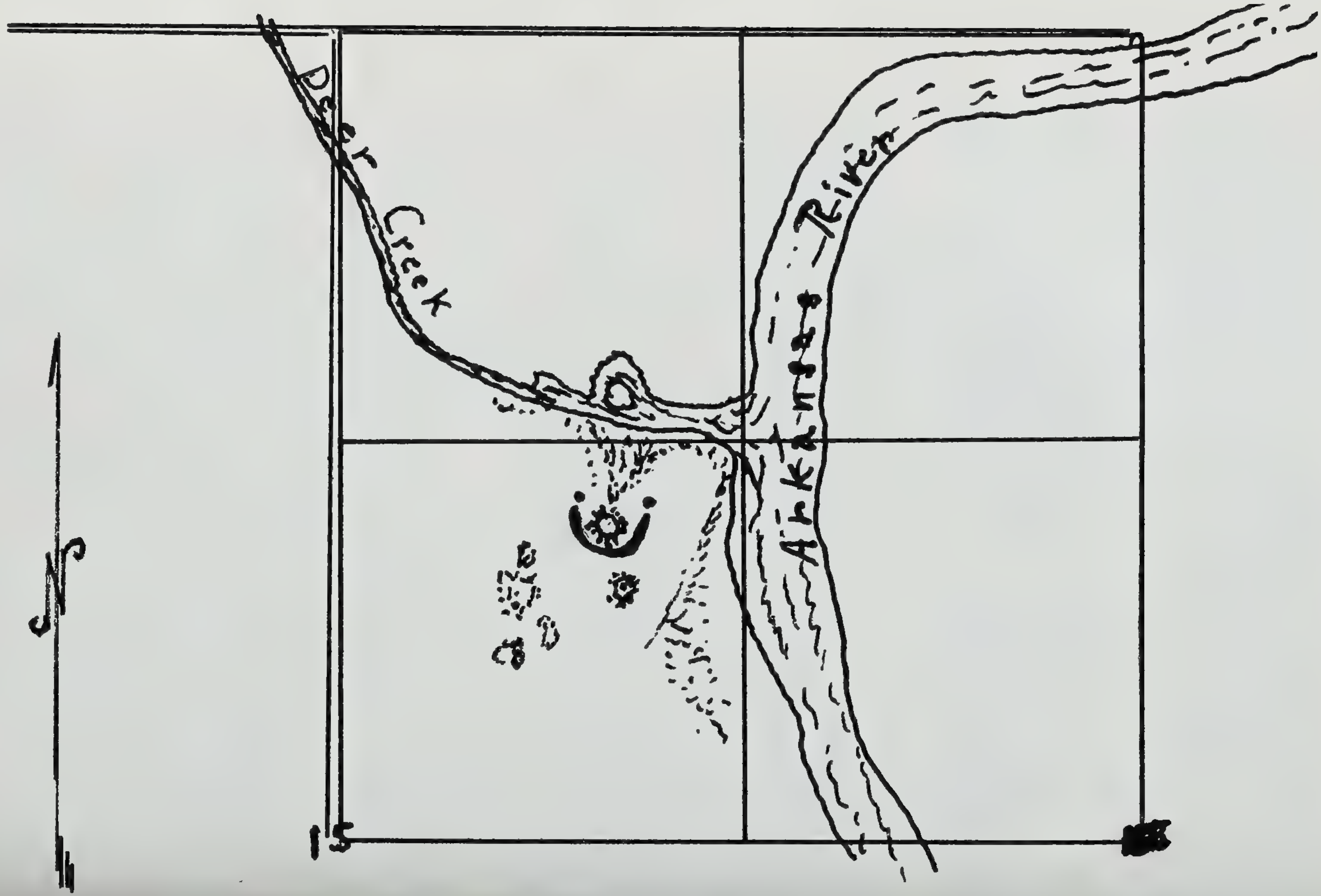
1956. Many of the relics from the Ferdinandina site found by Mr. and Mrs. Moore during a period of fifty years are described by George Shirk in a feature story "Oklahoma Reclaims Its Past," appearing in *The Daily Oklahoman*, for Sunday, September 30, 1956 (magazine section pp. 14-15). The first feature story by Mr. Shirk relating to Ferdinandina (data and photographs furnished and manuscript edited in part by Muriel H. Wright) appeared under the title "Real Estate Deal No. 1, in *The Daily Oklahoman* for Sunday, August 27, 1950. A letter by Muriel H. Wright appearing in the column "The People Speak," in the Sunday issue of *The Daily Oklahoman* for September 17, 1950, refers to the recent Ferdinandina feature story, the Bert Moore collection of Winfield, Kansas, and the Chilocco Museum exhibits excavated by the Marland Archeological Expedition under the direction of the late Dr. J. B. Thoburn, in 1926.—Ed.


Deer Creek
Arkansas River
15
N

NE/4 - Sec. 15 - TW - 28 - R 3E

—Drawn by O. W. McGinty

Remnants of supporting pillars • •
The moat surrounding Trading Post ◡

Map showing location of Ferdinandina site on south side of Deer trade in buffalo hides. They served their day and are gone, as can be said of many another early village and people.

SUMMARY OR CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing materials cited conclusions can be drawn which are fairly reasonable and may be taken as the best possible until some later research may eliminate some statements and add new records and facts.

The description of the Pani villages by du Tisné, which he visited coincide with the Ferdinandina site as to distance from the salt deposits where the natives got their supplies. The Great Salt Plains deposits are still there. Du Tisné was so much impressed by the use of the salt that he described how the chiefs used it in entertaining guests.

The Mallet Brothers, 1739, made an overland trip to Santa Fe, taking off from the Pani villages, following a westward course, according to the account found in Margry.

Mention by du Tisné of a number of villages of the same tribe farther up the same stream, designates not the Arkansas, but one of its tributaries. This site could have been the Ferdinandina site. Dr. Thoburn calls attention to the antiquity of this site as indicated by the artifacts recovered there.

Dr. Thoburn's further discoveries in the second village are about two miles north and east of the Ferdinandina site which he called, for the purpose of identification, the "Buffalo Cliff Village Site." Artifacts unearthed here prove that it was the location of a hide-skinning and scraping village site. The rocky cliff over which the buffalo could be driven in great numbers—a trick well known to Plains Indians and spoken of in history elsewhere than in Oklahoma—the presence of many flint hide-scrapers; the absence of hunting arrows so prevalent on other locations; the charcoal and iron pieces such as would be found only in a blacksmithy; the age of artifacts placed by a California curator as belonging to the earlier part of the 18th Century; the charred corn; the rather close proximity to an early flint mine, (near present Hardy, Kay County) sometimes referred to as "A Spanish Mine."

Du Tisné mentions the village which he visited being a certain number of leagues west of the Arkansas. This would indicate that it might not have been the exact site of Ferdinandina as shown on the European maps, but we have evidence from a later French writer that with a small amount of hardware and little expense, a whole tribe could very reasonably be moved to more strategic locations for commercial purposes—

trading in hides and furs. The sites with which we are primarily concerned could have been in use in the time of du Tisné; or for commercial reasons, set up later by removal of whole tribes.

Thus, written descriptions as recorded by Margry from du Tisné and de la Harpe fix the approximate locations of the villages of the Pani; the evident marks of stockades further fix exact locations in two instances at least, marks which are to be clearly seen at the present time. The topography of the region also coincides with the early French descriptions. All these things point to the authenticity of the village locations. Pieces of French guns, brass with the fleur-de-lis emblem, iron tools now in the Historical Society Museum; arrow points as first mentioned being of two kinds, described by du Tisné and later verified by Dr. Thoburn's discoveries—these in the Museum also; and a great collection of artifacts on display in the Museum and much more such material still to be cleaned and placed on display—all these things point to the busy place that Ferdinandina must have been at one time.

Aerial photographs add their testimony to the village site. These photographs made by the government in connection with agricultural pursuits and Arkansas River engineering projects show very markedly the location of the old "Trading Post" with evidence of the stockades and depressions of the moat surrounding the stockade at the time.

And the name "Ferdinandina," too, arouses interest. The rather insistent location, marked "Ferdinandina" on the old English maps made in Scotland and England over a period of years, and this location coinciding with the confluence of the Arkansas and a named western branch—now called Deer Creek—a name which could not have well been "dreamed up," but a location known to commercial map makers of the period. The fact of the activity and authority of one Richard Wall in the trading activities of the Louisiana country made this location known to French, English and Spanish fur traders in the French territory of La Louisianne. *Ferdinandina,* the feminine form used so often in referring to towns or ships, may have been a designation used by the English map makers and not have been so designated by the traders actually on the scene. If the map were to show the trading post, it would have to have a name, but this idea is a mere guess. However, the Editor of *The Chronicles* has made a thorough study of this particular theory and has agreed to give her findings in an *Appendix* to this article. Miss Wright makes a strong point and an exceedingly interestingly one.

These are the conclusions which are drawn from the materials at hand, concerning the French trading post and white settlement shown on early maps by the name of "Ferdinandina," on the Arkansas River in Oklahoma.

APPENDIX

THE NAME "FERDINANDINA" LOCATED ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER

Early maps of western North America and the United States, made by cartographers in England and Scotland give the name of a town, or trading post *Ferdinandina* shown near the mouth of a small stream on the west side of the Arkansas River, a few miles south of the present north boundary of Oklahoma. No record of such a place as Ferdinandina, or how it was named had been brought to light in historical research up to 1926. Furthermore, there is no tradition in the Arkansas River region that indicates that a trading post "Ferdinandina" on the Arkansas ever existed, its history having been lost in this country for some two hundred years. Yet the name is found on British maps as late as 1870-1872. And now here, Mr. Leslie McRill's interesting presentation of the subject in this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (summer, 1963) based on his translation of the French reports found in Margry, his study of other historical works and his review of the reports of the late Dr. J. B. Thoburn on the Marland Archeological Expedition of 1926 point that an early trading post, site shown on the old maps as *Ferdinandina,* was a place of importance in the first half of the 1700's. Mr. McRill has suggested that London and Edinburgh (British) map makers may have entered the name of "Ferdinandina" for a thriving trading post known to be at this site on the Arkansas River but that the name on paper was unknown to the trading people far in this western wilderness.

It is a fact that many place names—mountains, streams and rivers—in Eastern Oklahoma still bear French names that originated in this region before 1750. French traders were well established and knew the Indian peoples in this region even up to the Purchase of Louisiana by the United States (1803). Frenchmen who had lived and traded north of Red River in Arkansas and Oklahoma remained in the employ of the Spanish governors at New Orleans after the Treaty of Paris (1763) when France gave the Louisiana country to Spain. The classic example of this was Athanase de Mézières (See Bolton, *op. cit.*) himself who came to "Louisianne" in the 1730's as a French soldier, remained and made his home in what is now the state of Louisiana. He became a man of prominence during the Spanish regime for his diplomacy and knowledge of the western Indian tribes, especially the Caddoan tribes of the Upper Red River. He actually named a town *San Bernardo* in 1778 on the north side of Red River (site in southeastern Jefferson County, Oklahoma), a large village of the later known Wichita (also called *Taovayas*) where French traders had held forth a long time before this visit by de Mézières.

Research into the main events of European history during the period 1700 to 1763, in the background of settlements and trading interests along the Arkansas in Oklahoma suggests a clue to the naming of "Ferdinandina," briefly reviewed here:

King Ferdinand VI ascended the throne of Spain in 1746 at the death of his father King Philip V of Spain (the grandson of Louis XIV of France), Philip having founded the Spanish branch of the French Bourbon line when he became King of Spain in 1700. His right to the throne was not recognized until some years later near the close of the

"War of the Spanish Succession." The War ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-14), under which England took over Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The Treaty saw the beginning of England's trade expansion in America.

A commercial treaty between England and Spain (the Asiento Treaty, 1713) gave England the exclusive right of Negro slave trade to America up to 1743, as well as the privilege of sending a 500-ton boatload of merchandise to Mexico (Vera Cruz) and Panama (Porto Bello) fairs once a year. Angry disputes arose between the two countries over the Asiento Treaty terms: Spain established a revenue collection system; English smuggling, privateering and piracy in Spanish waters grew. Finally, war broke out between England and Spain (1740-1748) known as the "War of the Austrian Succession." France joined Spain in this War within a few years. Early in the War, King Philip V sent one Richard Wall, a trusted emissary at the Spanish court, to Spanish America to establish better trading relations there. It is reported that Richard Wall perfected a plan to take over Jamaica from England (see ref. to Sandoval, fn. 33 in foregoing article by Mr. McRill).

King Ferdinand VI, known as "The Learned" whose policy was one of resolute neutrality refused to take sides in the war raging in Europe when he became king (1746). He promoted the internal welfare of Spain, reorganized her navy and encouraged manufactures. It was largely through the offices of his able minister, Richard Wall who carried on the work of financial reform and administration that Spain advanced.

Wall was engaged by the Spanish King in the negotiations that finally brought about the treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) that closed the "War of the Austrian Succession." Wall was strongly in favor of an English alliance though he was always loyal to Spain, the country that he served. His views recommended him to King Ferdinand VI who named him (1747) minister to London. Here Richard Wall was very popular and highly regarded by English officials. Though constantly a partisan of peace and good relations with England, he was firm in asserting the rights of the Spanish government.

Events in the meantime taking place in America where many of the French colonists were in sympathy with the Bourbons of France, along with Spain's advancement and Wall's diplomacy and popularity in London may have suggested to British map makers (if not one person, not yet revealed in historical records) the designation of the French post far out on the Arkansas River as "Ferdinandina' 'in honor of King Ferdinand VI of Spain. Another event in favor of this naming was the alliance or pact brought about by the French voyageurs, between the Comanche (Padouca) and the Wichita (Pani Pique) in 1746, that paved the way for peaceable and successful trading relations at posts established on the Arkansas River as well as on the Red River on the Oklahoma side.

Richard Wall (born 1694) was a native of Waterford on the south coast of Ireland. As a Roman Catholic he was barred from public service in England, and sought his fortune in Spain. He was a soldier and officer in an Irish Regiment of the Spanish Army in the expedition against Sicily (1718). He became the secretary of the Spanish ambassador to Russia but the climate of St. Petersburg was too much for him, and he returned to military service in Italy. Wall's knowledge of languages, adaptability, quick wit and self confidence brought him advancement in office at the Spanish court. He had an influential and constructive part in the great events of his day in Europe, and his visit to Spanish America had brought him acquaintance with colonial affairs in the Western World.

King Ferdinand recalled Wall from London (1752) to make a new treaty of commerce with the English (Treaty of Madrid), and he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, a position that he held until the year (1764) following the Treaty of Paris. Charles III (half-brother and successor to King Ferdinand who died in 1759) insisted that Wall remain as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Spain. But the King's partisan activities with the French Bourbons, and Wall's great efforts to bring about peace in the recent War were trying in his position as Minister. Pretending a disease of the eyes, Richard Wall finally left the Spanish court though King Charles gave him a handsome allowance and land in Granada where Wall lived and extended fine hospitality to visitors and his English friends until his death in 1778.

This same year (1778) by co-incidence, the Frenchman Athanase de Mézières serving in an official capacity under the Spanish regime in Louisiana went to the Upper Red River on a mission to visit the Caddoan Indian tribes, and named the great village of the Wichita with its French trading post "San Bernardo," the site recently marked by the Oklahoma Historical Society in southeastern Jefferson County.

The Caddoan tribes pushed southward by the Osage of the Missouri and Osage river region who had been engaged in trade with the French Canadian traders of Illinois apparently had left the Arkansas and gone to Red River during the period of the French and Indian War and following the Peace Treaty (France, England and Spain) of Paris in 1763. The Pani (Caddoan) village, so-called "Deer Creek site" on the Arkansas in present Kay County—"Ferdinandina" had thus been abandoned.

The Pani village at the "Deer Creek Site" was visited by du Tisné in 1719, according to his description that holds for those who visit the place to this day. The French had trading contacts and had planted a trading post in the village probably several years before it received its name *Ferdinandina* in the reign of King Ferdinand VI of Spain, about the time of the Comanche-Wichita pact of 1746. The history of its naming is thus similar to that of the Wichita village on Red River in Oklahoma, which had been settled and the site of French trade for a number of years before it was named "San Bernardo" by de Mézières in 1778, in honor of Gov. Bernardo De Galvez of Louisiana.

(M.H.W., Ed.)

CONFEDERATE POSTAL SYSTEM IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

*By George H. Shirk**

The extent that the Post Office Deparment of the Confederate States of America extended its operations into Indian Territory within the period of the Civil War has always been an enigma. The post office system, being a civilian entity, could of necessity operate successfully only in areas reasonably subject to civilian control; and as the greater portion of Indian Territory, especially the areas of the Cherokee and Creek Nations, were often subject to successive military occupation and domination, whether Union or Confederate, it has been assumed that there was little or no actual operation of a civilian postal system[1] within the Indian Territory during the Civil War.

There has always been much philatelic interest in postmarks, envelopes having seen postal service—called "covers" by philatelists—and all other matters pertaining to the mail service. Perhaps no other branch of government operation is so assiduously studied by amateur students as are post office operations, its stamp issues, postal markings and the carrying of the mails.

Illustrative of the complete absence of knowledge on the Confederate postal service within the Indian Territory is the circumstance that the standard handbook[2] on Confederate philately makes no reference to Indian Territory. Serious students of Southern philately have compiled with great care and in much detail checklists of Confederate post marks, Confederate post offices, and it is remarkable to note that in none of the philatelic catalogues is a single reference made to Indian Territory.

The finest Confederate philatelic collections contain no covers from Indian Territory that bear a postmark establishing without doubt the operation of a civilian post office within Confederate controlled Indian Territory. Existing letters that from their text are clearly those which were written and dispatched from Indian Territory, from their external markings appear to have been carried by army courier or other non-post office means to a Confederate post office, either in Texas or Arkansas, and there placed in the Confederate postal service.

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* President George H. Shirk of the Oklahoma Historical Society presents here in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Vol. XLI, No. 2), a unique contribution on an unknown subject in state history, "Confederate Postal System in the Indian Territory." President Shirk prepared the manuscript of this article for *The Chronicles,* in connection with his writings and activities in the Commemoration of the Civil War Centennial in Oklahoma, having recently personally researched the original, hitherto undiscovered records of the Confederate Post Office Department in the National Archives at Washington, D.C.—Ed.

[1] George H. Shirk, see *Appendix,* "The Civil War in Indian Territory" in "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVI, p. 236. *(Cumulative Index,* O. H. S. 1961).

[2] Dietz, *Confederate States Catalog and Hand-Book, 1959* (Richmond, 1959).

Judge Harry J. Lemley, of Hope, Arkansas, undoubtedly one of the greatest authorities on Trans-Mississippi Confederate postal operations, reports[3] that in his entire experience he has known of only one and possibly two covers that bear satisfactory evidence of having been mailed in a Confederate Post Office within Indian Territory.

The first United States Post Office was established in Indian Territory on September 5, 1824, under the name of Miller Court House, J. H. Fowler, Postmaster.[4] Its exact location is today unknown, but this post office was located north of the Red River in the Shawnee Town settlement—area southeast of present Idabel. The United States Post Office Department maintained regular postal operations within Indian Territory from that date until the outbreak of the War between the States. Post Offices were established and discontinued within Indian Territory prior to the Civil War in a routine manner; and postal operations for the ante-bellum period are well understood. Many covers are extant showing civilian postal usage from Indian Territory within the pre-war period; and postmarks and covers from Indian Territory post offices are eagerly sought by philatelists.

The date of the last mail service on the Overland Mail across the Choctaw Nation over the famed Butterfield Trail is uncertain. By March, 1861, the company was attempting to maintain an irregular schedule as far west as Ft. Smith on the eastern section, but with little satisfaction.[5] The last east-bound through coach departed from El Paso on March 9 and arrived in California, Missouri, on March 21, 1861. There are no records of any later coaches over the section traversing Indian Territory.

By early 1861, Congress anticipated difficulties on the mail services to California over the Butterfield route, known as Route No. 12,578; and by Section 15 of the Act of February 27, 1861,[6] Congress directed the Postmaster General: "To advertise for daily mail service overland between St. Joseph or some other point on the Missouri River, connected by railroad with the

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[3] Personal letter from Judge Lemley, January 29, 1963.

[4] Shirk, *op. cit.* p. 179

[5] Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (Glendale, 1947), Vol. II, p. 325.

[6] 12 Stat. 151.

East, which may be selected by the contractor, and Placerville, California, over the central route."

Although the same Act of Congress contemplated continued operation of the Butterfield route, the above instructions to the Postmaster General would indicate that Congress soon expected disruption of service over the southern route and anticipated that a more northerly route would soon be essential.

Within a few days, Congress took definite steps in that regard. By Section 9 of the Act of March 2, 1861,[7] the Postmaster General was directed to discontinue the mail service on Route No. 12,578 (the Butterfield route) from St. Louis and Memphis to San Francisco and to modify the Butterfield contract to provide for a different route to California, effective on or before July 1, 1861. Section 10 of this Act made provision to reimburse the Buttterfield contractors: "The contractor shall be entitled to present pay for the necessary time to change the route without performing the service and shall be entitled to two months' pay on their present route as liquidated damages for such change in service."

Section 11, the following section of the same Act, provided that if the contractors failed before March 25, 1861, to accept the change from the southern to the central route to California, the Postmaster General was directed to annul the contract and readvertise for service. Thus, by the end of March, the renowned Butterfield Mail service had disappeared from Indian Territory.

On May 4, 1861, Col. William H. Emory evacuated Fort Arbuckle and removed all Federal troops to Kansas.[8] In November, 1861, most of the Indians loyal to the United States, under the leadership of the valiant Creek, Opothleyaholo, left their home region and with them disappeared the last vestige of northern influence and Federal government officers within the limits of present Oklahoma.

At the outbreak of the War, there were in operation in Indian Territory twenty-nine United States Post Offices.[9] They were (spelling as seen in the record):

Armstrong Academy
Baptist Mission
Boggy Depot
Burney Academy
Choctaw Agency
Coody's Bluff
Creek Agency
Doaksville
Doaksville
Eagletown
Eh-Yoh-hee
Flint
Fort Arbuckle
Fort Gibson
Fort Washita
Grand Saline
Harris' Mill
Kidron
Lenark Falls
Luk-fah-tah
Little Verdigris
Micco
Mount Clarimier
Pontotoc
Tahlequah
Tishomingo
Toboxky
Webbers Falls
Wheelock

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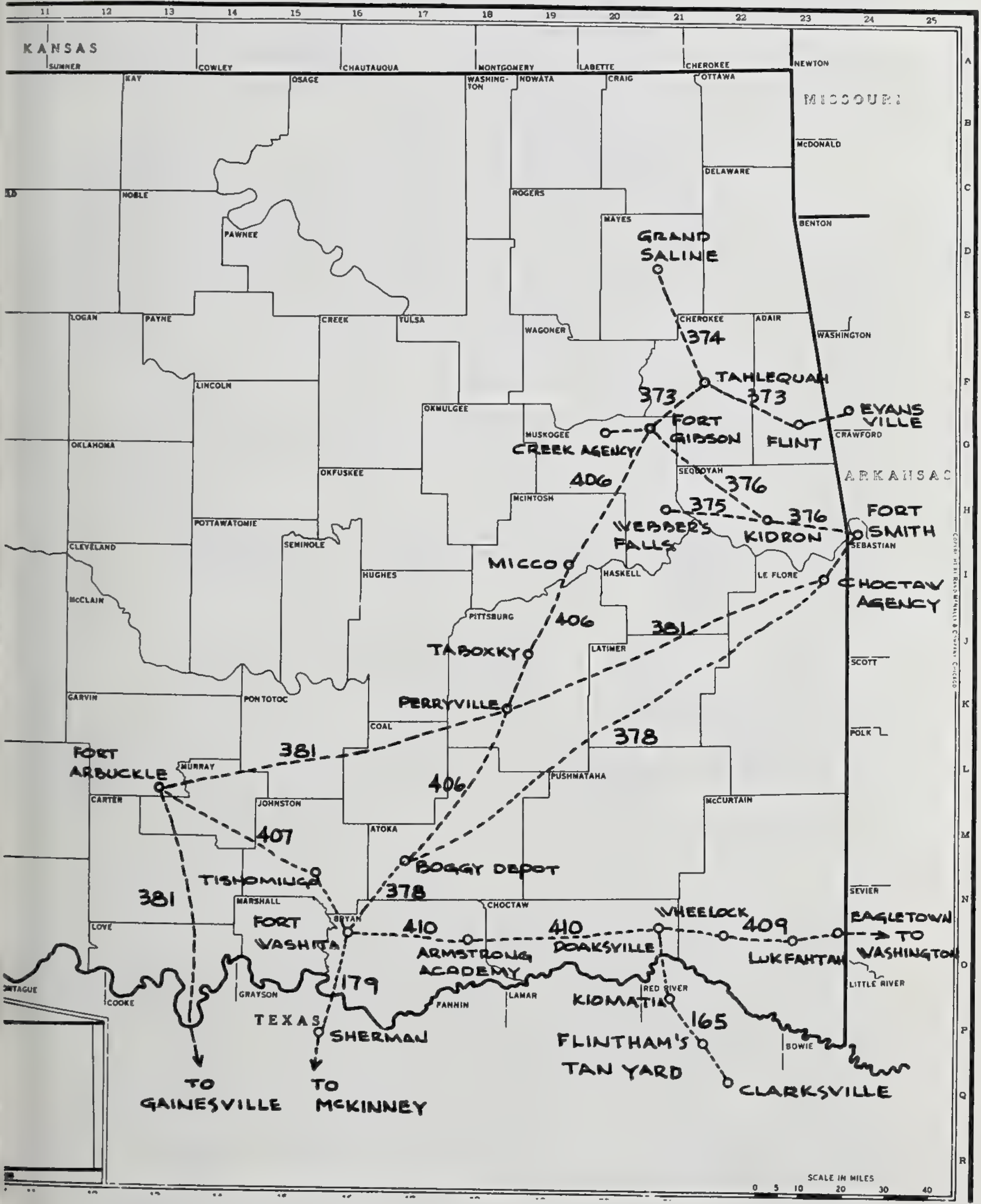
[7] 12 Stat. 204.

[8] Muriel H. Wright, "Lieutenant Averill's Ride," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (Spring 1961) p. 2.

[9] Shirk, *op. cit.* p. 236.


KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
GRAND SALINE
374
TAHLEQUAH
373
373
EVANS VILLE
FORT GIBSON
FLINT
CREEK AGENCY
406
376
375
376
FORT SMITH
WEBBER'S FALLS
KIDRON
MICCO
CHOCTAW AGENCY
406
381
TABOXKY
PERRYVILLE
378
FORT ARBUCKLE
381
406
407
TISHOMINGO
BOGGY DEPOT
381
378
FORT WASHITA
410
410
WHEELOCK
409
EAGLETOWN
TO WASHINGTON
ARMSTRONG ACADEMY
DOAKSVILLE
LUKFAHTAH
179
KIOMATIA
165
SHERMAN
FLINTHAM'S TAN YARD
CLARKSVILLE
TO GAINESVILLE
TO McKINNEY
SCALE IN MILES
0 5 10 20 30 40

Map showing mail routes of Confederate Postal System in Indian Territory, with relation to present day counties in Oklahoma.

United States Post Office Department records are silent on exactly what happened to each of these offices as the War broke out and the area passed under active Confederate control.

The provisional government of the Confederate States of America was organized in Montgomery, Alabama, in the Spring of 1861. On March 6th, President Davis appointed John H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster General.[10]

Reagan dispatched a friend, H. P. Brewster, to Washington with the mission of prevailing upon certain key officials in the Post Office Department to accept positions in the office of the Confederate Postmaster General. Brewster succeeded in securing the services of several experienced officials and they joined the staff of Postmaster General Reagan. They brought with them copies of all of the Post Office Department forms and reports as well as postal maps of some of the Southern states.[11] From this beginning, Reagan organized the Department.

Reagan secured permission of the Confederate Congress to continue in office postmasters and those with contracts for carrying the mails under former United States contracts, if they were willing to serve, until new arrangements could be made. Thereafter and under the authority of the Act of the Confederate Congress of May 9, 1861, Reagan issued a proclamation assuming full control and direction of the postal service within the area of the Confederate States of America effective June 1, 1861.[12]

In the meantime, on April 29th in his first message to the Confederate Congress after the ratification of the Confederate Constitution, President Davis reported:[13]

> The Postmaster-General has already succeeded in organizing his Department to such an extent as to be in readiness to assume the direction of our postal affairs on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by the act of March 15, 1861, or even sooner if desired by Congress. The various books and circulars have been prepared and measures taken to secure supplies of blanks, postage stamps, stamped envelopes, mail bags, locks, keys, &c. The revenues of this Department are collected and disbursed in modes peculiar to itself, and require a special bureau to secure a proper accountability in the administration of its finances. I call your attention to the additional legislation required for this Department; to the recommendation for changes in the law fixing the rates of postage on newspapers, periodicals, and sealed packages of certain kinds, and specially to the recommendation of the Secretary, in which I concur, that you provide at once for the assumption by him of the control of our entire postal service.

Thus, on paper at least, the government of the Confederate States had assumed jurisdiction of the postal service within Indian Territory formerly operated by the United States.

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[10] John H. Reagan, *Memoirs* (New York, 1906) p. 109.

[11] *ibid.* p. 125

[12] *ibid.* p. 131

[13] *Official Records, War of the Rebellion,* Series IV, Vol. I, p. 267.

Conditions in fact, however, were chaotic. In a letter dated May 29, 1861, to Confederate Secretary of State, Robert Toombs, Albert Pike, a Little Rock attorney, who had been appointed Confederate Commissioner to the Indian Tribes, wrote:[14] "There are no mails in the Indian country and I shall have to employ expresses when I desire to send on letters."

In like vein, A. G. Mayers, postmaster at Fort Smith, reported on May 27 to the Postmaster General:[15]

> Enclosed please find letter of G. B. Hester at Boggy Depot, C.N. You will see they are without mails in that country. For three weeks the mails for the Indian country have been accumulating in this office. I sent forward all the mail that could be packed on a single horse . . . I cannot get men to carry the mail. They say they are afraid of being robbed or murdered . . . Our neighbors, the Indians must suffer great inconvenience on account of the stoppage of mail facilities.

A similar letter was written a month later from the Fort Smith postmaster to the Postmaster General: "Our mails throughout the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw & Creek nations have all been stopped by the old mail carriers."

There can be no doubt that with the coming of the Civil War to Indian Territory there was a complete disruption of the mail service for the entire region that is now the State of Oklahoma.

In May, 1861, the Confederate Secretary of State, Robert Toombs, dispatched Pike to the Indian country with the mission of aligning all possible support for the Confederacy among the various Indian tribes. He was vested with plenary power in the conduct of the negotiations, and was eminently successful in his mission. In all, he negotiated nine separate Indian treaties. These were all subsequently ratified, with minor provisos, by the Confederate Congress.

The first treaty, with the Creek Nation, signed at North Fork Town on July 10th, by Article 34 made specific reference to the establishment of a postal system within the Creek Nation:[16] "Art. XXXIV. That the Congress of the Confederate States shall establish and maintain post-offices at the most important places in the Creek Nation, and cause the mails to be regularly carried at reasonable intervals to and from the same, at the same rates of postage and in the same manner as in the Confederate States."

Substantially the same language appeared as Article 48[17] of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty signed July 12th; Article 35[18] of the Seminole Treaty executed August 1st; and Article 39[19] of the Cherokee Treaty signed at Tahlequah on October 7. The Cherokee Treaty contained the additional proviso that postmasters for post offices in the Cherokee Nation would be Cherokee citizens.

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[14] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915) p. 190.

[15] *ibid.* p. 230.

[16] *Official Records,* Series IV, Vol. I, p. 434.

[17] *ibid* p. 457.

Postmaster General Reagan built the Confederate postal service upon the solid framework of the pre-existing United States establishment. As the pre-War postal service developed, the Postmaster General had developed a network of postal routes, giving to each a number and advertising every four years for bids from contractors for the carrying of the mail over the respective routes. The last previous general advertisement for bids on postal routes had been in 1858. The Postmaster General had in the Spring of that year prepared a complete list of all postal routes for operation within the various states and advertised that bids would be received until March 31, 1958, to be opened April 24, for the contract period from July 1, 1858, to June 30, 1862.[20] The advertisement for bids was widely circulated. Numbers were assigned to the various routes throughout the United States; and the consolidated list, in printed form, was given broad circulation.

These were the mail routes Reagan planned to maintain in operation. By Act of the Confederate Congress of February 11, 1861, all laws of the United States within use within the Confederate States of America on November 1, 1860, were continued in full force and effect and adopted by reference, if not clearly inconsistent with Confederate statute. Postmaster General Reagan adopted the complete body of the United States Postal statutes, laws and regulations. It is interesting to note that throughout the period of the Confederate postal service, references are found continually to United States statutes, sections of the United States Code, and so on. For example: Although the Confederate Post Office Department assigned new numbers to the mail routes planned to be continued, more often than not the various clerks and officials in routine correspondence would use the old United States numbering nomenclature.

Like other branches of his Government, the Postmaster General of the Confederacy soon found himself beset with a host of problems and difficulties. These are perhaps summed up best in an editorial item that appeared in the Marshall, Texas, *Texas Republican,* for October 19, 1861:[21]

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[18] *ibid., p.* 520.

[19] *ibid.,* p. 679.

[20] The original of the printed list, with advertisement for bids, was examined personally by the writer in The National Archives, Army and Air Corps Branch, in August 1962.

[21] Oklahoma Historical Society, Microfilm Collections, Newspaper Department.

> The conviction seems to be fixing itself upon the minds of the people that Hon. John H. Reagan, Postmaster General of the Confederate States, is not the man for the job he is attempting to fill. He has been in office for months, but has done nothing known to the favor. Those little conveniences, postage stamps, have not yet made their appearance, and no knowing when they will. And in the management of the post routes he seems to do no better. One of the mail contractors in this county has written repeatedly to the Department in Richmond, to know whether he should continue to carry the mail, so as to have some assurance that he should finally get his pay. In short, he desires to do his duties "by authority." But not a syllable can he elicit in reply. If Mr. Reagan treats all in the same manner who are connected with the mail service, it is no wonder that there is a growing desire for his abdication.

Apparently, R. W. Loughery, the *Republican* Editor, had done more than just publish the above comment, but had written Reagan personally, for in the November 9 issue of the *Republican,* the Editor printed in full a lengthy letter from the Postmaster General to Loughery. The letter was dated Richmond, October 17, 1861, and read in part:

> . . . I have been especially embarrassed by large contractors in my efforts to supply the mails in Texas and Arkansas. One hundred and eight thousand dollars ($108,000) per annum was demanded of the department for carrying the mail six times a week from New Iberia, La., to Orange, Tex., a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles. The demand was so grossly extortionate, that I felt bound to refuse to give it, and so had, for a time, to submit to a deprivation of the people of Southern and Western Texas of their mails; and for it I see the press is denouncing me and not the persons who caused the misfortune. I offered them, at the time, forty-five thousand dollars per annum. So the large contractors in Arkansas threw down their contracts on the 1st day of May and refused to carry the mails for our Government, at the price they received from the old Government, but demanded rates more than double their former pay. These I have not, and will not pay, even if (as in the case of Texas) the mails have to stop . . .
>
> Your obd. servt.
> J. H. Reagan

Allowing a few days after the Postmaster General's letter arrived in Marshall for publication, the mail from Richmond (unless Reagan happened to be in his home state of Texas at the time) to Marshall certainly made good time, indicating at least one route that was not giving difficulty.

Enough of the records of the Postmaster General of the Confederacy have survived so that it is possible to piece together a satisfactory understanding of the postal system within Indian Territory as it existed "on paper" in Richmond. Indian Territory was a long way from the Confederate capital, communications were incredibly slow, and the extent of actual postal operations here "on the ground" will always remain somewhat uncertain.

By late 1863, the deterioration of the Confederate military position was such that Postmaster General Reagan found it essential to decentralize from Richmond postal operations for the area west of the Mississippi River. He established at Marshall, Texas, the Trans-Mississippi Agency[22] of the Post Office Department and gave to it full plenary power for postal operations within the area identical to the Trans-Mississippi command of Gen. E. Kirby Smith. Dr. James H. Starr was appointed Agent with full power to operate the Confederate postal system west of the Mississippi.

Upon the collapse of combat operations, substantial quantities of the Confederate Archives were captured by the Union military. Having been acquired in this manner, the records passed to the custody of the War Department and today may be found among War Department records in the National Archives.[23]

The records of the Appointment Bureau, the department dealing with the appointment of postmasters and officials, have not survived. The records of the Contract Bureau, the department dealing with contracts for carrying the mail and the establishment of postal routes, are substantially complete. There remain extant the letter books of outgoing letters of H. St. George Offutt, Chief of the Contract Bureau, and two large volumes, one denominated *Route Book,* and the other *Record of Bids for Postal Routes.* Arranged by route numbers, these two volumes are a register of entries showing the various transactions pertaining to these routes.

Unfortunately, incoming correspondence and related "back-up" material for the entries in these books have been lost. The original contracts for carrying the mail, as executed by the Postmaster General and the contractor, were bound into large volumes, by state. Unfortunately, the Arkansas volume cannot be located.

In addition, much of the correspondence, placed within file wrappers for each route, of the Agency at Marshall have survived. The earliest date noted in any of this material is June 18, 1864, which would indicate that the Agency commenced operation sometime in early summer 1864. By this time, at least half of Indian Territory was under Union control; and so, of course, Agency records would be of no assistance except for those routes serving the southern portion of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.

Although far from complete, these available records give a good picture of the efforts of the Confederacy to operate a postal

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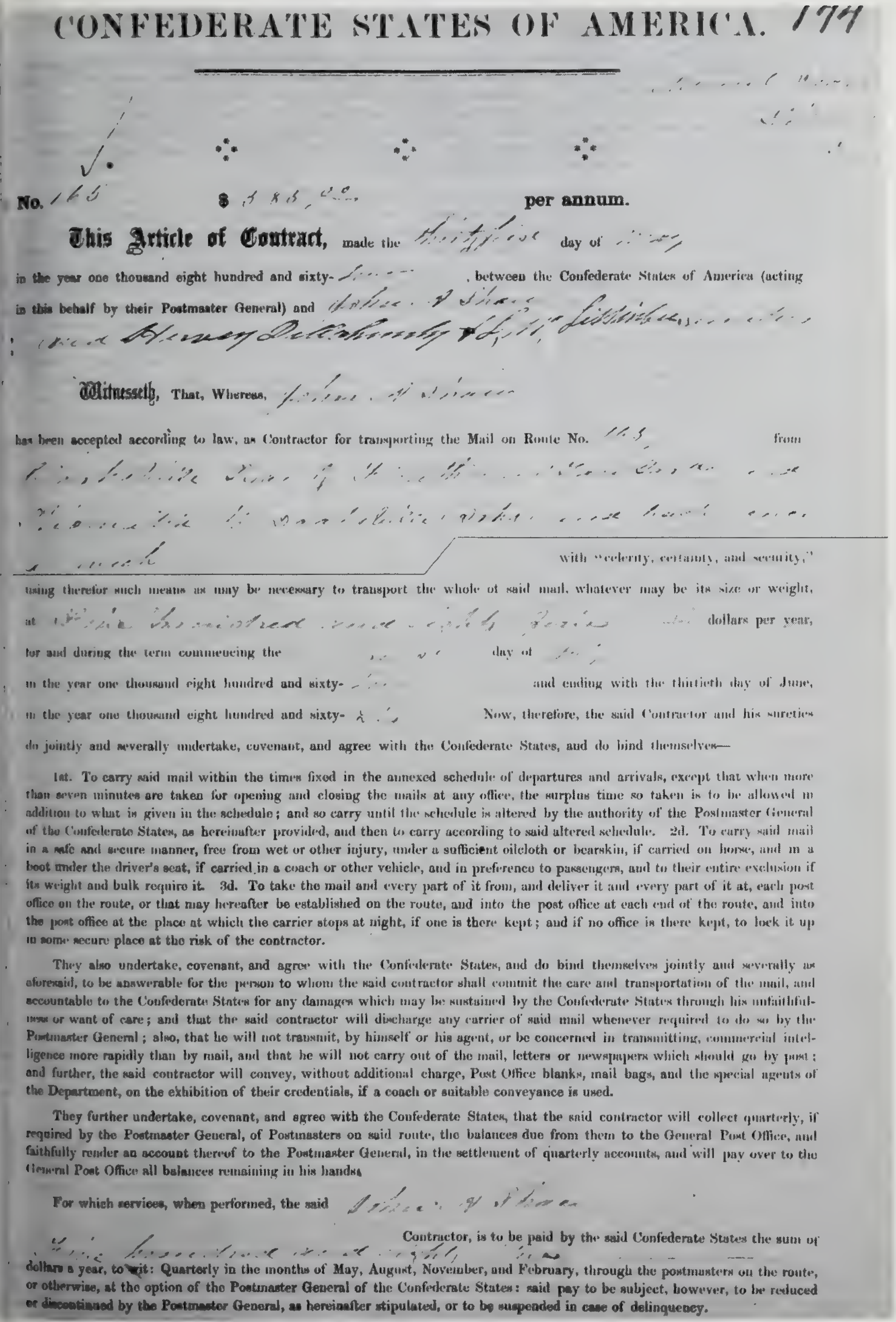
[22] The Trans-Mississippi Agency was established by Act of Confederate Congress, February 10, 1864.

[23] The National Archives, Army and Air Corps Branch. All of the original material hereafter quoted is from the originals in The National Archives, record group 109.



CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. 177

No. 165 $ 585,00 per annum.

This Article of Contract, made the thirty-first day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, between the Confederate States of America (acting in this behalf by their Postmaster General) and John A. Shaw [illegible] and Henry [illegible] [illegible]

Witnesseth, That, Whereas, John A. Shaw has been accepted according to law, as Contractor for transporting the Mail on Route No. 165, from Clarksville [illegible] to Doaksville [illegible] with "celerity, certainty, and security," using therefor such means as may be necessary to transport the whole of said mail, whatever may be its size or weight, at Five hundred and eighty five dollars per year, for and during the term commencing the [illegible] day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two and ending with the thirtieth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-[illegible]. Now, therefore, the said Contractor and his sureties do jointly and severally undertake, covenant, and agree with the Confederate States, and do bind themselves—

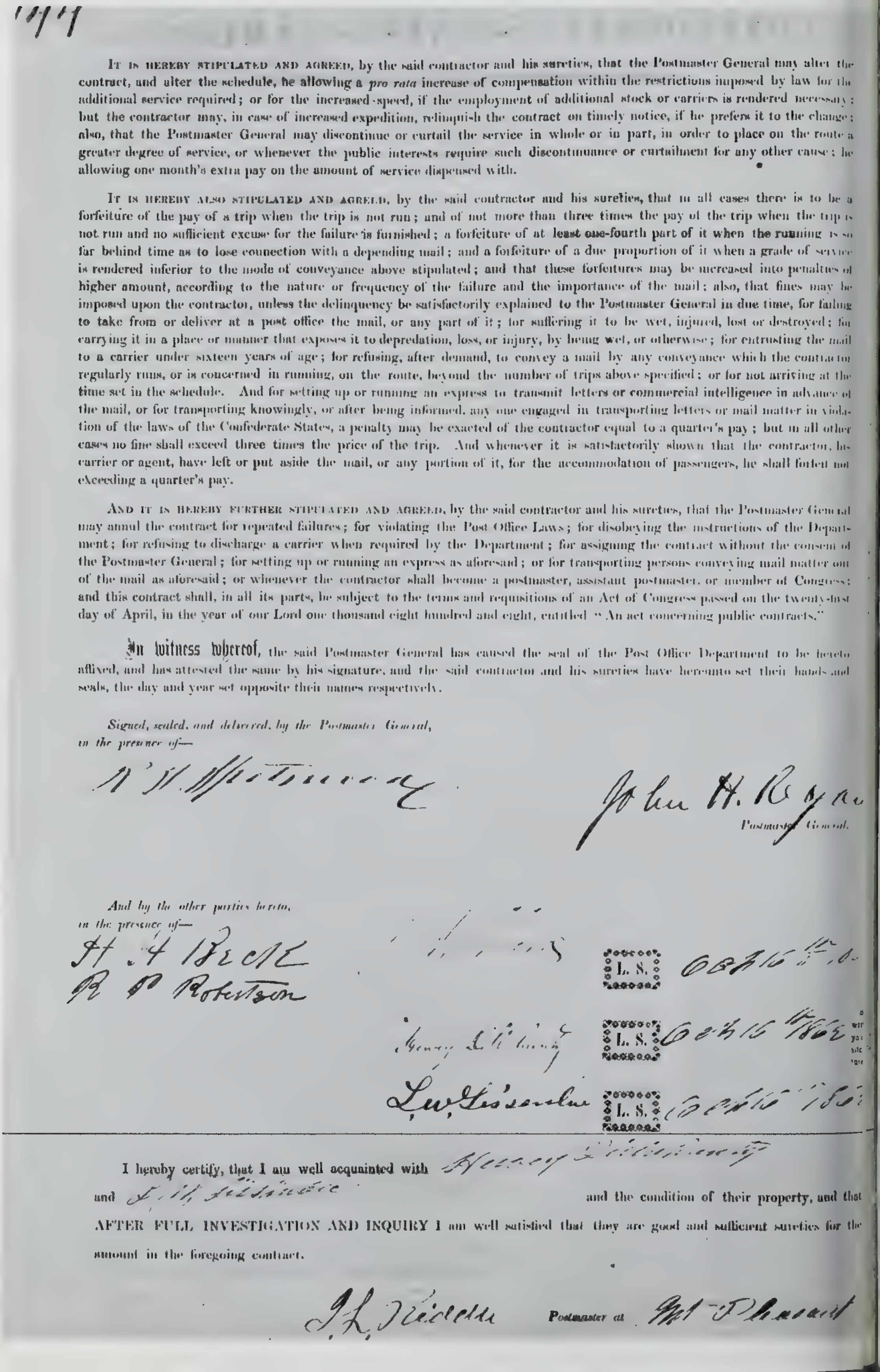
1st. To carry said mail within the times fixed in the annexed schedule of departures and arrivals, except that when more than seven minutes are taken for opening and closing the mails at any office, the surplus time so taken is to be allowed in addition to what is given in the schedule; and so carry until the schedule is altered by the authority of the Postmaster General of the Confederate States, as hereinafter provided, and then to carry according to said altered schedule. 2d. To carry said mail in a safe and secure manner, free from wet or other injury, under a sufficient oilcloth or bearskin, if carried on horse, and in a boot under the driver's seat, if carried in a coach or other vehicle, and in preference to passengers, and to their entire exclusion if its weight and bulk require it. 3d. To take the mail and every part of it from, and deliver it and every part of it at, each post office on the route, or that may hereafter be established on the route, and into the post office at each end of the route, and into the post office at the place at which the carrier stops at night, if one is there kept; and if no office is there kept, to lock it up in some secure place at the risk of the contractor.

They also undertake, covenant, and agree with the Confederate States, and do bind themselves jointly and severally as aforesaid, to be answerable for the person to whom the said contractor shall commit the care and transportation of the mail, and accountable to the Confederate States for any damages which may be sustained by the Confederate States through his unfaithfulness or want of care; and that the said contractor will discharge any carrier of said mail whenever required to do so by the Postmaster General; also, that he will not transmit, by himself or his agent, or be concerned in transmitting, commercial intelligence more rapidly than by mail, and that he will not carry out of the mail, letters or newspapers which should go by post; and further, the said contractor will convey, without additional charge, Post Office blanks, mail bags, and the special agents of the Department, on the exhibition of their credentials, if a coach or suitable conveyance is used.

They further undertake, covenant, and agree with the Confederate States, that the said contractor will collect quarterly, if required by the Postmaster General, of Postmasters on said route, the balances due from them to the General Post Office, and faithfully render an account thereof to the Postmaster General, in the settlement of quarterly accounts, and will pay over to the General Post Office all balances remaining in his hands.

For which services, when performed, the said John A. Shaw Contractor, is to be paid by the said Confederate States the sum of Five hundred and eighty five dollars a year, to wit: Quarterly in the months of May, August, November, and February, through the postmasters on the route, or otherwise, at the option of the Postmaster General of the Confederate States: said pay to be subject, however, to be reduced or discontinued by the Postmaster General, as hereinafter stipulated, or to be suspended in case of delinquency.

Contract for Confederate Postal Route 165, dated May 31, 1862, between the Postmaster General, Confederate States of America, and John A. Shaw with others, for transporting mail from Clarksville, Texas to Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation.



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IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED, by the said contractor and his sureties, that the Postmaster General may alter the contract, and alter the schedule, he allowing a *pro rata* increase of compensation within the restrictions imposed by law for the additional service required; or for the increased speed, if the employment of additional stock or carriers is rendered necessary; but the contractor may, in case of increased expedition, relinquish the contract on timely notice, if he prefers it to the change; also, that the Postmaster General may discontinue or curtail the service in whole or in part, in order to place on the route a greater degree of service, or whenever the public interests require such discontinuance or curtailment for any other cause; he allowing one month's extra pay on the amount of service dispensed with.

IT IS HEREBY ALSO STIPULATED AND AGREED, by the said contractor and his sureties, that in all cases there is to be a forfeiture of the pay of a trip when the trip is not run; and of not more than three times the pay of the trip when the trip is not run and no sufficient excuse for the failure is furnished; a forfeiture of at least one-fourth part of it when the running is so far behind time as to lose connection with a depending mail; and a forfeiture of a due proportion of it when a grade of service is rendered inferior to the mode of conveyance above stipulated; and that these forfeitures may be increased into penalties of higher amount, according to the nature or frequency of the failure and the importance of the mail; also, that fines may be imposed upon the contractor, unless the delinquency be satisfactorily explained to the Postmaster General in due time, for failing to take from or deliver at a post office the mail, or any part of it; for suffering it to be wet, injured, lost or destroyed; for carrying it in a place or manner that exposes it to depredation, loss, or injury, by being wet, or otherwise; for entrusting the mail to a carrier under sixteen years of age; for refusing, after demand, to convey a mail by any conveyance which the contractor regularly runs, or is concerned in running, on the route, beyond the number of trips above specified; or for not arriving at the time set in the schedule. And for setting up or running an express to transmit letters or commercial intelligence in advance of the mail, or for transporting knowingly, or after being informed, any one engaged in transporting letters or mail matter in violation of the laws of the Confederate States, a penalty may be exacted of the contractor equal to a quarter's pay; but in all other cases no fine shall exceed three times the price of the trip. And whenever it is satisfactorily shown that the contractor, his carrier or agent, have left or put aside the mail, or any portion of it, for the accommodation of passengers, he shall forfeit not exceeding a quarter's pay.

AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER STIPULATED AND AGREED, by the said contractor and his sureties, that the Postmaster General may annul the contract for repeated failures; for violating the Post Office Laws; for disobeying the instructions of the Department; for refusing to discharge a carrier when required by the Department; for assigning the contract without the consent of the Postmaster General; for setting up or running an express as aforesaid; or for transporting persons conveying mail matter out of the mail as aforesaid; or whenever the contractor shall become a postmaster, assistant postmaster, or member of Congress; and this contract shall, in all its parts, be subject to the terms and requisitions of an Act of Congress passed on the twenty-first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, entitled "An act concerning public contracts."

In witness whereof, the said Postmaster General has caused the seal of the Post Office Department to be hereto affixed, and has attested the same by his signature, and the said contractor and his sureties have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year set opposite their names respectively.

Signed, sealed, and delivered, by the Postmaster General, in the presence of—

John H. Reagan
Postmaster General.

And by the other parties hereto, in the presence of—

H A Beck
R P Robertson

L. S. Oct 16th

L. S. Oct 16th 1862

L. S. Oct 16 18

I hereby certify, that I am well acquainted with [illegible]
and [illegible] and the condition of their property, and that AFTER FULL INVESTIGATION AND INQUIRY I am well satisfied that they are good and sufficient sureties for the amount in the foregoing contract.

J. L. Riddle Postmaster at Mt Pleasant

system within Indian Territory. As the records are arranged by separate route, so in like manner they will such be presented here.

ROUTE 165

This was former U. S. Route No. 8734, from Clarksville by Flintham's Tan Yard and Kiomatia, all in Texas, to Doaksville. It had been operated three times a week at a contract price of $936.00 annually.

The *Route Book* records the contractor to have been Heuse Delavan (writing illegible—spelling uncertain) of Clarksville. This was probably the former United States contractor who continued in Confederate service, as there is no entry of such a bidder in the *Record of Bids.*

Apparently the contractor soon defaulted, for the *Route Book* contains three undated entries, made in late 1861, reporting that the postmaster at Clarksville had written that the route was "abandoned by the contractor and recommending that one trip a week would be sufficient when relet." The postmaster at Flintham's Tan Yard made a like report; and the postmaster at Doaksville wrote that "the route to Clarksville should be reopened" and that one trip a week would be sufficient.

Postmaster General Reagan published notice for proposal for bids on this route on September 4, 1861. The notice ran in the *Clarksville Standard,* and other Texas newspapers, and provided that bids would be received at the Contract Bureau in Richmond until noon, Saturday, November 16. The recommendations of the local postmasters were accepted, for the *Route Book* shows "three times a week" stricken out and the word "once" written in lieu thereof. The printed advertisement for bids by Reagan called for one trip a week, leaving Clarksville Tuesday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Doaksville the same day by 8:00 p.m.; leaving Doaksville Monday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Clarksville the same day by 8:00 p.m.

Three bids were received in response to the advertisement: John A. Shaw of Mount Pleasant for $850.00 with his bid to be combined with another route; Cyrus Kingsbury, Jr. of Doaksville for $336.00 "from 30th November to 30th June, being $576.00 per annum, provided route goes by Harris' and schedule is changed"; and B. A. Risher and C. K. Hall of Austin for $800.00. On December 6, 1861, Reagan notified Shaw that he was the successful bidder and forwarded contract forms. The contract dated 31 May 1862, was formally executed by Shaw on 16 October 1862.

On January 15, 1862, the postmaster at Doaksville reported to Richmond that Shaw commenced service on January 10, with a schedule of leaving Clarksville Friday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Doaksville same day at 8:00 p.m.; leaving Doaksville Saturday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Clarksville by 8:00 p.m. of the same day.

Prior to the commencement of service by Shaw, the Doaksville postmaster had apparently made arrangements locally for temporary service, as on May 7, 1862, the Chief of the Contract Bureau in Richmond wrote:

P.M.
Doaksville, C. N., Ark.
Sir:

The Finance Office has referred to this Bureau a report of yours that, in the absence of a regular contractor, you have the mail carried between "your office and Clarksville, on the route to Clarksville" Tex.

This looks to a special service for the supply of your office of Doaksville. You have failed, however, to designate the name of the person with whom the arrangement has been made, the pay which he is to receive for the service and the date it commenced. Report on all these heads.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C. C. Bureau

On the same day the same office dispatched a further letter:

P. M. Doaksville, Ark.
Sir:

The Finance Bureau has referred for recognition to this office two vouchers for moneys paid by you, as P. M., at Doaksville, the former for $60.00 being the aggregate of eight trips, at $7.50 per trip, performed by William Fendall, from Doaksville, C.N. to Clarksville, Texas between the 2nd of October and the 30th day of November, 1861; and the latter to the amount of $22.50, also paid by you for three trips between the same points and during the period running from the 8th to the 28th of December, 1861, performed by Seth Eason.

The reference of these vouchers brings up the question of your communication, to which an answer was transmitted on the 7th of the present month. You will abide by the instructions given to you in that answer and shape your reply as to embrace a report of the circumstances under which the services of both Mr. Fendall and Mr. Eason were employed, stating at the same time the distance which they had to travel in performing the trip between Doaksville and Clarksville, Tex.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C. C. Bureau

That the Doaksville post office continued in operation through the years 1862 and 1863 may be deduced from the following report of the Doaksville postmaster, J. P. Kingsbury:

J. P. Kingsbury
In account with the P. O. Dept.

Dr.		
To unpaid letters received Qr. ending Dec.	31 62	.10
To unpaid letters received Qr. ending Mar.	31 63	1.00

To unpaid letters received Qr. ending June 30 63	1.55	
To unpaid letters received Qr. ending Sept. 30 63	1.60	
To unpaid letters received Qr. ending Dec. 31 63	4.15	
To Prepaid letters sent in the Qr. ending Dec. 31 62		5.20
To Prepaid letters sent in the Qr. ending Mar. 31 63		2.80
To Prepaid letters sent in the Qr. ending June 30 63		5.70
To Prepaid letters sent in the Qr. ending Sept. 30 63		3.70
To Prepaid letters sent in the Qr. ending Dec. 31 63		7.60
		$33.40
Cr.		
By Per centage on letters sent from the P. O. at Doaksville prepaid by stamps amt. of $26.80—40 per cent		10.72
By Per centage on letters unpaid from other offices $33.40—40 per cent		13.36
Bal due. Dept.		$9.32

As the postage rate in the Confederate States for the above period was 10c per letter, it may be seen that the volume of mail handled at the Doaksville office was quite small.

A letter has survived reflecting that the office operated in 1864:

Doaksville C. N. Nov 1st 1864

Jas H. Starr Agent P. O. Dept., Trans Miss
Marshall, Texas

Dear Sir,

I herewith enclose you my accounts current from January 1st to Sept. 30th 1864 inclusive which shows a balance of Twenty cents due to you. I herewith enclose you Ten Dollars new issue from which please deduct my account and send the balance in postage stamps. I will send you my returns for the quarter ending Sept. 30th 1864 as soon as I can get some blanks to make them out on.

Very respectfully
V. B. Tims P. M.

Both the *Route Book* and *Record of Bids* are silent on any other or subsequent contractor; and it may be that Shaw continued service on the route through the War. Unfortunately, the file for Route 165 from the office of the Trans-Mississippi Agency does not appear to have survived and we have no information of any subsequent contract. Doaksville was also the terminus of Routes 409 and 410; and as the records on these two routes are much more complete, additional information on Doaksville will appear hereafter in connection with those two routes.

ROUTE 179

Former U. S. Route No. 8750; from McKinney, by Weston, Farmington, Sherman, Woodboro, all in Texas, to Ft. Washita.

The *Route Book* shows the original contractor to be D. C. Haynes, of McKinney, at $700.00 per annum for one trip a week. As this is the same sum under the former Federal contract, it may be that Haynes was the existing U. S. Contractor.

The *Route Book* contains an entry dated September 20, 1861 showing the route was "transferred to James L. Read to take effect from 23rd of August, 1861," which notation is preceded by two undated entries saying if service is abandoned the "postmaster at McKinney is instructed to employ service" and that the postmaster at Weston had written that as the contractor "had stopped service he has employed a mail carrier from McKinney to Sherman, 32 miles, leaving balance of route unfurnished."

Reagan advertised the route for bids in the same notice as Route 165, calling for one trip a week, seventy-five miles, leaving Ft. Washita Wednesday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at McKinney the next day by 6:00 p.m., leaving McKinney Monday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Ft. Washita next day by 6:00 p.m.

Bidders were Coleman Watson, of Farmington, $850.00; John S. Biles, McKinney, $650.00; Thomas Lewelling, McKinney, $704.00; Joseph B. Wilmeth, McKinney, $936.00; and B. A. Risher and C. K. Hall, of Austin, $1700.00.

On December 6, 1861, Reagan accepted the bid of Lewelling and formal contract was executed. Apparently, Lewelling was unable to commence satisfactory service on the route, as on February 5, 1862 the postmaster at Sherman wrote the Postmaster General urging more frequent service; and the *Record of Bids* contains a notation that the Postmaster General wrote the postmaster at Ft. Washita on June 16, 1862 on "relation to service."

The services of Lewelling must have been unsatisfactory, for in July, 1862, the Postmaster General again advertised for bids on this route. Four bidders responded: Joseph B. Wilmeth, McKinney, $990.00; M. C. Talkington, McKinney, $700.00; John McHugh, McKinney, $1200.00; and Isaac N. Campbell, Ft. Smith, $1200.00. The bid of Talkington was accepted by Reagan on October 1, 1862, and contract was signed. The contractor, however, could not commence service because he had been drafted into the Confederate army; and it is probable that service was not instituted on this route on a formal basis until 1864.

In December of 1863, the Reverend J. C. Robinson, who had served as Superintendent of the Chickasaw Academy near Tishomingo, was in Richmond; and apparently called upon the Postmaster General urging a more satisfactory mail service for Indian Territory. On January 11, 1864, the Chief of the Contract Bureau wrote to Robinson:

Postoffice Department Contract Bureau
January 11, 1864

Rev. J. C. Robinson
Richmond, Va.

Sir: On the 31st of January, 1862, this Department issued an advertisement inviting proposals for the transportation of the mails on the following routes, viz:

Route No. 179, From Fort Washita (Ark) by Woodboro (Texas), Sherman, Farmington and Weston to McKinney, 75 miles, and back once a week.

Route No. 407, From Fort Washita to Fort Arbuckle, 70 miles and back once a week.

Under this advertisement, route No. 179 was let to M. C. Talkington (of McKinney) at $700 per annum, and blank forms of contract were issued by the Department for execution by him. These forms were returned unexecuted for the reason (as stated by him) "that he had been conscripted into the army of the Confederate States," and he asked that the name of James A. Robinson might be inserted therein in lieu of himself. On the 23rd December, 1862, the postmaster at McKinney was instructed to report in relation to the ability of Mr. Robinson to make a contract with sufficient sureties, and that if he was a proper person to be entrusted with the mails, a contract would be made with him by the Department. No response has reached the Department. You are hereby authorized to advertise for proposals to carry the mails on this route, under the following division thereof, viz:

1st. From McKinney by Weston and Farmington to Sherman________ miles and back, once a week.

2nd. From Sherman by Woodboro to Fort Washita, Ark.________ miles and back, once a week.

Route No. 407, was let to D. W. Heard (of Fort Smith) at $1100 per annum on the 26th of Sept. 1862, but the forms of contract issued 8th Oct. 1862 have never been returned to the Department: So that you are also authorized to advertise this route for service once a week. The proper schedules for making close connection of mail service throughout the entire length of these routes, should be first prepared and embraced in the advertisement. Let the advertisement appear once a week for four weeks, if inserted in a newspaper; and if not in a paper, have it posted in such a manner as to attract public notice for that period; and in the meantime, if practicable, obtain temporary service on the most favorable terms. Append to the advertisement notice of the fact that the accepted bidder on each of the routes, will upon the execution of his contract be exempt from the performance of military service in the armies of the Confederate States during the contract term ending June 30, 1866, if the service shall be faithfully performed.

It is believed, from the recent experience of the Department that the service can be obtained under such exemption for a compensation less than that for which it was originally let; but if it be found that even a greater sum is demanded, the Department is so anxious to extend mail facilities to that portion of the country, that if you find upon the examination of the bids after the examination *(sic)* of the time fixed in the advertisement, that the lowest responsible proposals exceed the sum for which the routes were originally let, you are authorized to accept them and have the service commenced without delay, unless they are too extravagant to justify their acceptance.

The Department would be willing to pay not exceeding *50 per cent in addition to the sums named,* but it is hoped that competition will secure services at less rates. All proposals received by you must be forwarded by you to the Department together with a full report of your action, which you have kindly volunteered to take in behalf of your fellow citizens and this Department.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
Chief of the Contract Bureau

Upon his return to Indian Territory, Mr. Robinson must have gone to Marshall to implement his instructions, for on July 26, 1864 Dr. Starr wrote:

Rev. J. C. Robinson,

Agency
July 26, 1864

Sir: I have examined the letter addressed to you by Mr. H. St. Geo. Offutt, Chief of the Contract Bureau of the P.O.D. at Richmond dated January 11, 1864, soliciting and accepting your aid in restoring mail service on Routes No. 179 and 407, making a continuous line from McKinney in Texas to Fort Arbuckle in the Chickasaw Nation, and authorizing you to advertise for reletting said routes in three divisions.

I fully approve and confirm the authority given in said letter, and shall be happy to know that your efforts prove successful—as newspapers do not now circulate generally in the country you will please advertise by written notice only—believe the bids as temporary contracts. shall be reported to this Agency. Blank contracts will be forwarded for execution, directed to such point as you may indicate.

Hoping that you may be successful in your efforts for the public good, I am very respectfully,

J. H. Starr

By coincidence, on the same date the postmaster at McKinney wrote to the Trans-Mississippi Agency urging a resumption of service on Route 179:

Hon. J. H. Starr
A. P. M. Genl
Marshall, Texas
Dear Sir!

Your favor of the 16th last us before me, and its contents noticed. In answer to your instructions concerning abandoned routes, and temporary arrangement for same. I would remark that all abandoned routes are filled now by permanent contracts, except the route from this place to Ft. Washita C. N.

Mr. L. M. Talkington, former contractor, again proposed to carry the mail from this place to Ft. Washita, C. N. once a week, at Eight Hundred Dollars per annum. Mr. Talkington is a citizen of Collin (this) county, is exempt from military service by substitution, and a reliable gentleman. I hope the necessary steps will be taken at once for completing a contract with him, as it is important to the interests of this military post, that said mails should make regular trips.

Under the 5th Article of your printed circular I would be permitted to remark that letters and packages are very frequently missent to this office, and a large number come without any Postmark or Way Bill. If I should particularize I would say that the Postmasters from the Eastern country send mail more frequently wrong. As an instance I would say that some twenty letters and packages arrived this morning by the Bonham mail which should have gone East. Many letters come without the stamps being defaced.

I am very much in need of postage stamps. If you could send some to me, you would confer a favor upon this community and very much oblige.

Respectfully yours,
Wolf Estricher, P. M.
McKinney, Texas

Starr replied to the McKinney postmaster, advising that the matter was in the hands of Rev. Robinson:

Agency Aug 2/64

Sir:

In reply to that part of your note of the 26th, ult. which refers to Route 179 from Fort Washita to McKinney, you are informed that Rev. J. C. Robinson of Fort Washita was authorized in January last by the Dept. at Richmond to employ service on said route, and on the 26th ult., Mr. Robinson, being on a visit to this place, his authority was renewed. It is expected that his notice to bidders will be up before this reaches you. If not it will be desirable that Mr. Talkington should forward his bid to Mr. Robinson.

Notice will be taken of the missent packages reported by you. In regard to stamps $200 worth was sent to you on the 27th ult.

Very resp,
J. H. Starr

Wolf Estricher, Esq.
P. M. McKinney, Collin County, Texas

At the same time, Dr. Starr wrote to Robinson at Ft. Washita:

Agency Aug 2/64

Sir:

A letter has just reached this Agency from the Postmaster at McKinney, dated the 26th ult. mentioning that Mr. L. M. Talkington of Collin Co. proposes to carry the mail on route No. 179 from Fort Washita to McKinney according to schedule for $800 per annum. The bid for the forfeited contract was $700.

I trust your notices will soon be given and that you will have no difficulty in getting reasonable bids. I notify the Postmaster at McKinney of your expected action in the premises.

Hoping to hear of your safe return and success in letting the mail contracts, I remain,

Very respectfully, your obd. servt.
J. H. Starr, Agent

Rev. J. C. Robinson,
Fort Washita
Chickasaw Nation

Mr. Robinson entered upon his task without delay, and gave the following notice:

Proposals for Mail Contracts

By virtue of authority vested in me by the Post Office Department at Richmond, Va. and endorsed by the Agt. (Dr. Starr) for the Trans. Miss. Dept, I will receive sealed proposals until the 12th day of September 1864 at the places hereafter named for carrying the Confederate States mail for the unexpired term of Contract, on routes 179 and 407 extending from McKinney Collin County, Texas, the south and 179 to Ft. Arbuckle, C. N. Indian Territory from Sept. 15th 1864 till June 30th 1866. To be let (as by instructions) in three parts, First Part south end of 179, extending from McKinney by way of Western to Farmington to Sherman 33 miles once a week and back, leaving McKinney every Monday at 9 o'clock A. M. and arriving at Sherman same day at 6 P. M. Returning leave Sherman every Thursday at 7 A. M. arriving at McKinney at 6 P. M. same day. Second Part. North end of route 179, extending from Sherman to Fort Washita by way of Woodboro leaving Sherman every Tuesday at 7 o'clock A. M. and arriving at Ft. Washita at 6 o'clock P. M. same day. Returning leaving Fort Washita on every Wednesday at 7 A. M. arriving at Sherman at 6 P. M. same day.

North Part (Route 407) extending from Fort Washita to Fort Arbuckle by way of Tishomingo leaving Fort Washita every Wednesday at 7 A. M. and arriving at Fort Arbuckle every Thursday at 5 P. M. Returning leave Fort Arbuckle every Friday at 7 A. M. and arrive at Washita every Saturday at 5 P. M.

Should the above schedule of time not make connections to the best advantage the right to change will be retained. Bond and sufficient security for the faithful performance of contracts will be required. Bidders will remember that mail contractors while carrying out their contracts are exempt from military duties.

Aug. 12th 1864.

J. C. Robinson
Agt.

N. B. Bids for the first part will be left at the Post Office at Sherman or Fort Washita and for the second and third parts at the Post Office at Washita.

Mr. Robinson replied to Dr. Starr's letter of August 2:

Chickasaw M. L. Academy
August 15th 1864

Hon. Jas. H. Starr
Agt. P. O. Dept, Trans. Miss.

Sir. Your note of Aug 2 was this day received stating that Mr. L. M. Talkington had proposed to carry the mail on Route 179, according to Schedule for eight hundred dollars. This is the Gentleman the contract was let to two years ago and failed to meet it. I think however we can do better. We can obtain bids at the old price at least and perhaps for less. Mr. C. C. Alexander has put in a bid for a part of it at a very low figure. He is a Gentleman of full responsibility and has been very useful to the country tho not in the service and will still be so. The other part also will be taken low, with good responsible security by a Gentleman entitled to a Surgeon's certificate. I am now assured the whole of 179 and 407 will be taken at a rate not exceeding the former price. The advertisements are up giving until the 12th of Sept. A copy of which has been sent to you. My long journey home and a severe billuous attack on my return prevented earlier action in the case.

I have the Honor
to be yours respfy
J. C. Robinson

Robinson received the following bids pursuant to his notice:

J. C. Robinson, Esq.

Fort Washita
C. N. Aug. 29th 1864

Sir: I propose to carry the mail, once a week, from Sherman Texas to Fort Washita, C. N. and from Fort Washita to Sherman, for the consideration of Nine Hundred Dollars per annum.

I am Sir most respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
J. Y. Stewart"

Fort Washita, Sept 3, 1864

Sir.

I have a bid to put in for a friend for the express line running from this place to Sherman, Texas. Mr. W. B. Tolbert that is at the hospital at this place. He is a responsible man and can give any kind of bond required and for reference I refer you to Lieut. Andrews, Dokesville. Mr. Tolbert's bid is $500 for the line from this place to Sherman, Texas.

I have the honor of Subscribing myself
Your obt. Servt.
J. A. K. Stovall
Forage Master
Ft. Washita (C. N.)

Ft. Washita Sept. 3rd 1864

I will take the express line from Sherman to McKinney, Texas. Burden myself in any required bond with security for the faithful execution of the same for nothing or without any compensation being exempt from the military.

Address William B. Tolbert
A Private in Co. A
Hardiman's Regt.
Gano's Brigade

Fort Washita
C. N. Sept. 8th 64.

I, John C. Richards, a resident of Grayson County, State of Texas, propose to carry the U. S. mail on the north end of Route 179 extending from Sherman Texas to Fort Washita once a week and back, for the unexpired term commencing 15th of September 1864 and ending the 30th day of June 1866 gratis in consideration of being exempt from military service in the Confederate States.

John C. Richards

We the undersigned guarantee the faithful performance of the above bid should the contract be awarded to said J. C. Richards as the lowest and best bid and that he will carry out the contract according to the laws of the Confederate States in regards to Post Offices and Post Roads.

Sept. 8, 1864

E. Saera
C. C. Fitch

Before Mr. Robinson could complete his contract letting, the military intervened, as reflected by his letter to Dr. Starr:

Chickasaw M. Academy
Sept. 14th 1864

Hon. Jas H. Starr
Agt. P. O. D. Tr. Miss District

Sir: I have received proposals for carrying the mail on all the parts of the routes I have advertised (179 and 407) at very low prices on the Consideration of exemption on the part of the contractor from military service but we have been called to stand on that subject by an order from Genl. E. K. Smith read at Dress Parade on last Sat. (at Fort Washita) (the 10th) to the effect that no one already enrolled be exempt by being a contractor. Though well satisfied that such is not the law and that his act is a clear usurption of right. Yet the subjects (many of them) are in his power and must obey, at least until the question be settled. Before I forward the proposals I must hear from the different persons which I expect to do in a few days as I have written to them after which I will notify you at once.

Will it not be well for you to write Genl. Smith on the subject, and have the question settled. He must be under a misapprehension of the same and a reference to it may correct his error. I have sent a copy of it to the P. M. at Sherman to have it posted in his office that all may see that we have not spoken falsely in our statements.

I am very respectfully, etc.,
J. C. Robinson

The military order in question was undoubtedly Section II of G. O. 67, Hq. Trans-Mississippi Department, September 1, 1864,[24] where Gen. E. Kirby Smith ordered: "Contractors for carrying the C. S. mail, and the drivers of their mail coaches and hacks, provided for by law, will be exempt from conscription; provided they are taken from the Reserve Corps, or they were not in the army at the time of making such contracts, or engaging as such drivers."

A bid from a Tyler, Texas, bidder apparently was not received by Rev. Robinson:

Tyler, Texas Sept 2nd, 1864

Dr. J. H. Starr,
Chief P. O. Dept T. M.

Dear Sir,

It is with considerable hesitation and fear of intrusion that I address you, having already annoyed you too much with my little troubles.

Capt. Delisle informs me that no bid from me has been forwarded you for the route between McKinney and Washita by Tishamingo. Some weeks since I furnished to Rev. Robinson at Tishamingo a bid on said route in the usual forms, as I was informed that he had the letting of the route. I am desirous of procuring the route or portion of it and beg of you to hold it open until I visit Marshall which will be on next Monday or Tuesday next. Trusting to your liberality in the peculiar situation I am placed.

Your obd. servt.
C. C. Alexander

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[24] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XLI, Part III, p. 904.

Not waiting to hear how Dr. Starr planned to resolve the impasse with General E. Kirby Smith, Reverend Robinson transmitted the bids to the Agency at Marshall on September 21:

Chickasaw M. L. Academy
Sept. 21st 1864

Hon. Jas H. Starr
Agt P. O. Dept. Trans. Miss. Dist.
Sir I wrote you a few days ago informing you that I had received bids at a low figure on most parts of the routes which I had advertised for carrying the Confederate States mail but that an order had been read on Dress Parade at Fort Washita stating that no one would be exempt from military service that had been enrolled. This was by order of General Smith. This order threw our bidders into confusion, as all had made their bids on condition of such exemption. I informed you that I had written the bidders to know if I should still consider their bids to be held for consideration or not. Most of them have replied. Some have withdrawn, but others still continue to risk the expense of the question when refused and some as you will see are ready to enter into a contest with General Smith in suit at law, willing to do anything rather than go into the service—stout able bodied men of property that others (poor men) are risking their lives in the face of the enemy to defend, surely such should not be encouraged and hope will not. I hereby send you the several bids as aforesaid.

No. 1. South end of route 179 from McKinney to Sherman 35 miles. M. C. Talkington proposed as you will see for $500 per annum. No securities named, personally unknown.

No. 2. H. Hardesty for the same route $700.00.

No. 3. Wm. C. Oldham the same route $400 per annum who is as you see by Surgeon's certificate physically disabled for field service—a perfectly reliable man offers the best of securities.

No. 4. The same route. Clement C. Fitch of Sherman, proposes 1/10000000 part of a cent. A reliable man with the best of securities. Mr. Fitch is a young able bodied man and owns a large flowing mill in Sherman which is of great use to the country. He does not state whether he will take his pay quarterly, annually or at the end of term *all in a lump sum,* in paper money or coin.

No. 5. Mr. J. R. Parker proposes for $1500 per annum. See letter from P. M., McKinney.

From Sherman to Washita the north end of route 179 distance, 42 miles.

No. 1. From C. C. Alexander now of Tyler, Texas of undoubted reliability, with Captains Allen and Fraly as securities were any needed. I have referred his bid back to Capt Allen since the order of General Smith who will communicate with you on the subject. Reference Captain DeLisle.

No. 2. J. C. Richards of Sherman perfectly reliable with good securities (a young able bodied man) on condition of exemption.

No. 3. W. B. Tolbert proposes the same route at $500 see letter. To me unknown. See also his bid for route from Sherman to McKinney for nothing.

No. 4. From Sherman. Washita. J. Y. Stewart proposes for nine hundred dollars per annum. See letter.

All bids from Ft. Washita to Ft. Arbuckle (route 407) have been withdrawn since the order of General Smith, and I think it doubtful contractor can be named to take it now at any price if the contractor be not exempt.

Hoping that what has been done will be satisfactory, I am very

Respectfully, etc.
J. C. Robinson

After including in his letter a little dry humor regarding the bid of C. C. Fitch, Mr. Robinson supplemented his letter with an additional note:

Respected Sir

Chickasaw Academy
Sept. 21st 1864

If I may be allowed to say a word in favor of any one of the bidders I would say it in favor of Wm. M. Oldham (my son in law) and I say it in his favor only because such is the state of his health that he is entirely unable to endure the service of the field as you will see by Surgeon's certificate. Otherwise I would not give my consent for him to have the service on any time. I have a son (an only son) that I would not allow to any position of exemption whatever as I consider it the imperative duty of all that can to join in battling the Foe and driving him from our soil. But when I know that Mr. Oldham can be of no service to his country as a soldier but that the exposure incident to a winter's campaign would in all probability cost him his life. I think it no want of Patriotism to ask for him a position in which he could be of service to his country and yet release him from the exposure of field service. True there are others whose bids are lower than his, but I think are such as should not be encouraged as these are able bodied men able for field service. It is as you know far below a fair compensation and quite insufficient to meet the expenses, quite as low, I am sure, as the Dept. will ask. He resides in McKinney and can therefore afford to do the service lower on that acct as he has his own horses to feed. On a proper representation to Genl Smith accompanied by Surgeon's certificate I have no doubt he would be released.

I am with high respect
J. C. Robinson

Hon. Jas H. Starr
Agt P. O. Dept. Trans. Miss. Dept.

The plea was unsuccessful because Dr. Starr awarded the contract to Alexander, who replied:

Tyler, Texas Oct 15, 1864

Dr. J. H. Starr
Chief P. O. T. M. D.

I was presented by the P. M. at this place with contract to sign for carrying the mail between McKinney and Ft. Washita which was done according to accompanying instructions.

I will be obliged that you give me as much time as possible to put this route in operation, and furnish me with a copy of the contract or a voucher showing that I am contractor. Please accept my thanks for your action in the premises.

Very respectfully
C. C. Alexander

Further delay ensued:

McKinney 2 Nov. 1864

Dr. J. H. Starr, Marshall
Dear Sir:

Yours of the 27th Oct. was duly received and in answer I must say that Mr. C. C. Alexander has not yet applied with the contract to carrying the mail from this place to Ft. Washita on Route No. 179.

Respectfully yours,
Wolf Estricher, P. M.

In the meantime, back at Tishomingo, the Reverend Robinson was wondering what had happened to his recommendations:

Chickasaw Academy N. 3, 1864

Hon. J. H. Starr
Agt for the P. O. Dept. Trans. Miss. Dept.

Yours of Oct 17th was yesterday received I hasten to reply. I write you Sept. 15th giving notice that an order from Genl. E. K. Smith has been read on Dress Parade (at Fort Washita) a few days before that time stating that no one who was then in any way connected with the Army would be released by virtue of any mail contract and as the bids sent in were mostly from persons in that condition and were made with the expectation of such relief, I would suspend forwarding them until I could hear from the parties which I did and on the 21st of Sept forwarded them to your office, both of which (the letter of the 15th and bids forwarded the 21st) I would have supposed you would have received before the date of your letter. But it is no uncommon thing for a letter to be one or two months in passing between the Nation and any part of Texas. I hope before this time you have received both the letters and the bids. They however are all concerned with route 179 which you have disposed of to Mr. C. C. Alexander of which I have information at McKinney two weeks ago. On route 407 no bids have been forwarded nor have any been sent in, as contractors are not exempt from military service, no one at this time will take that contract. Such is the depressed state of Confederate money, and high rate of all supplies in this country that less than $5000 per annum would scarcely meet the expenses and outfit. But on consideration of exemption it could be taken as reasonable rate. I send this to Sherman to mail. Please write soon and let me know if my letters have arrived.

Very respfy.
J. C. Robinson

Alexander was soon able to institute service:

McKinney 24 Nov. 1864

Hon. J. H. Starr
Marshall
Sir,

According to your instructions I have to inform you that Mr. C. C. Alexander has commenced running the mail from this place to Fort Washita on Route No. 179 the 15th of this month. If you got any stamps you will please send me $500 in 10c and $200 in 20c stamps and oblige. Your

Most Obd. Servant
Wolf Estricher, P. M.

After a few trips, a change of schedule was recommended:

McKinney, Texas Dec. 16, 1864

Hon. J. H. Starr
Agt P. O. Dept
Sir,

A change on route No. 179 is requested for the following reason. That the present schedule fails to make necessary connection causing a delay of mail matter. We desire to change the time of departure from this office from Monday to Thursday.

Very respectfully,
Wolf Estricher, P. M.

On January 4, 1865 the postmasters at McKinney and at Ft. Washita submitted a joint proposal that service on Route 179 leave Ft. Washita Saturday at 6:00 a.m., arrive at McKinney Sunday at 6:00 p.m.; leave McKinney on Thursday at 6:00 a.m. and arrive at Ft. Washita on Friday at 6:00 p.m.

The following five letters, all from the postmaster at Sherman, describe the termination of service on Route 179, and in fact portray vividly the conclusion of the saga of the Confederate postal service in Indian Territory:

Sherman, Grayson County, Texas
Feb. 2nd, 1865

James H. Starr
Agent P. O. D. Trans. Miss.

Your letter of the Jan. 23 is before me and you say that complaint was made that on the 12th of Jan. I failed to attend the office and receive the mail on its arrival from McKinney on route No. 179, and also failed to dispatch the same to Fort Washita and that there was important public documents that should have been forwarded, etc.

When service was first commenced on Route No. 179 from McKinney to Fort Washita, the agent come into the office and informed me that the regular time of arrival from McKinney would be on Monday evening, the mail made a few trips on that time, and then failed to come until Friday, it then afterwards came on Wednesday, and on the day before the complaint, it was the time it was due here according to the time it had last come, I waited for it till night and it did not come, after I went home and got supper I went to Mr. Lambs, the carriers boarding house to ascertain if the mail had arrived, but it had not arrived, and on the next day, the day of complaint, the mail arrived after I had closed the office for the evening. If the mail could arrive regular at the time the agent told me it would there would be no complaint, but it sometives arrives on Monday, sometimes on Friday, sometimes on Thursday, and I think it a hard case to have to sit at the office and watch night and day to see when the McKinney mail does arrive, but as before stated, if it arrived regular there will be no cause of complaint on my part. As to the important documents necessary to be sent, I can truly say there was none such in this office. I do not know what others contemplate sending, your complainant was looking for a letter from his son at school near McKinney, and was all the public documents that was looked for.

I will here say if the mail from McKinney could arrive here on Monday it would accomodate the community by getting news one day earlier, than having to go by Bonham and arrive on Tuesday or Friday. The way in which the McKinney mail arrives here I never know when to look for it nor when it is due, all I will ask is to know the regular schedule of time and I will say all will be well.

Yours respectfully
John W. Hopson, Deputy
for J. W. Hagee, P. M.

Sherman, Grayson Co. Texas
Mar. 19, 1865

Mr. James H. Starr, Agent,

I received your communication enclosing a copy of the Schedule on route No. 179 from McKinney to Fort Washita and requested me to notify you of any "marked deviation" from the schedule time. Since that complaint was made I don't think there has been but one through trip made to Fort Washita, though I suppose bad weather to be the cause. On the 3rd of March the carrier came to this office and then went as far as Red River, and returned, saying he could not get put across the River, this was on Friday, and returned to McKinney on Sunday, on the 9th, Thursday, it arrived and made a through trip, on the 16th, Thursday it arrived and went by Woodboro of which I will give you a separate account, and made a through trip.

Respectfully submitted
John W. Hopson, Deputy
for Joel W. Hagee, P. M.

Sherman, Texas March 27th 1865

Mr. James H. Starr
Agent, etc.

I feel it my duty to report to you the action of the carrier on Route No. ________ from McKinney to Ft. Washita, C. N.

I had previously reported that the carrier had commenced service via Woodboro, he did and made one trip.

On Thursday the 23rd Inst the mail arrived here from McKinney (a marked deviation from the schedule) and on the 24th I put up the mail for Woodboro. He returned here on the 25th without going by Woodboro, having left the Woodboro mail at Washita (but that is not his fault) he will doubtless report to you the reason why he failed to go by Woodboro, and let things in a very bad light on that road, I have only represented to you at different times what the citizens at Woodboro told me were facts and I yet believe they did not misrepresent anything. It is of no interest to me to have the mail go by Woodboro but I have done what I have to accomodate those citizens at Woodboro who are now mostly soldier's families and 20 miles from any post office.

Respectfully,
John W. Hopson, Deputy
for J. W. Hagee, P. M.

Sherman, April 9th, 1865

Mr. James H. Starr, Agent

I am again under the necessity of addressing you on the subject of service on Route No. 179 from McKinney to Fort Washita, C. N.

The mail arrived here on last evening (Saturday the 8th) and the carrier said to me that he had been told by the P. M. at McKinney that he need not go farther than Sherman because there was only one package to go to Washita and he could leave that until next time, and the carrier returned to McKinney without going to Washita or Woodboro. The carrier also informed me that he was going to discontinue going farther than Sherman, because he could get nothing to feed his horse with at Washita.

I dont know whether this discontinuing a part of the service is the act of the Agency, or only the carrier, but I would suggest that if the Agency discontinues a part of the service that it let the route terminate at Woodboro, and I know he can get his horse fed there.

By this mail came a bundle of twine to P. M. at Woodboro, but the blanks has never came, but if they get no mail at that office the P. M. will not need them.

Yours respectfully,
John W. Hopson, Deputy
for Joel W. Hagee, P. M.

Sherman, Texas Apr 27, 1865

Mr. James H. Starr, Agent etc.

Dear Sir. I have wrote so many complaints against the carriers of the mail on Route No. ________ from McKinney to Fort Washita that I fear you may think me troublesome, but I must make one more statement. In a previous note from you to me you requested me to inform you of any "marked deviations from the schedule." I do not know that you have changed the schedule, but the mail now comes here on Saturday, and goes no further, refuses to go to Fort Washita, and the mail matter for Washita is not large but it has now been accumulating in my office for 4 weeks and the carrier refuses to go further than this office, and he says that the "Dutch" P. M. at McKinney told him he need not go to Washita. I don't know what I am to do with the mail matter for Washita. I could sometimes send it by a private individual, out of the mail, but would I be authorized or justified in doing so. If service is to stop from here to Fort Washita must I send the matter to the Dead Letter Office. I don't know what else I can do with it. The manner in which the service is now performed is not any benefit to the Dept. or any individual, it is so irregular that I never know when to look for it. It has lost a full trip in time by simply changing from one day to another, it originally came on Monday, and it has changed from day to day until it now comes in on Saturday. Thus you see one week is lost, and only half of service performed.

I hope I may not be under the necessity of referring to this subject again.

Recd May 9th

Yours
John W. Hopson, Deputy
for J. W. Hagee, P. M.

ROUTE 373

Former United States Route No. 7901, which had been operating under an existing contract for $949.50 per year. Reagan advertised for bids on the route, from Evansville, Arkansas, by Flint, Tahlequah and Ft. Gibson to Creek Agency, 71 miles, with service three times a week, leaving Evansville on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 6:00 a.m.; arriving at Creek Agency the next day by 6:00 p.m. Only one bid was received. The bidder was William Pevehouse, of Evansville, with a bid of $3400.00. This was accepted by the Postmaster General on June 7, 1862; and without doubt service was instituted by the contractor over this route. Formal contract was signed September 30, 1862.

On November 12, 1862, the contractor wrote to the Postmaster General, through the postmaster at Evansville, that hostile conditions prevented his continuation of service. On November 17, the Chief of the Contract Bureau replied:

> P. M.
> Evansville, Ark.
> Sir:
>
> This bureau is in receipt of your letter, accompanied by a communication of Mr. Pevehouse' contractor on No. 373, Evansville to Creek Agency, to the effect that though he has executed his contract, he finds it impossible to carry the mail in the hostile condition of the country. This is a difficulty beyond the control of the Department.
>
> Should Mr. Pevehouse have it in his power even partially to service the route you are directed to report to this office the distance of miles traveled upon it, the frequency of the trips performed a week and the date of the commencement of the partial service.
>
> Respectfully,
> H. St. Geo. Offutt
> C of C Bureau

By the fall of 1862, considerable military activity had occurred over the area traversed by this postal route; and it is extremely doubtful if service was maintained after late summer or early fall of 1862.

Route 374

Former U. S. Route No. 7903, this was a shuttle to connect Grand Saline, which has been a post office since 1849, with Route 373 and thus provide postal service from the East. The existing U. S. contract was for $379.50 per year.

Reagan advertised for bids on the route from Tahlequah to Grand Saline, thirty miles and back once a week, with a proposed schedule of leaving Tahlequah Friday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Grand Saline the same day by 6:00 p.m., leaving Grand Saline Saturday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Tahlequah the same day by 6:00 p.m.

Two bids were received: William Pevehouse of Evansville for $1,000.00; and Timothy M. Walker of Tahlequah for $497.40. The bid of Walker was accepted by the Postmaster General on June 5, 1862. It does not appear that formal contract was ever executed.

There are no further records whatsoever on this route; and if Walker was able to institute service, it continued for an extremely short period of time.[25]

Route 375

Former U. S. Route No. 7904, this was a shuttle to connect Webbers Falls with Route 376 and thereby provide postal connections from the East. The former U. S. contract had been for $700.00 per annum.

Reagan advertised for service on the route from Kidron to Webbers Falls, thirty miles and back, once a week, with a proposed schedule of leaving Kidron Saturday at 6:00 a.m.; arriving at Webbers Falls same day by noon, leaving Webbers Falls Saturday at 2:00 p.m., and arriving at Kidron on the same day by 8:00 p.m.

Four bids were received: William Pevehouse, Evansville, Ark., $900.00; William Clines, Kidron, $325.00; Timothy M. Walker, Tahlequah, $485.00; and R. S. L. Mitchell, Kidron, for $350.00. The Postmaster General accepted the bid of Clines on June 5, 1862.

There appear to be no other records extant on postal operations on this route; and it is doubtful if service continued later than early 1863.

Route 376

Former U. S. Route No. 7905, mail had been carried over this route under U. S. contract for 879.00 per annum. On September 20, 1861, Reagan advertised for bids on this route from Ft. Smith by Kidron to Ft. Gibson, 61 miles and return once a week, with the proposed schedule of leaving Ft. Smith Monday at 5:00 a.m.; arriving at Ft. Gibson the next day by noon; leaving Ft. Gibson Tuesday at 3:00 p.m.; and arriving at Ft. Smith the next day by 9:00 p.m.

In the meantime, the Postmaster at Ft. Smith had instituted temporary service, as reflected by a letter to him from the Chief of the Contract Bureau at Richmond, dated April 22, 1862:

P. M.
Ft. Smith, Ark.
Sir: A letter bearing date Dec. 5, '61 has been received from you reporting that the contractor had abandoned Route No. 7905, from

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[25] There appears to be no logical explanation for the reference by Col. Wm. Weer in his report on the Battle of Locust Grove to a post office of that name. See *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 127. His report is dated July 6, 1862, Hq. Indian Expedition, near Grand Saline. Prior to the War there had been no United States post office named Locust Grove. The Confederates had established no new offices; and it is clear that the names of the Confederate post offices were identical to their U. S. predecessors. Probably the name was coming into local use but had not as yet been formally adopted.

Ft. Smith to Ft. Gibson, and urging the great importance of the route; also, a second letter of date Jany. 17, '62, stating that A. F. Chisholm had carried the mail from July 10 to Nov. 16, '61, at original contract pay ($879) and was anxious to get his money.

Also, a third letter, dated Jany. 25, '62 reporting that you had made a contract with J. W. Maxfield to perform service 2 t.a.w. at $1,000, to commence February 3, '62, subject to the approval of the Dept.

A proposal was duly received at this office from R. S. L. Mitchell, of Kidron, C. N., dated Oct. 25, '61, offering to perform the service according to the advertisement of the PM. G. of Sept. 20, 1861, at $1,000, which was deemed satisfactory, and, on the 20th day of January, 1862, you were duly notified of this fact, and instructed to report date of the commencement of his service. To this letter no reply has been received by this office; but it is presumed that it was not before you when you made your conditional contract with Mr. Maxfield.

Before approving this contract, the Dept. desires further information, and especially in reference to the following points:

1. How and when did Mr. Chisholm become carrier?
2. Did R. S. L. Mitchell perform any service, and if so, how long under his accepted proposal of October 25, 1861?
3. Were you cognizant of the proposal of Mitchell, and its acceptance by this Dept; and if so, state the reasons which induced you to pretermit it in favor of Mr. Maxwell's proposal, on the same terms, but without any evidence that he has complied with Sections 44 (Act Mar 3, 1825) and 27 (Act July 21, 1836).

The Dept. entertains no doubt that you can answer these queries to its entire satisfaction, but, until such answer is received, it must withhold its approval of your contract with Mr. Maxfield.

Respy. H. St. Geo. Offutt,
Ch. Cont. Bureau

Earlier Offutt had written the postmasters at each end of the route on January 20, 1862:

P. M. Fort Smith, Ark.
Sir:

You are hereby informed that Mr. R. S. L. Mitchell, of Kidron, in the Cherokee Nation, has proposed to become contractor on Route No. 7905, from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson, and you are requested promptly to inform this Department of the date at which he commences service. The mails are to be carried twice a week.

The suggestion contained in your letter of the 25th Dec. ult. in respect to the extension of the above Route to Creek Agency, would require legislative action, and this Department is not prepared to act upon it at present.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C. of Contract Bureau

Postmaster
Fort Gibson, Ark.
Sir:

Mr. R. S. L. Mitchell of Kidron in the Cherokee Nation, has proposed to carry the mails twice a week on Route 7905 from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson, and you are requested to inform the Department of the date at which he commences service.

Respectfully
H. St. Geo. Offutt
Chief of Contract Bureau

Bids were received from David W. Heard of Ft. Smith, $650.00; William Clines, Kidron, $975.00; and R. S. L. Mitchell, for $1,000.00. Reagan accepted the bid of Heard on June 5, 1862. Formal contract was never executed by the contractor.

As Heard defaulted on his other mail contracts, as shown later, it is a safe assumption that he at no time rendered service under his contract.

As the last half of 1862 saw considerable hostile military activity over the area traversed by this route, it seems doubtful if more than a minimum of service, informal at best, was rendered on Route 376.

ROUTE 378

Former U. S. Route No. 7908. Reagan advertised for bids on the route, described from Ft. Smith, by Choctaw Agency and Boggy Depot, to Ft. Washita, 168 miles and back, once a week, with a proposed schedule of leaving Ft. Smith on Saturday at 6:00 a.m.; arriving Ft. Washita fourth day by 6:00 p.m.; leaving Ft. Washita Wednesday at 6:00 a.m.; and arriving at Ft. Smith on the fourth day by 6:00 pm. Proposals for two trips a week were also invited.

In the meantime, however, local arrangements had been made, as indicated by letter of the acting Postmaster General to the postmaster at Ft. Smith in reply to his letter mentioned earlier in this article:

Post Office Department
Richmond, June 22, 1861

Sir:

Yours of the 27th ult. is at hand. I much regret the disarranged state of your mail facilities, and on yesterday forwarded you authority to employ such temporary relief as your judgment may suggest in the emergency. I have also authorized Messrs. Wootten & Hester of Boggy Depot to perform certain service proposed by them.

Respectfully,
H. St. George Offutt
Acting P. M. General

A. G. Mayers, P. M.
Ft. Smith, Ark.

On the same day, temporary authority was given to the former contractors:

Confederate States of America
Post Office Department
Richmond, June 22 1861

Gentl.

Yours of the 23rd ult. is at hand, and in reply thereto I hereby authorize you to continue the services as therein mentioned, and this Department will make just compensation therefor. I have this day written the Post Master at Fort Smith on same subject and gave him like authority.

Respectfully,
H. St. George Offutt
Act. P. M. Gen.

Messrs. W. H. Wootten & Geo. B. Hester
Boggy Depot, C. N.

Later, like authority was given to the postmaster at Boggy Depot:

Richmond, Aug. 7th 1861

R. Wright, Esq. P. M.
Boggy Depot, C. N.
Sir:

Yours, notifying this Dept. that Messrs. Hester & Wootten were performing service on Routes from Fort Smith to Sherman and from Fort Washita to Arbuckle, is at hand, and you are hereby authorized to request them to continue said service until the contracts are let by public advertisement, and assure them that they shall receive just compensation for the same.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C. of the C. B.

This letter is important in that it confirms that informal service, prior to formal contract, was performed on behalf of the Confederate States, not only on Route 378 but also on Routes 179 and 407.

On May 1, 1862, the Chief of the Contract Bureau wrote identical letters to the postmasters at Boggy Depot and Doaksville:

P. M.
Boggy Depot, C. N.
Sir:

You are instructed to report to this office the name of the mail carrier between your office and Doaksville, how long has he performed service, and under what authority.

Respectfully,
B. N. Clements
Chief, Contract Bureau

This inquiry would indicate a certain lack of knowledge at Richmond on the geography of Indian Territory, in that there was no direct route between Boggy Depot and Doaksville.

Only one formal bid was received by the Postmaster General. It was from Isaac M. Campbell, of Ft. Smith, who bid $2500.00

for one trip a week and $4500.00 for two weekly trips. On June 7, 1862, the Postmaster General accepted the bid for twice a week service.

The *Route Book* contains a notation reflecting a "report" from the contractor on November 19, 1862, although on what subject is not shown. It may be assumed that service over this route continued with some degree of regularity until the late Summer of 1863, when combat operations undoubtedly terminated the Confederate postal service from Fort Smith, as reflected by the following report to the Trans-Mississippi Agency:

> Armstrong Academy C. N.
> July 4th, 1864
>
> Sir;
>
> I am the Post Master at Fort Smith Arkansas and have been driven from home by the Federal Army, who now occupies that place. I was compelled to leave there on the 1st day of Sept. last (1863) I had on hand at the time I left fifteen hundred dollars Confederate money belonging to the Post Office Department (which is still there if the Federals have not robbed my house and family), now this amount could not be funded according to Act of Congress for the reason it was within the federal lines. Your instructions to Post Masters dated 30th May require a report of the amount on hand the 30th June and quarterly thereafter until the old issue runs out. I therefore report the above amount and do hereby certify that the above statement is true and correct.
>
> Yours respectfully, etc.
> Thomas Vernon
> P. M.

ROUTE 381

This was former U. S. Route 7911, which had operated on twice a week service at a contract price of $3,767.00. Reagan advertised for bids for the route described from Ft. Smith, via Perryville[26] and Ft. Arbuckle, to Gainesville, Texas, 265 miles and return, once a week, with a proposed schedule of leaving Ft. Smith on Monday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Gainesville on the sixth day by 6:00 p.m., leaving Gainesville Monday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Ft. Smith on the sixth day by 6:00 p.m.

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[26] The circumstance that Perryville was included by name in the advertisement for bids on Route 381 again raises the question if there were ever a post office at Perryville. The office was listed in Bryce, "First Post Offices In What Is Now Oklahoma" *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926) p. 203. Miss Wright in "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations" *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII, No. 3 (Sept. 1930) p. 326 fn, demonstrates that the office referred to by Mr. Bryce was in Perry County, Arkansas. All subsequent research has been unable to establish that there had been a post office at Perryville, Choctaw Nation. This writer adheres to that view, which appears to be confirmed by the existence of Route 378. This route would have been unnecessary had there been a post office at Perryville, for in that event mail destined for Fort Smith and eastern points could have been carried via Route 406 to Perryville and there transferred by the postmaster to Route 381.

The first reference to this route is a letter from the Chief of the Contract Bureau to the postmaster at Ft. Smith on January 17, 1862:

Postmaster
Fort Smith, Ark.
Sir:

Are there other offices beside Micco on Route 7907, [7911] between your place and Fort Arbuckle, or is it necessary to put any part of said Route under service at the approaching letting

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C. of Contract Bureau

Two bids were received: David W. Heard of Ft. Smith, $2200.00 per annum; and J. L. Price and Thomas L. Foster of Franklin, Louisiana, for $20,000.00. The latter bid was withdrawn without action on April 28, 1862. The bid of Heard was accepted by the Postmaster General on June 5, 1862, although it does not appear that formal contract was ever signed.

In view of letter from the Chief of the Contract Bureau dated October 10, 1862, it is apparent that service was instituted over this route:

P. M.
Fort Smith, Ark.
Sir:

Your letter, accompanying certificate of commencement of service on Route No. 381, to Gainesville, Texas, is received.

You are instructed to communicate to this office the distance between Fort Arbuckle (beyond which you say it would be unsafe to proceed) and Gainesville, the terminus of the route.

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
C of C Bureau

On October 13, 1862, the Chief of the Contract Bureau wrote to the contractor:

Mr. D. W. Heard
Fort Smith, Ark.
Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 18th August, last, relative to route No. 381, between Fort Smith and Gainesville, you are informed that the action of the Dept. in relation thereto was the result of careful and mature deliberation, and that your letter furnishes no satisfactory reason why that action should now be reversed and your views adopted.

The Dept. is, officially, advised that service has been commenced; but that you do not proceed farther than Fort Arbuckle, owing to alleged causes which, if they really exist, it is hoped, will soon be removed. In all cases, this Bureau will insist upon full and faithful service, on the different routes, as advertised, under the terms of the accepted proposals, and any omissions or deviations therefrom must be satisfactorily shown to have been the result of uncontrollable necessity.

Respy.
H. St. Geo. Offutt,
C. of C. Bureau

As the foregoing letter was addressed to the contractor in response to a complaint of some nature from him, it must have been that Heard, either by himself or through an informal subcontract, had actually instituted service over this route, especially in view of the acknowledgement of October 10th from the Contract Bureau that the Ft. Smith postmaster had certified a commencement of service.

As reflected in the correspondence pertaining to Route 410, hereinafter, Heard apparently left Indian Territory for Old Mexico sometime in 1863, and although this route traversed a portion of Indian Territory free of Union military activity prior to the summer of 1863 there appears no way to determine with certainty how long service continued, particularly in view of the apparent difficulty between Ft. Arbuckle and Gainesville. It is clear that the route was in operation in the fall of 1862; and it is the author's opinion that by early 1863 it had been abandoned.

Route 406

Former U. S. Route No. 7948, Reagan advertised for bids on a proposed route from Ft. Gibson, by Micco and Toboxky to Boggy Depot, 155 miles and return, once a week, leaving Ft. Gibson on Friday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Boggy Depot on the fourth day by 6:00 p.m., leaving Boggy Depot Tuesday at 6:00 a.m. and arriving at Ft. Gibson on the fourth day by 6:00 p.m.

Two bids were received, David W. Heard, Ft. Smith, $1925.00, with service to commence October 1, 1862; and J. N. Campbell & Associates, E. S. Mitchell and Mitchell Sparks, all of Ft. Smith, $2,000.00. The Postmaster General accepted the bid of Heard on September 26, 1862 although it does not appear that formal contract was ever signed by the contractor. The *Route Book* contains a notation that the Postmaster at Boggy Depot certified the commencement of service on December 1, 1862.

Although it is possible that informal service was locally arranged prior to December 1, there is no indication of the extent of service on this route. As mentioned, Heard departed for Old Mexico in 1863, and as the northern half of this route by that date was subject to Union military activity, it is doubtful if the route was in actual operation for any period of time.

Route 407

Former U. S. Route 7949, this route had been operated under a U. S. contract for two trips a week at the rate of $975.00 per annum. Reagan advertised for bids on the route described from Ft. Washita, by Tishomingo to Ft. Arbuckle, seventy miles and back, once a week, leaving Ft. Washita

Wednesday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Ft. Arbuckle the next day by 6:00 p.m., leaving Ft. Arbuckle Friday at 6:00 a.m., and arriving at Ft. Washita the next day by 6:00 p.m.

Two bids were received: David W. Heard, Ft. Smith, $1100.00 per annum to commence October 1, 1862; and J. N. Campbell & Associates, E. S. Mitchell and Mitchell Sparks, of Ft. Smith, $1175.00 per annum. The bid of Heard was accepted by the Postmaster General on September 26, 1862 but there is no evidence that a formal contract was signed.

The *Route Book* contains a notation after the name of the contractor "failed to organize." The same page contains an entry showing receipt of letter from the postmaster at Fort Washita dated July 20, 1863, who reported "that on the said 20th July '63 there was no mail carried on the route."

Sometime in the fall of 1862 "under arrangement with Heard's agent, Mr. Watson," David C. Betts began carrying the mail over this route; and apparently throughout 1863 the service was maintained by him with regularity from Ft. Washita to Ft. Arbuckle. The post office at Tishomingo was discontinued May 18, 1863. As Route 407 was in one sense an extension of Route 410, the controversy between Betts and the Confederate Post Office Department will be discussed hereafter in detail under Route 410.

After Betts discontinued operations, the matter of obtaining service over this route was turned by the Department in Richmond to the Reverend J. C. Robinson; and the details of Reverend Robinson's efforts to advertise this route for bids are discussed under Route 179.

Following the collapse of Reverend Robinson's efforts to secure a contract on Route 407, as explained in his letter recorded under Route 179, above, the Agency at Marshall received the following bid from L. C. Wilson of Bonham:

> I, L. C. Wilson, whose post office address is Bonham County of Fannin, State of Texas, propose to carry the mail on Route 407 from Ft. Washita to Fort Arbuckle in the Chickasaw Nation for the unexpired term ending June 30, 1866 for the sum of 1 cent per annum with celerity certainty and security.
>
> L. C. Wilson
>
> Bonham, Feby. 18, 1865

The bid was accepted at once by Dr. Starr and contract sent to the postmaster at Bonham for execution by the contractor. It was returned promptly by the Bonham postmaster:

> Bonham March 9, 1865
>
> Dr. Jas H. Starr
> Sir
>
> Please find enclosed the contract of Mr. Wilson which I believe

is filled as the law directs. You will please send him a copy of the original and oblige

Yours, etc.
S. A. Caldwell P. M. Bonham

Jas H. Starr
Agt. Marshal

The amount of the bid reflects that it was obviously made by Wilson to avoid military service, and before the month is out the contractor is writing to the Trans-Mississippi Agency:

Bonham Texas March 30th 1865

Hon James H. Starr
Agent Post Office Department Trans. Miss.

Sir. I recd a letter from you through the P. M. at this place bearing date Feb. 17th 1865 notifying me I was the accepted bidder on route no. 407 from Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle C. N. I have filled the Bond taken the oath and making the regular trips with the mail. I taken said route for the exemption from military service, but the authorities here refuse to release me Sir I would respectfully ask your opinion upon this subject immediately.

Respectfully
L. C. Wilson

There seems some act passed by the last Congress interfering with Mail Contractors.

Wilson, or at least someone in his behalf, was able to institute service without delay, as reported by the postmaster at Ft. Arbuckle:

Fort Arbuckle, C. N.
March 14th, 1865

Hon Jas H. Starr
Agent, P. O. Dept.
Sir,

Enclosed please find ten dollars for which you will please send Post Office stamps to that amount, there being none at this office. The regular mail from Fort Washita to this Post arrived yesterday, the first trip.

I am Sir
Very respectfully
Your Obd. Sert.
Harry D. Courtney
Post Master
Fort Arbuckle
C. N.

Although the available evidence is incomplete, it would seem that the service over Route 407 was maintained with some regularity until July, 1863, and then was absent or at best erratic until the Wilson contract of 1865. As the post office at Tishomingo had been discontinued in May, 1863, the only two offices served on the route were the two military posts. As army commands often resort to their own courier system, or the "express," it is probable that there was little or no urgency in the maintenance of a civilian postal system between these two termini.

ROUTE 409

Former U. S. Route 7952, this route was an important link between the Choctaw Nation and mail connections with the East. Reagan advertised for bids on this route described as being from Washington, by Columbus, Saline, Brownstown and Paraclifta, all in Arkansas, to Doaksville, 110 miles and return, twice a week, leaving Washington on Wednesday and Saturday at 5:00 a.m., arriving at Doaksville the next day by 6:00 p.m., leaving Doaksville Monday and Friday at 5:00 a.m. and arriving at Washington the next day by 6:00 p.m. Bidders were James M. Evans and William J. Kelly, Murphreesboro, Ark., $1759.00; John D. Trimble and Andrew L. Martin, Washington, Ark., $4400.00; John D. Adams, Little Rock, $5,000.00; John L. P. Pool and J. F. Bell, Belleville, Ark., $9950.00; and George A. Davis, Washington, Ark., $7300.00.

The bid of Evans and Kelly was accepted by the Postmaster General on June 5, 1862. On November 3, 1862 the postmaster in Washington reported to Richmond that the contractors had abandoned service on October 25. The postmaster at Washington made arrangements with Messrs. Trimble and Martin on a "temporary engagement" to service the route. On April 8, 1863, the Postmaster General entered his order recognizing the service of Trimble and Martin in carrying six trips on this route between November 8, 1863 and December 16, 1862, at the rate of $3900.00 per annum "subject to fines and deductions and refer the case to the auditor for adjustment and settlement."

In the meantime, the route was readvertised by the Postmaster General on November 27, 1862; and on January 22, 1863 Reagan accepted the bid of John D. Trimble and Andrew L. Martin of Washington for twice a week service at $3900.00 per annum, to take effect from November 3, 1862, and to charge the difference in the account to that of the defaulting contractor, Evans and Kelly. Thus, in effect, the six trips made prior to the acceptance of the bid were paid for as though covered under the contract.

In addition to the accepted bid of Trimble and Martin, bids were received from Warren F. McElroy. Brownstown, $4443.00 per annum; J. D. Bellah, Richmond, Ark., $9990.00; William M. Wallis and Neville Hobson, Paraclifta, $9440.00.

The postmaster at Washington reported to Richmond that service commenced on May 6, 1863 and the Doaksville postmaster reported the date as May 8, indicating the trip required two days. Previously, on April 6, the schedule was modified to leave Washington on Wednesday and Saturday at 6:00 a.m., arriving at Doaksville Friday and Monday by 7:00 p.m., leaving

Doaksville Wednesday and Saturday at 6:00 p.m., and arriving at Washington on Friday and Monday by 7:00 p.m.

The United States contract had been for one route from Paraclifta to Ft. Washita, being 160 miles with three trips per week; and prior to the advertisement for bids by Reagan, the Chief of the Contract Bureau had written the postmaster at Ft. Washita on December 11, 1861:

Sir:

The contractor on Route 7952, Brownstown to Fort Washita has, through Hon. S. Folsom, applied to this Department for a change of schedule, so as to leave each end of the route on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 6 P.M. and arrive at the other end on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays by 8 P.M. in order that he may rest on Sunday at Doaksville and at each end of the route.

Would such change interrupt the connection with other routes or the convenience of the people?

Respectfully,
H. St. Geo. Offutt
Chief of Contract Bureau

Postmaster
Ft. Washita

This would indicate that the former U. S. contractor had continued on under the Confederacy.

On July 6, 1864, the postmaster at Washington reported to the Trans-Mississippi Agency at Marshall that since June 1, 1864 service on the route had gone only to Paraclifta, 40 miles, because "contractors report too dangerous to go farther."

Within a few days, the postmasters along the route appealed to the Confederate military commander for Indian Territory, Maj. Gen. S. B. Maxey, for assistance:

Ultima Thule, Ark.
July 1st 1864

To Genl S. B. Maxey
Genl

The mail route from Washington to Doaksville, Choctaw Nation from some cause has been discontinued for some time and the contractors Messrs Trimble and Martin commenced carrying the mail again and made one trip from Washington to Doaksville. Since then they have failed to bring the mail any farther than Paraclifta about one third of the distance on said route.

So long as your Army Courier line was in operation we felt no inconvenience from the stoppage of the mail but now we are deprived of all means of hearing from our friends and relatives in the army.

There are three postoffices from the Ark. and Choctaw line to Doaksville, which as well as those from the line to Paraclifta are destitute of any mail facilities whatever.

The undersigned Post Masters would most respectfully request that you prepresent our case to the proper authority (Judge P. W. Gray) and have our mail matters arranged.

Respectfully yours etc.
R. D. Wright, P. M.
Netra Bok, Ark.
William K. McKean, P. M.
Ultima Thula, Ark.
P. P. Pitchlynn, P. M.
Eagle Town, C. N.
P. M.
Lukfahtah, C. N.
P. M.
Wheelock, C. N.
V. B. Tims, P. M.
Doaksville, C. N.

P.S. Messrs. Trimble and Martins Address Washington, Ark.

Although prepared with spaces for the signature for the postmasters at Lukfahtah and at Wheelock the two spaces remained blank, indicating either that their offices had been closed or that the postmasters were unavailable. Gen. Maxey forwarded the petition by indorsement to headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department:

Hq. Mil. Dist. Ind. Ter.
Fort Towson, C. N. July 30th 1864

Respcty referred to the Genl. Commanding that he call attention of the proper mail Agent. I do not know who he is. So long as I had troops at Lane's port I kept a courrier line and gave these people the benefit of the line. Having no troops in that section now, I discontinued that line. I transact such business as I may have with authorities in Arkansas through the lines from Dept. Hq.

S. B. Maxey
Maj. Genl. Commanding

The petition was referred to the Trans-Mississippi postal agency at Marshall by Gen. E. Kirby Smith, and on August 8, 1864 Dr. Starr wrote to Gen. Maxey:

General,

The petition for resumption of mail service on mail route 409 from Washington, Ark. to Doaksvile C. N. forwarded by you to the headquarters of this military department has been referred to this Agency.

The proper notice is this day forwarded to the contractors at Washington, Ark. requiring them to resume service. If they fail to do so, the route will be immediately readvertised and let to other parties, and if possible temporary service during the interval will be employed.

The Agency is endeavoring to have mail service restored on all abandoned routes where it is practicable and useful to do so and I shall be thankful for any suggestions that you may be pleased to make at any time and all times in reference to routes in the vicinity of your headquarters.

I have the Honor to be, very respy
Yr. Ob't. Sert.
Jas H. Starr, Agent

Maj. Gen. S. B. Maxey
Fort Towson
Indian Territory

On the same day, the agency at Marshall wrote to the contractors:

Gentlemen,

It is represented to this Agency that service has been suspended on route No. 409, from Washington to Doaksville, and that it is of much public and private importance that it be resumed.

Please inform the Agency if an early resumption of service may be relied on. The Agency is now prepared to adjust the accounts of Contractors and pay arrears so far as the same have not been audited in Treasury notes of the new issue, and it is expected there will be hereafter no want of punctuality in this respect on the part of the Government.

Very respy,
Jas H. Starr, Agent

To Messrs Trimble and Martin
Mail Contractors on Route No. 409
Washington, Ark.

To this the postmaster at Washington replied on September 2:

Jas H. Starr, Esq.
Sir:

Mr. Martin has sent his agent to Doaksville C. N. on Route 409 and reports to me this day that he is wholly unable to procure anything beyond Paraclifta to eat for man or beast only for hard money which he says he cannot get and therefore is compelled to abandon the route but is still willing to go as far as Paraclifta. I told him what my instructions was and before I let out the contract I would give him a chance to go to the end of the route and see what he could do and his agent and returned and gave me the answer which I have just answered you. The proposals will be out in the Telegraph next week. I have thought it proper to give until the 30th Sept. as no one could commence before the new corn comes in. I have no doubt but some one will take the entire route. I hope the time I have given will meet your approbation.

I am very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
R. L. Phillips, P. M.

Dr. Starr replied to the postmaster at Washington on September 8 that the Post Office Department "does not allow advertising in newspapers." Mr. Phillips replied, however, that "this advertisement was gratis." Under the "gratis" advertisement, only one bid was received:

Washington, Ark September 26 1864

Col. Robt L. Phillips,
Postmaster
Washington, Ark.

Sir. I propose to carry the mails of the Confederate States for an unexpired term ending June 30, 1866 on route 409 from Washington to Doaksville C. Nation by Columbus, Brownstown, Paraclifta, Norwoodville, Eagletown to Doaksville One Hundred and twelve miles and back twice a week On horseback according to the schedule as furnished For Nine Thousand Five Hundred Dollars ($9,500) per annum.

William S. Burt

To the Postmaster
at Washington, Ark.

Sir, We the undersigned citizens of the County of Hempstead and the State of Arkansas guarantee unto the Confederate States of America that William S. Burt will if his bid be accepted enter into an obligation in such time as may be prescribed by the Post Master General with good and sufficient sureties to perform the services proposed.

J. S. Burt Guarantor
Henry Gardis Guarantor
W. K. Vann Guarantor

I, Richmond Dugger, acting and duly commissioned Justice of the Peace in and for the County of Hempstead State of Arkansas due hereby verify that I am well acquainted with the above named guarantors J. S. Burt, Henry Gardis and W. K. Vann and know them to be responsible men and able to make good their guarantee with the Confederate States.

R. Dugger, J. P.

I believe this bid is extravagant but the time and conditions of the high prices of food. I don't believe it can be taken for much less than the within bid.

R. L. Phillips, P. M.

The within is the lowest bid on Route No. 409 opened by the Postmaster at Washington and myself Sept. 30th 1864.

R. M. Gaines
Sp Agt P. O. Dept

The bid was transmitted to the Trans-Mississippi Agency at Marshall by special agent Gaines on October 1:

Washington Ark.
October 1, 1864

Sir

. . . The postmaster here and myself opened the bids for service on Route No. 409 one for $9,750 the other (enclosed) for $9,500. This bidder is willing to perform half the service for $4750.00 Mr. Phillips seems to think that weekly service would suffice. I think however the bid too high and would advise that the Route be readvertised and give Reserve Corps men an opportunity to bid. The $9500 bidder has been declared unfit for field service and is detailed as clerk in one of the offices here.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt. Sert.
R. M. Gaines
Spl. Agent P. O. Dept

Dr. Starr rejected this bid as too high and on October 6 directed the postmaster at Washington to reopen the letting. Before this could be done Dr. Starr received a further bid direct:

Brownstown
Sevier County Ark Oct 6 1864

James H. Starr
Agent P. O. Dept Trans Miss
Marshall, Texas
Dear Sir

I made a bid for mail Route 409 from Washington, Ark to Doaksville C. N. at Ten Thousand Dollars. I understand that some person has bid ten dollars less. I find that I can carry it for Eight Thousand Dollars per year and give good security for the performance of the same. Your immediate attention to this will confer a favor.

Yours respectfully
L. E. Matthews

Starr replied that "all bids received are too high and that the route would be readvertised." Upon receipt of the instructions, the postmaster at Washington again advertised for bids:

NOTICE FOR MAIL PROPOSALS

Under instructions from the Agency of the Postoffice Department, Trans-Mississippi, Marshall, Texas, proposals will be received by the Postmaster at Washington, Arkansas, until the 30th day of October 1864, for carrying the mails of the Confederate States, for an unexpired term ending June 30, 1866, on Route No. 409 from Washington to Doaksville C. N., by Columbus, Brownstown, Paraclifta, Norwoodville, Ultima Thule, Eagletown, Doaksville, 120 miles and back, one time a week, according to the annexed schedule:

SCHEDULE

Leave Washington on Wednesday, at 8 A.M. Arrive at Doaksville, Friday at 7 P.M. Leave Doaksville Saturday, 8 A.M. Arrive Washington Monday 7 P.M.

The General commanding the Military Department, by General Order No. 67, dated September 1st, 1864, recognizes as exempt from conscription contractors for carrying the Confederate States mail, and drivers of their mail coaches and hacks, provided for by law, provided they are taken from the Reserve Corps, or they were not in the army at the time of making such contracts or engagements as such drivers.
Date: Oct. 10, 1864

R. L. Phillips, Postmaster
Washington, Ark.

Only one bid was received under the advertisement which was transmitted by the postmaster at Washington to Dr. Starr at Marshall on November 1:

Jas H Starr, Esq.
Agent P. O. Dept. Trans. Miss.
Dear Sir

. . . I also enclosed you the bid for Route 409 from Washington to Doaksville. Recd but one bid that is Mr. N. W. Perkins for $4000—which according to the times and the condition of the currency is as low if not lower than could be expected. Mr. Perkins is an old and experienced Agent on mail routes and will make an excellent contractor. The former contractor has abandoned the route even as far as Paraclifta. I have made arrangements with Mr. Perkins to commence taking the mail tomorrow which will be the 2nd and on the scheduled time and if his bid is accepted by the Agency his service is to commence from that date if not to have such pay as the Dept. awards him. All of which I respectfully submit for your consideration.

Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
R. L. Phillips, P.M.

Upon checking the advertisement Dr. Starr concluded that there was a misunderstanding with the contractor whether the service would be once or twice weekly and accordingly the bid of Perkins was declined. Realizing that only one trip was expected, on November 19, Perkins wrote to postmaster Phillips from Ultima Thule:

> Friend Phillips,
>
> Sir. I received the letter you sent me from the P. O. Department in answer to which I will say that you may write to the Agency at Marshall Texas that I will carry the mail on route No. 409 one time a week for $2,000 per annum according to their proposal. It will not py expenses, but I can soon make it up another way. Please write to Marshall the first mail so it can be fixed up soon. I have made my arrangements to come to your place to live soon as we can know that it is all right. If everything is all right this boy will stay and bring out the mail on Wednesday.
>
> High water here so the mail only went to Ultima Thule this trip. Drop me a few lines by the boy and let me know what the prospects are.
>
> Yours truly
> N. W. Perkins

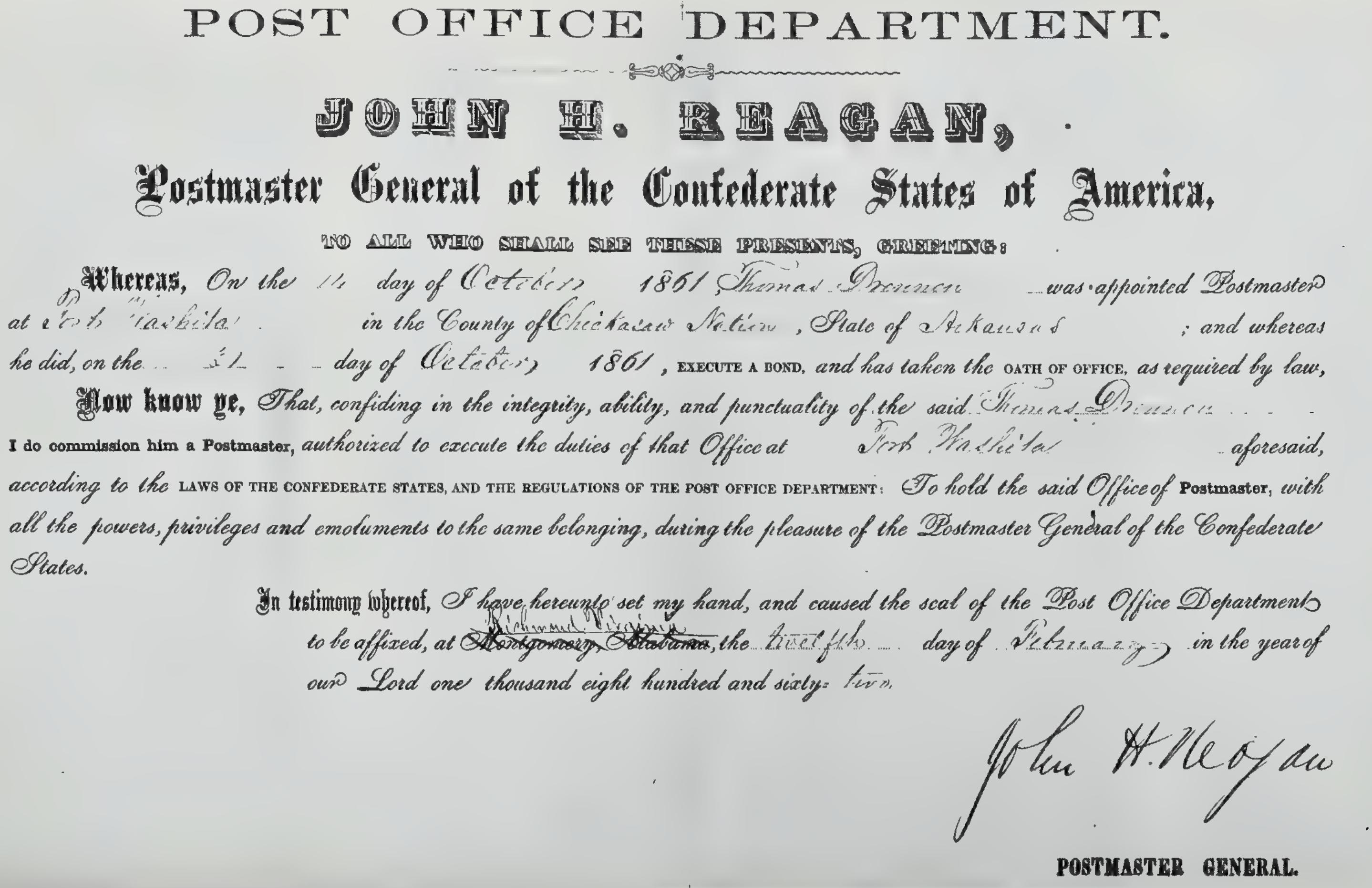
Dr. Starr accepted the bid on December 1, 1864 and there is no evidence that Perkins did not promptly institute service. On April 21, 1865, agent Gaines reported to Dr. Starr that the route was "doing very well."

Route 410

This route was the western portion of U. S. Route No. 7952 which had operated between Paraclifta and Ft. Washita. Reagan advertised this route described from Doaksville, by Armstrong Academy, to Ft. Washita, 90 miles and back, once a week, leaving Doaksville on Monday at 5:00 a.m., arriving at Ft. Washita the next day by 6:00 p.m.; leaving Ft. Washita Wednesday at 5:00 a.m., and arriving at Doaksville the next day by 6:00 p.m.

In view of the letter of December 11, 1861 quoted in connection with Route 409, to the postmaster at Ft. Washita from the Chief of the Contract Bureau at Richmond, it is apparent that the former United States contractor continued service, probably until the expiration of his contract, on June 30, 1862.

Two bids were received in answer to the advertisement of Postmaster General Reagan: David W. Heard, Ft. Smith, $1250.00, to commence service 1 October 1862; and J. N. Campbell & Associates, E. S. Mitchell and Mitchell Sparks, Ft. Smith, $1350.00. The bid of Heard was accepted by Reagan on 26 September 1862 but there is no evidence that formal contract was executed.



POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

JOHN H. REAGAN,

Postmaster General of the Confederate States of America,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING:

Whereas, *On the* 14 *day of* October 1861, Thomas Drennan *was appointed Postmaster at* Fort Washita *in the County of* Chickasaw Nation, *State of* Arkansas; *and whereas he did, on the* 31 *day of* October 1861, EXECUTE A BOND, *and has taken the* OATH OF OFFICE, *as required by law,*

Now know ye, *That, confiding in the integrity, ability, and punctuality of the said* Thomas Drennan I do commission him a Postmaster, *authorized to execute the duties of that Office at* Fort Washita *aforesaid, according to the* LAWS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, AND THE REGULATIONS OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT: *To hold the said Office of* Postmaster, *with all the powers, privileges and emoluments to the same belonging, during the pleasure of the Postmaster General of the Confederate States.*

In testimony whereof, *I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Post Office Department to be affixed, at* Richmond, Virginia ~~*Montgomery, Alabama*~~, *the* twelfth *day of* February *in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-* two.

John H. Reagan

POSTMASTER GENERAL.

Certificate of Appointment of Thomas Drennan as Postmaster at Fort Washita in October, 1861

On October 14, 1861, Thomas Drennen was appointed postmaster at Ft. Washita; and formal commission was issued to him by Postmaster General Reagan on February 12, 1862.

Sometime in the Spring of 1863, the contractor turned the carrying of the mail on this route as well as on Route 407, to David C. Betts, as evidenced by the following letter dated Arkadelphia, June 1, 1863:

Mr. D. C. Betts

Dear Sir: Yours of May 15th is at hand. I suppose Mr. Watson my agent told you that I would pay you as the Department paid me. I have given you an order on all the Postmasters on the two routes I wish you to get returns from all the offices on the routes. Sign my name to them and forward them to Richmond. You can collect the money from the different offices on the routes and the Department will give you a draft for the balance which will more than pay you; but you can keep it and we will settle it at some future time. I get $1250 from Doaksville to Washita and $1100 from Washita to Arbuckle. What the surplus is, you can collect it and keep it until I see you. If you are not familiar with mail matters, get the advise from the old postmaster and he will tell you it is all right. If it was necessary I would give you a power of attorney but I am informed and know it to be unnecessary. I would come up and see you; but have some business that I cannot leave getting up a train to Mexico for goods and very busy. When your draft comes in from Richmond, it will be payable at Little Rock. The Department has money there. You will have no trouble to cash it.

David W. Heard

Two days later, Heard supplied Betts with a notice to the various postmasters along the route:

All Postmasters on Routes between Doaksville and Fort Washita and Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle.

Mr. D. C. Betts, my authorized Agent to sign my name in forwarding returns to Richmond for mail service on the above routes and collect such amounts of money as may be due the Department from the post offices on said routes and collect drafts sent me from the Department at Richmond.

David W. Heard

Having carried the mail on these routes through 1863 and without receiving pay, on June 28, 1864 Betts wrote to the Trans-Mississippi Agency at Marshall:

Sir

I have carried the mail on Route No. 410 from Doaksville to Fort Washita in the Choctaw Nation for twelve months commencing on the first day of January 1863 and ending on the first of January 1864 under the contract and by the authority of David W. Heard. Said D. W. Heard employed me for one year for which he was to pay me one thousand nine hundred dollars for which I have his written contract payable quarterly as the Department paid him. Now the last that I have heard or know of D. W. Heard he was on his way to Mexico with a train and I dont know now where he is and I have never received any part of or particle of my pay from said Heard. I have a certificate from the Postmaster at Doaksville that I carried the mail for the time above stated. Now I wish to inquire of you what process I will have to pursue to obtain my just dues from the Post Office Department. You will confer a great favour by giving me the necessary and proper instructions. You will please answer this at your earliest convenience address me at Armstrong Academy, C. N.

Respectfully
David C. Betts

It is interesting to note that this letter, although dated Armstrong Academy, was postmarked Bonham, Texas. Sometime, probably in 1864, the Appointment Bureau of the Confederate Post Office Department prepared a printed booklet entitled *A List of Establishments, Discontinuances and Changes in Name of the Post Offices in the Confederate States,* intended for distribution to all postmasters. Unfortunately, no extant copy bears a date. The post office at Armstrong Academy is there shown to have been discontinued, date not given.

The problem poised by Betts seemed such a novel one that Dr. Starr forwarded it to Richmond:

Agency P.O.D.T.M.
Marshall, Texas, July 10, 1864

Hon John H. Reagan
Postmaster General

Sir: David C. Betts, whose address is Armstrong Academy, C. N. has advised this Agency that he carried the mail on Route 410 from Doaksville to Washita for the year 1863, under an arrangement with D. W. Heard, for the compensation of $1900. It appears from the records of the Contract Bureau in this office that said Heard was the accepted bidder on this route at the annual pay of $1250, but that no contract had been returned to the Dept. Mr. Betts states that Heard when last heard of was on his way to Mexico with a train, and that he, Betts, has never received any compensation for his service. He wishes to know what course to pursue to obtain it from the Department; and not knowing the practice of the Department in cases of this kind and as others of a like kind may arise, I have thought it best to submit the matter for its advise. In the meantime, I will advise Mr. Betts to send to this Agency the evidence of service, his agreement with Heard, and his affidavit that he has never received from him any pay under said agreement. No further action of the Agency herein will be taken until the instructions of the Department in the premises shall have been received.

Very respectfully,
J. H. Starr
Agent, P.O.D.T.M.

An interim reply to D. C. Betts was written on the same date:

David C. Betts
Armstrong Academy, C. N.

Your letter of the 18th ult. has just been received and the question you present submitted to the Dept. at Richmond. You will be duly advised of the result.

It appears from the records of the Department at this Agency that David W. Heard was the accepted bidder on Route 410, at the annual compensation of $1250. The registers and certificates of service of said routes are on file, from the office at Doaksville for the first three quarters of 1863. The registers for the fourth quarter are wanting. No registers or certificates from the office at Washita have been furnished, and must be supplied. Send to this Agency all the said evidence still wanting—your agreement with Mr. Heard, and your affidavit that you have never received from him any pay under said agreement, or from any other source, for your services. With this evidence, this Agency may probably be able to order payment to you direct.

Very respectfully,
Jas H. Starr
Agent P.O.D.T.M.

On January 5, 1864, James H. Hamilton, who had resided for some time at Ft. Washita and who at the outbreak of the War had been designated by Douglas H. Cooper to be caretaker of Cooper's "archives," was appointed postmaster at Ft. Washita. on July 2, 1864, Hamilton wrote to the Agency at Marshall:

Mr. James H. Starr
Agt. P.O. Dept. Trans. Miss.
Sir

I received a copy of your instructions to P. M. the other day and now take the opportunity of writing you in relation to the discontinuance of mail contractors in carrying the mail from different points to this office.

We have not had any mail delivered at this office since I have been appointed P. M. I took charge of this office April 1st of this year and the only communication we have had has been through the military express. There having been no care taken of way bills, and persons sending from this point send their letters through the express.

When I first took charge of the office I wrote to the P.M. at Doaksville asking him if it would not be advisable to let a contract for carrying the mail from Doaksville to this point, as there was a person offered to take the contract once a week. The person wrote the P. M. at Doaksville on the subject making him an offer. He wrote me he did not consider himself authorized to make a contract, and as there has been no certainty of the mails this year I thought it best to have some communication to this point if it were not direct. There was a person received instructions at Richmond to make arrangements for having the mail carried from McKinney, Collin County, Texas, to this point, thence to Fort Arbuckle, C. N. He has done nothing in the matter. I think it would be advisable to have the mail established again.

When I took charge of this office all that I received was one alphabetical distribution case and a few sheets of mails sent and received, with probably enough way bills to last for six months. I wish you would have sent to this office *all* the necessary blanks. I not being posted I have nothing to go by to make out forms for my Quarterly returns. Also one Post Office regulations.

By having this office established with the necessary blanks I then can attend to it without any trouble. There being no communication between this and Richmond is the reason I have not provided ere this.

I remain Yours very
Respectfully,
Jas H. Hamilton

JAMES HUMES HAMILTON
Postmaster at Fort Washita, 1864-1865

In reply, Dr. Starr wrote identical letters on July 12 to the postmasters at Doaksville and Ft. Washita:

Agency P. O. Dept Trans Miss
Marshall, Texas
July 12, 1864

Sir

You are instructed to advertise for twenty days for weekly service on Route No. 410 from Doaksville to Fort Washita and forward bids to this Agency. You will mention in the notice that the contractors will be exempt from military service.

Very respt
J. H. Starr
Agent

Pursuant to these instructions, postmaster Hamilton posted the following notice at Ft. Washita:

PROPOSALS FOR CARRYING THE MAIL ! !

Sealed Proposals will be received by the undersigned for carrying the Mail on Route No. 410 from Doaksville C. N. to Fort Washita, C. N. till August 13th 1864. Trip to be made once a week leaving Doaksville so as to make the connection without delay with the principal mail arriving there. This contract to continue in force until 30th of June 1866. The bids are subject to the approval of the Post Office Agent for the C. S. at Marshall, Texas.

The contractor will be exempt from Military duty.

Jas H. Hamilton,
P. M.

Fort Washita, C. N.
July 25, 1864

D. D. Hanks submitted a bid dated Ft. Washita, C. N., August 12, 1864, for $7,000.00. Someone had endorsed on the bid "now in the army." Bid was received from A. D. Chase dated "Ft. Washita, C. N., August 11, 1864" for $3500.00. The Chase bid bears a like endorsement "P. O. address Ft. Washita, C. N., now in the army." J. M. Nunn submitted a bid dated Ft. Washita, C. N., August 13, 1864, for $1500.00. The bid bears an endorsement "not in army, exempt on surgeon's certificate." Thomas N. Arnett submitted a bid dated "Doaksville, C. N., August 15, 1864" for $1,000.00.

The bids were forwarded to the Agency at Marshall by the two postmasters:

Fort Washita C. N.
Aug 13th, 1864

Sir:

Your instructions of July 12th was duly received and after advertising the specified time I enclose you the bids I received on Route No. 410. Mr. A. D. Chase for Thirty Five Hundred dollars. Mr. D. D. Hanks for Seven Thousand dollars Mr. J. M. Nunn for Fifteen Hundred dollars. I also send you a copy of the advertisement.

In your communication you enclosed me Bond and Oath of Office. I have had the bonds and Oath of Office forwarded to Richmond last

March and if necessary I will have the Bond and Oath executed and forwarded you. We have had some difficulty in this part of the country in having them filled out as we have no officer here except the Judge of the Court and a person may ride from four to ten miles and then not find the Judge at home and when the Judge comes to the Fort then the proper sureties are not to be found.

I have not received any mail at this office this present quarter. I received some little in the 2nd quarter. Not having any blanks except way bills I could not make out my quarterly a/c. In my communication I requested that the blanks should be sent to this office. I have not received any yet.

I have seen Mr. Robinson since his return from Marshall. He will establish the mail between McKinney and Fort Arbuckle, C. N.

Our mail would be greatly facilitated by establishing a route between Warren Texas and this place (distance 36 miles).

Hoping that the enclosed may prove satisfactory to you.

I remain yours
Very respectfully
Jas H. Hamilton

Doaksville, C. N.
August 16th 1864

Jas H. Starr, Agent P.O. Dept.
Dear Sir,

Having advertised according to your instructions for proposals for carrying the mail on Route No. 410 from Doaksville to Fort Washita, C. N. and the time having expired, I have now to inform you that there was but one bid given in and that was by Thomas M. Arnett when at home is a citizen of Grayson County Texas as present he is in the Military Service a member of the 5th Texas Regiment, Co. D, Gallup Brigade and is detailed here in the ordinance Dept on Surgeons certificate. From the best information I have of him I think he can furnish the requisite security for the performance of the contract.

Very respectfully
V. B. Tims, P. M.

The Arnett bid was accepted by Dr. Starr and the necessary papers forwarded to the Doaksville postmaster for execution. These were returned by postmaster Tims:

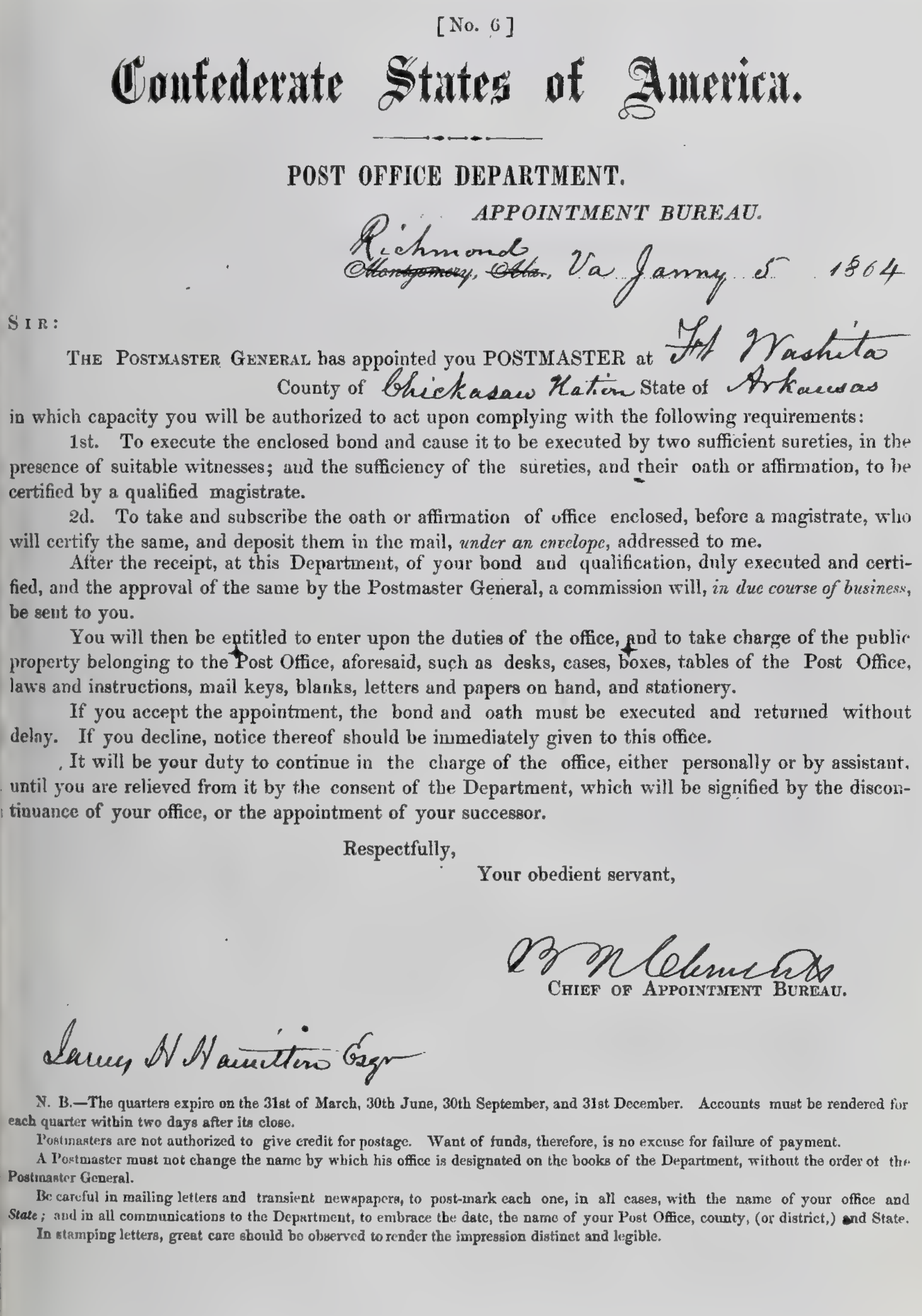
Doaksville, Choctaw Nation
September 9th, 1864

Jas H. Starr, Agent P. O. Dept.
Marshall, Texas
Dear Sir

I herewith return you the contract and Oath executed by Thomas M. Arnett for carrying the mail on Route No. 410 from Doaksville to Fort Washita C. N.—Mr. Arnett has made arrangements to commence the service on the Route by the 12th inst the time stated in the contract, but his exemption not being approved by the A. A. Genl, he will not commence the service on the Route until further instructions from the P. O. Department.

You will also find enclosed herewith Mr. Arnetts application for exemption from the Army with the A. A. Genl's reply.

Very respectfully,
Vincent B. Tims, P. M.



[No. 6]

Confederate States of America.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

APPOINTMENT BUREAU.

Richmond ~~Montgomery, Ala.~~, Va Jany 5 1864

SIR:

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL has appointed you POSTMASTER at Ft Washita County of Chickasaw Nation State of Arkansas in which capacity you will be authorized to act upon complying with the following requirements:

1st. To execute the enclosed bond and cause it to be executed by two sufficient sureties, in the presence of suitable witnesses; and the sufficiency of the sureties, and their oath or affirmation, to be certified by a qualified magistrate.

2d. To take and subscribe the oath or affirmation of office enclosed, before a magistrate, who will certify the same, and deposit them in the mail, *under an envelope*, addressed to me.

After the receipt, at this Department, of your bond and qualification, duly executed and certified, and the approval of the same by the Postmaster General, a commission will, *in due course of business*, be sent to you.

You will then be entitled to enter upon the duties of the office, and to take charge of the public property belonging to the Post Office, aforesaid, such as desks, cases, boxes, tables of the Post Office, laws and instructions, mail keys, blanks, letters and papers on hand, and stationery.

If you accept the appointment, the bond and oath must be executed and returned without delay. If you decline, notice thereof should be immediately given to this office.

It will be your duty to continue in the charge of the office, either personally or by assistant, until you are relieved from it by the consent of the Department, which will be signified by the discontinuance of your office, or the appointment of your successor.

Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

B N Clements
CHIEF OF APPOINTMENT BUREAU.

James H Hamilton Esqr

N. B.—The quarters expire on the 31st of March, 30th June, 30th September, and 31st December. Accounts must be rendered for each quarter within two days after its close.

Postmasters are not authorized to give credit for postage. Want of funds, therefore, is no excuse for failure of payment.

A Postmaster must not change the name by which his office is designated on the books of the Department, without the order of the Postmaster General.

Be careful in mailing letters and transient newspapers, to post-mark each one, in all cases, with the name of your office and *State*; and in all communications to the Department, to embrace the date, the name of your Post Office, county, (or district,) and State.

In stamping letters, great care should be observed to render the impression distinct and legible.

Authorization to James H. Hamilton to serve as Postmaster at Fort Washita, Chickasaw County (Nation) in April, 1865.

Accompanying the postmaster's letter was the original application for exemption submitted by Arnett, bearing the negative endorsement in reply from the headquarters of Gen. Maxey:

Doaksville C. N.
Sept the 6th 1864

Capt.

I would respectfully ask the Gen. for an exemption from military service on the enclosed Certificate in accordance with an Act of Congress approved April 14th, 1863 exempting all Contractors for carrying the mail of the Confederate States.

Very respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
T. M. Arnett

Capt T. M. Scott
A. A. Gen.

Hq. Dist. Ind. Tery.
Ft. Towson, C. N.

A mail contractor is not subject to military law so long as he is engaged in the carrying out of the contract. But the law does not contemplate nor does it justify the discharge of a soldier from the Army who was a member of it when the contract was entered into. Had the Post Master General known the bidder was a soldier the award would not have been made to him.

Respectfully returned and the application for Discharge Disapproved.

By order Maj. Genl Maxey.

T. M. Scott
A. A. Genl

These documents were received in Marshall on September 15 and on the following day Agent Starr entered the order annulling the award to Arnett "on account of said Arnett being in the Army" and the award of the contract was thereupon made to the second best bidder, J. M. Nunn. Nunn entered upon his duties promptly after signing his contract on October 6, as evidenced by the report from the Doaksville postmaster:

Doaksville, C. N.
Oct. 1st 1864

J. N. Sylvester, Chief of Contract Bureau
P. O. Dept. Marshall Texas
Sir.

In compliance to your letter of the 6th inst. I have to inform you that James M. Nunn, contractor on Mail Route No. 410 from Doaksville to Fort Washita, C. N. commenced services on the Route on Monday Oct. 7th, 1864 at 7½ A.M.

Very respectfully
V. B. Tims, P. M.

In the meantime, Richmond was still pondering on what to do with the appeal of David C. Betts; and on September 27, reply was made to Dr. Starr's inquiry of July 6. This letter from Richmond seems a better than average example of unintelligible officialese:

Confederate States of America
Post Office Department
Contract Bureau
Richmond, Sept. 27th, 1864

J. H. Starr, Esq.
Agt. of P. O. Dept.
Trans-Mississippi
Marshall, Texas.

Sir,

Acknowledging your letter of the 6th of July, ultimo, referred to this Bureau by the Postmaster General, and relative to a claim of D. C. Betts for services rendered on Route No. 410 Doaksville to Fort Washita and No. 407 Fort Washita to Fort Smith, by private arrangement with David W. Heard, the accepted, but failing bidder on those routes, I have the honor, as an auxiliary to your investigations, to enclose a brief of the two cases prepared from the scanty papers, touching them, which the files of this office exhibit.

It is proper, at the start of the question, to state that Mr. Heard's having failed to return his contracts duly signed placed him in the attitude of a delinquent, under the notice of his acceptance. Hence, it is not perceived how Mr. Heard who failed to organize the service on routes, which had been regularly awarded to him, could justly have made the arrangement for service, set up as the basis of Mr. Betts claim. After a reasonable time to institute service—and he had more than two months in which to do it—his failure ought to have been reported by the Postmasters at the ends of the connecting routes, accompanied by the indication of some suitable plan for temporary service under the standing precept of Section 332nd of postal laws and regulations. It does not appear that this was observed. It would seem, on the contrary, that Heard, without executing contracts, without even attempting himself to organize the service, entered into an arrangement with Betts, transferring the routes to him and even arming him with a general notice "to all Postmasters on Routes between Doaksville and Fort Washita and Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle, of Betts authority to sign his name and collect, on drafts, such amounts as may be due to the Department by the several offices on those routes." It is needless to observe that Heard, having forfeited his merely inchoate rights, and none to make over to Betts in that, as in any other, form of transfer.

In answer to that portion of your letter, which requests, for want of information in cases of this nature, that you be advised of the practice of the Department, I would respectfully suggest that Mr. Betts case is an anomalous one, not covered by the consecrated usages of the Department in the recognition of temporary service. Indeed, even in instances of duly executed contracts and of service under them, the practice of the Department has been to ignore all subcontractors and carriers, unless, and rarely, in cases of flagrant injustice on the part of the contractor to their sub-agents; when the action of the Department, on satisfactory vouchers, has been limited to stopping the compensation of contractors on the paybooks of the Auditor, until advised of settlement by process of law or by compromise of the parties themselves.

In this instance, although it be not clearly seen how Mr. Betts came authoritatively to be engaged in the performance of a mail service, manifestly forfeited by Mr. Heard, who had put himself in the attitude of a delinquent bidder on those, and three other Routes, Nos. 381, 376 and 406, on which he does not appear to have executed contracts; yet as the compensation, by the terms of the private arrangement, does not, in either case go beyond the amount of pay authorized by the Postmaster General's acceptance of those bids, Betts' claim, if allowed, may be adjudicated on that basis; and for such time as the certificates of the Postmasters shall vouch that he performed service. On consideration, I deem it proper to enclose to you Mr. Heard's letter of instructions to Mr. Betts, of the 1st of June, 1863, and Mr. Betts' letter of reprensentation to this Bureau of the 31st of July 1863, received June 10th, 1864, as constituting part of the res gesta. They are sent in copy form.

Respectfully yours,
H. St. George Offutt
Chief of Contract Bureau

The "brief" of the principal clerk in the Contract Bureau at Richmond was enclosed. Undoubtedly, it likewise proved not too lucid to Dr. Starr:

No. 407 Fort Washita to Ft. Arbuckle

70 mi. 1 a.w.
No. 410 Doaksville to Fort Washita
91 mi. 1 a.w.
D. W. Heard $1250.00
Routes accepted Feb. 26 1862
Contracts sent to Fort Smith Oct. 8 62
Failed to return executed

A letter from D. C. Betts of the 31st of July 63 was received on the 10th June 1864 informing the Department of an arrangement with D. W. Heard to carry the mail on No. 410 which he avers he did from the 12th of January 1863 to the 31st of July 1863, the date of his writing to the Department without having received any pay from Heard.

He asks that the Department will do him justice in the matter by ordering the making of payment for the service which he has done under the arrangement.

In furtherance of the request, he enclosed a letter from D. W. Heard to him that he was empowered to commence mail service and indicates like remuneration, setting forth the conditions by which he would proceed to collect his pay for said service on Route No. 410 Doaksville to Fort Washita and, as it would seem, No. 407, Fort Washita to Fort Smith, for which, also, Betts, under the private arrangement claims pay from the 15th of January 63 to the 1st of July of the same year. This route, it will be perceived, for which there is no contract executed by Heard the accepted bidder, was awarded to him at $1100 per annum.

There is no formal evidence of performance of service on either Route No. 407 or on No. 410. In the case of the former there is on file a notice of the P. M. at Fort Washita dated July 20, 1863 and received here June 10, 1864, advising the Contract Bureau that "there is no service on the route."

In the case of No. 410, we have a letter from the P. M. at Doaksville informing the Agent under date of the 14th of Jany 64 that, on the day previous, Betts delivered the last mail and refused to carry any longer, until he received his pay, or observance of it, from the Post Office Department.

Now, J. H. Starr, Esq., Agent of the P. O. Dept, Trans-Mississippi, under the date of the 6th of July, 1864, recites the purport of the arrangement, have condensed from Heard's and Betts' correspondence, for Route No. 410, and asks to be advised how to proceed in the case.

as he, at present, is uninformed as to the practice of the Deparment on questions of this kind.

Brief of Betts case Contract Bureau Sept. 26 1864
A. Dimitry
Princ. Clerk

Unfortunately, the records are silent on whether David C. Betts did or did not receive remuneration, albeit in fast depreciating Confederate currency, for his year of service to the Confederacy.

A final bit of light on the operations of the Ft. Washita post office is given by letter of postmaster Hamilton dated March 7, 1865:

Fort Washita, C. N.
March 7, 1865

Hon Jas H. Starr
Sir

Your communication of December 10th 1864 with instructions to turn over the funds in my hands belonging to the P. O. Department to the C. S. Depository was received this evening. You will see by the account current forwarded you for the 4th qr. 1864 that I had only $1.28 belonging to the Dept.

I took charge of this office last April and there was no contractors furnishing this office on the different routes. We did not receive any mail until the contracts were let in November, when the first trip was made on Route No. 410. I made out all my returns for the 4th quarter not thinking it necessary as I had nothing to report.

The mail matter previous to November was received at the Express which was directed to this office and there is still a good deal sent express until it reaches some office in Texas, where it is then mailed for place of destination.

The weather has been such, having so much rain that it has raised all the streams, and as we have no bridges and very few ferry boats on the streams in this part of the country which is the principal reason for failure, and the cause of this office for the past six weeks.

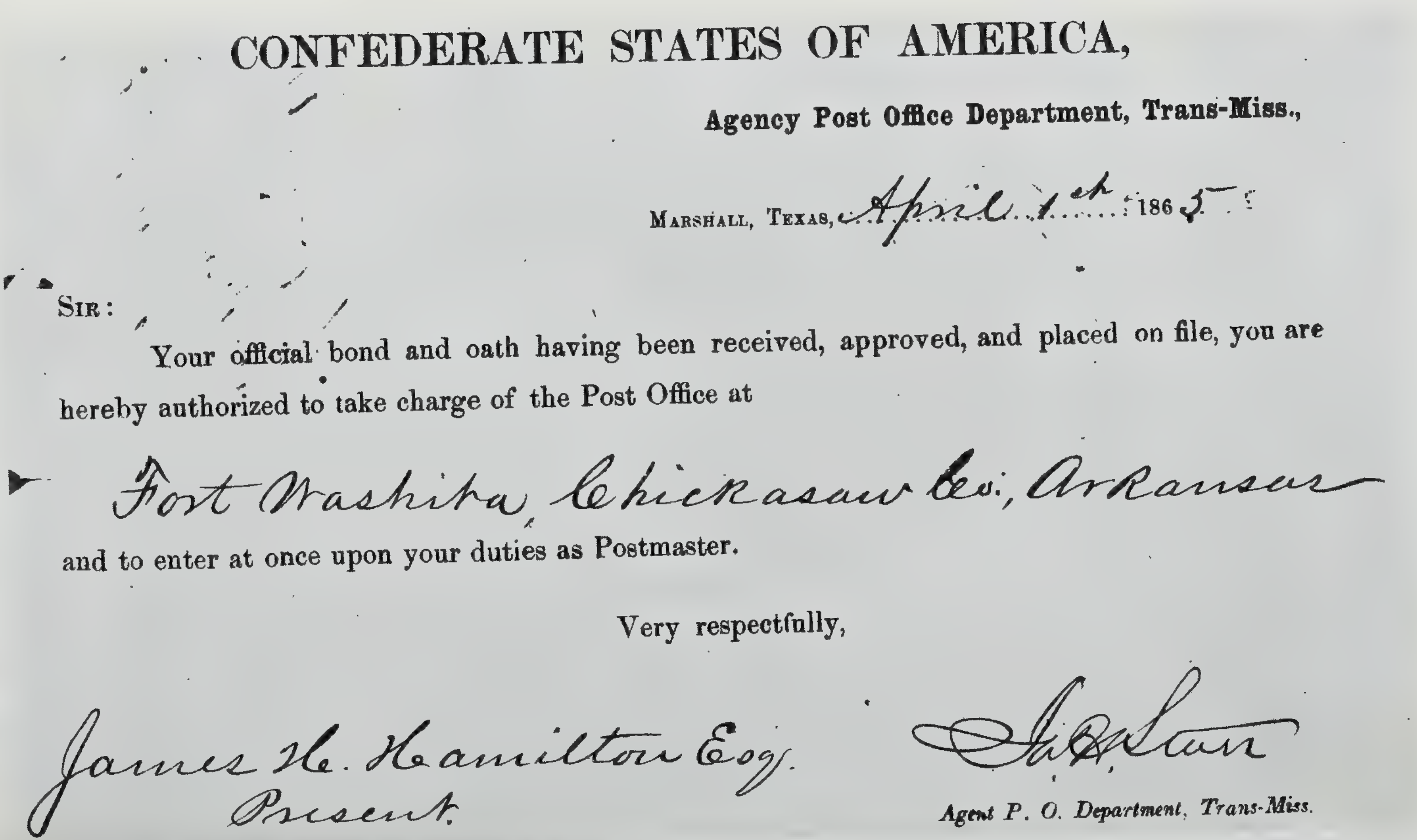
When the mails get running regular again, I hope to show a larger amount on hand in my a/c current.

I am very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
Jas H. Hamilton

Conclusion

Had the records of the Appointment Bureau survived, our knowledge of the post offices of the Confederacy within Indian Territory would be much more complete. Fortunately, the records of the Contract Bureau are sufficient to show the great effort expended by the Confederate States in attempting to maintain a postal service within Indian Territory. The evidence is conclusive that there was a civilian postal service established and that it did operate.

From the material at hand, which all in all is remarkably complete, these conclusions should be made:



CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

Agency Post Office Department, Trans-Miss.,

MARSHALL, TEXAS, April 1st 1865

SIR:

Your official bond and oath having been received, approved, and placed on file, you are hereby authorized to take charge of the Post Office at

Fort Washita, Chickasaw Co., Arkansas

and to enter at once upon your duties as Postmaster.

Very respectfully,

J. H. Starr

Agent P. O. Department, Trans-Miss.

James H. Hamilton Esq.
Present.

Certificate of Appointment of James H. Hamilton, Esq., as Postmaster at Fort Washita, Chickasaw Nation, in January, 1864.

1. The Confederacy made every effort to continue within Indian Territory the postal system of the United States. The same post office designations and the same postal routes were used; and Offutt's letter of January 20, 1862 in connection with Route 376 indicates that the Department considered an Act of Congress necessary before any change in the pre-existing system could be effected.

2. Every effort was made to continue in office the existing mail contractors and postmasters. In instances where loyalty was assured, the Confederacy readily accepted the services of the existing postal officials and contractors.

3. Prior to the formal advertisement for bids by Reagan, the Confederacy appears to have resorted to every reasonable plan to institute "temporary service" and to give local postmasters a maximum of authority in arranging expedients to carry the mail.

4. Because of Union military operations, it is obvious that Confederate postal operations north of the Arkansas River were to be of a short duration. The absence of any correspondence or "back-up" material in connection with the routes within the Cherokee Nation tends to confirm the conclusion that there was little Confederate postal service within that region.

5. As practically all activity and human endeavor during the War years in Indian Territory was related to the military, including universal conscription, the principal need for communication was that of the Army. The military usually operated its own courier or "express" service which was maintained independent of the civilian post office establishment. The petition of the postmasters dated July 1, 1864 addressed Gen. Maxey cited above in connection with Route 409 confirms that the Army courier system was widely used in lieu of a civilian postal service. The report of the Doaksville postmaster for the last quarter of 1862 and all of 1863, given above in connection with Route 165, would demonstrate that there was little civilian need for postal facilities.

6. The Army courier service was used by military personnel for private correspondence, as is demonstrated by the fact that there exist many letters from Confederate soldiers, obviously written in Indian Territory but bearing a postmark of a Texas post office, indicating that the mail was transmitted by Army facilities to Texas and there placed into the civilian postal system.

7. The post offices along the Southern portion of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations must have operated with some degree of regularity, and even though their volume of mail was small,

the conclusion is inevitable that the local postmasters in the Choctaw and Chickasaw country made heroic efforts to transmit mail and to render service.

8. There are several references above to postage stamps and it should be interesting to philatelists to know that stamps of the Confederate States of America were actually offered for sale in Indian Territory.

Until now no one appears to have given a thought to the possibility that civilian agencies of the Confederate States had extended their facilities and activities to Indian Territory, and had made any effort to bring civilian government to the Indian Nations. Always before the reference has been to the Confederate Army and to military operations.

It is heartening to know at last that the Confederate States of America, to the extent of human ability, attempted to discharge some of their non-military obligations and to bring the benefits of civil government to what is now Oklahoma. Our appreciation of the beloved "Lost Cause" is heightened and enriched by this realization.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CELEBRATES ITS 71ST BIRTHDAY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was seventy years old on May 27, 1963, and celebrated its 71st birthday anniversary that marked an event in the Historical Building, North Lincoln Boulevard, on the State Capitol grounds. The anniversary was commemorated on two days: The 71st birthday—May 27. 1963—was on Monday this year, the occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Society; and the day before—Sunday, May 26—all the departments and offices in the Historical Building were open to guests and visitors in a great "Open House" in the afternoon.

The Open House and the Annual Meeting were in keeping with events of the Society's organization seventy years ago, the history of which is briefly given here: The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by the Oklahoma Press Association at its Annual Meeting on Saturday, May 27, 1893, held at Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory. Association members began arriving in Kingfisher on the afternoon of Friday, May 26, and were welcomed by Ex-Governor Abraham J. Seay of Oklahoma Territory, and Editors J. L. Admire of the *Kingfisher Free Press* and Frank Purcell of *The Kingfisher Times.* Both editors were members of the entertainment committee who saw to it that buildings on the main street, especially the Opera House were decked out in red, white and blue bunting and U. S. flags to mark the Press Association meeting as a special event in Kingfisher. That night—Friday, May 26, 1893—at 10:30 p.m., the doors of the hotel dining room of the "Johnson House" were thrown open, and a sumptuous banquet was served the crowd of forty or more visiting editors and guests that was long remembered as a gala occasion of the Press Association meetings in Oklahoma Territory.

The next morning—Saturday, May 27, 1893—the Press Association held its business meeting, and voted the organization of the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve printed records, registration of deeds, reports on land claims and other items of interest in the development and history of the Territory.

This year of 1963, the Historical Society held its Annual meeting on its official 71st birthday, Monday, May 27, at 9:30 a.m. in the Auditorium of the Historical Building, with a large crowd of members and visitors in attendance and the President of the Society, George H. Shirk, presiding. The program of this Annual Meeting included the presentation of a painting of the "Run of 1889" (a conception of this historical "Run" by Artist, Robert L. Springer), presented by the American Oil Company, several of its officers and members present. The painting was unveiled by the Honorable Henry Bellmon, Governor of the State of Oklahoma and Ex-Officio Member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society; it was received in behalf of the Board and members of the Society by Dr. E. E. Dale, "Dean" of Oklahoma historians and member of the Board for more than forty years; by Mrs. George E. Calvert, prominent leader in the National Federation of Women's Clubs; by Mr. Bill Burchardt, Editor of the State magazine *Oklahoma Today.*

A tribute in memory of the recently deceased Honorable Thomas J. Harrison, who had been a member of the Society's Board for many years, was also delivered at the Monday morning meeting, by State Senator John C. Wilkerson, Mr. Harrison's long time friend and neighbor of Pryor, Oklahoma. The names of the five newly elected members of the Board to serve during the term (1963-1968) were announced: W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb; James D. Morrison, Durant; Orel Busby, Ada; Q. B. Boydson, Fort Gibson; Richard H. Cloyd, Norman. Officers and members of the Board were guests of the State Press Association for a luncheon at noon on Monday, in its beautfiul, new Press Building north of the State Capitol on North Lincoln.

The outstanding, entertainment event of the Society's 71st birthday anniversary, however, was the Open House with a reception held from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m., on Sunday afternoon, May 26, during which a conservatively estimated crowd of more than 4,000 visited the Oklahoma history exhibits in the corridors, the Museum galleries, the Indian Archives and Newspaper Departments and the two Civil War Memorial Rooms in the Historical Building. The afternoon's program for the Open House was sponsored by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce (Mr. Bob Newton, a member as general co-ordinator), under the active leadership of Mrs. George E. Calvert, Chairman of the Hostess Committee, of which Mrs. Henry Bellmon was honorary Chairman; Mrs. Al. C. Beckner, Vice Chairman; Mrs. Lola Hall, Chamber of Commerce Co-ordinator; Mrs. M. J. McCombs, publicity; Miss Lucyl Shirk and Mrs. Bill Williams (with Camp Fire Girls helping), refreshments and decorations. Officers and members of the Society's Board of Directors formed the receiving line for visitors during the afternoon, in the spacious reading room of the Library where punch was served from the handsome silver punch bowl an historical relic from the *U.S.S. Oklahoma*. Staff members of the Society and officers and members representing women's clubs and civic organizations of Oklahoma City were organized by Mrs. Calvert and her committee to serve as hostesses (about seventy women in all) during the afternoon, directing the visitors in the different galleries and exhibit rooms of the Museum.

Miss Eula E. Fullerton, co-ordinating hostess on the First Floor, directed the special program in the Auditorium where a program on the "Fourteen Flags Over Oklahoma" was repeated at intervals for the visitors throughout the afternoon, by Miss Muriel H. Wright, editor of *The Chronicles* and writer in the Historical Society. Large replicas of these fourteen beautiful flags formed the exhibit in history for this program, with background music by Mrs. Virgil Neal Brown and appropriate songs given by the lovely voices of her proteges, Mrs. Homer H. Cones and Mrs. Gus J. Karey.

An exhibit in the foyer of Third Floor attracted the special attention of visitors. This was an exhibit of Civil War guns—both Confederate and Federal firearms and the noted "Moseby Cannon" (howitzer) from the private collection of Mr. Jordan B. Reaves of Oklahoma City, who gave talks throughout the afternoon on the history and operation of the different relics in his fine collection.

For one hour at noon on Monday, May 27—the Historical Society's 71st birthday—three flags floated over the Oklahoma State Capitol: At the top of the flagpole, was the old U.S. Flag with forty-six stars, representing Oklahoma as the 46th State in the Union. The second flag below on the pole was the Confederate Battle Flag, commemorative of the Centennial of the period of the Civil War in which the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) had a noteworthy part in the Trans-

Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army. The third flag below on the pole was the Oklahoma State Flag with its sky-blue field centered by the design of an American Indian war-shield superimposed by an Indian peacepipe crossed by a branch of laurel, the White Man's emblem of peace, significant of the blending and friendship of the two races in Oklahoma. A view of the three flags that floated over the State Capitol on the Oklahoma Historical Society's birthday, May 27, 1963, is shown in colors on the front cover of this summer number of *The Chronicles.*

Largest Prize for a Manuscript on American History Awarded Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer

Another outstanding achievement is added to Oklahoma's growing list of "first honors" in the United States. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society is pleased to announce that this time the honor is in the field of history. The largest prize ever offered in the field of American history, an award of $5,000, has been received by LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History in Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, for his manuscript on "Lincoln's Gadfly—Adam Gurowski," a study on this radical Republican and leader of the anti-Lincoln forces. Dr. Fischer researched his subject during a sabbatical leave from the History Department with the aid of a grant from the Oklahoma State University's foundation.

This is Dr. Fischer's first book-length manuscript though he is author of a number of articles in historical publications, having specialized on the subject of the Civil War and Reconstruction as a member of the University's faculty since 1946. He has been active in the organization and interests of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, of which Dr. Henry B. Bass, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, is Chairman. Dr. Fischer is also well known for his recent work and co-operation with the Editorial Department of the Historical Society in the production of a pictorial map of the Indian Territory on the back of the new 1963 State Highway Map, which gives historical notes and sites and photographic materials of the Civil War period in this region.

The prize was awarded Dr. Fischer's manuscript on "Adam Gurowski" (selected out of more than 170 manuscripts submitted in the contest) by the decision of a jury of 10 historians, 2 of whom were Pulitzer prize winners who judged the national competition sponsored by the Loyal Legion of the United States. The Loyal Legion is a national patriotic organization composed of descendants of officers in the Union forces during the Civil War, and has its headquarters at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The honor and the award were presented Dr. Fischer in a special program on Monday, July 1, 1963, at Gettysburg during the Commemoration of the great battle of the Civil War fought on this field, between the Union and the Confederate armies 100 years ago.

Following the commemorative program at Gettysburg, Dr. Fischer was the principal speaker at the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of Vicksburg, in Mississippi, where he discussed "The Politics of the Civil War."

—Ed.

NORTH FORK TOWN by Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The attractive pamphlet *North Fork Town* recently printed by one of Oklahoma's best known authors in the historical field of this region, Carolyn Thomas Foreman (Mrs. Grant Foreman) has been received, and is deeply appreciated as an autographed copy to the Editor. The "North Fork Town" story is one of the best of Mrs. Foreman's many contributions to State history, and is reprinted from the original published in *The Chronicles* in 1951 (Vol. XXIX). Added interest on old North Fork Town and its outgrowth the present City of Eufaula are found in the "Appendix" of this pamphlet in random notes of history by Jerlena Douglas King, with some illustrations.

A beautiful part of Mrs. Foreman's North Fork Town story is the fine reproduction on the outside of the front cover, from a rare old print of the residence of the Rev. H. F. Buckner appearing on a leaf of "Baptist Teacher—Extra," the original print (*The Chronicles*, Vol. XXIX, opposite p. 97) showing the post office here as "Micco, Creek Nation, Indian Territory," which was established August 4, 1853, and finally discontinued on March 20, 1883. This old residence has stood through more than a century of Oklahoma history, its site and that of old North Fork Town to be inundated by the waters of the large lake formed by the Eufaula Dam soon to be completed.

North Fork Town pamphlet gives interesting facts and tells of well known historical characters of the Creek Nation and the mission field in this region of one hundred years and more ago, that make it a contribution in the commemoration of the centennial of the Civil War period in Indian Territory.

This latest publication by Mrs. Foreman has 52 pages, in art-paper cover, and may be ordered through the Hoffman Printing Company, 114 South 4th Street, Muskogee, Oklahoma, the price marked at $1.00. —Ed.

IN MEMORY OF ANNA R. FAIT, PIONEER MISSION TEACHER AT ANADARKO

The First Presbyterian Church of Anadarko this year lost its pioneer member and wife of its founder the Reverend S. V. Fait who began Comanche mission work here in 1888, under the auspices of Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Mrs. Fait died at the age of ninety-seven years on February 7, 1963, and the burial was in Memory Lane Cemetery at Anadarko.

Her "Autobiography" appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1954 (Vol. XXXII), in which she describes her experiences as a teacher in a small building that had been moved from Fort Sill, her first pupils numbering 28 white children (all ages from 6 to 18 years) of the Indian Agency families at Anadarko. Mr. Fait held church services in the building on Sundays, and worked with an interpreter among the Indians who lived in the old-time Indian camps in this region. In the spring of 1890, the Faits moved to their new location on the old site of Camp McIntosh of Civil War days, about four miles east of the Anadarko Agency, and established the Presbyterian Mission known as "Mautame Mission" which accomplished a great work as a mission school until its abandonment in 1910 by the Home Mission Board with the idea that the public schools of the new state could now take care of the children in the vicinity. Mr. Fait carried on the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Anadarko. Mrs. Fait mentions in her "Autobiography" the names of pupils who attended "Mautame Mission" and in later life have been counted among some of the leaders in the State of Oklahoma, among whom is Justice N. B. Johnson of the Oklahoma State Supreme Court and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In recent years, Mrs. Fait was honored as an "outstanding teacher of Indian Territory days "by the State Teachers Association."

Mrs. Fait was one of the two organizers of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Anadarko in 1888. Besides her church work and teaching, she was active as a club woman and in civic affairs. She was a charter member of Anadarko Philomathic Club; charter member of the American Legion Auxiliary, and made the first service flag in Caddo County in World War I. She was also a charter member of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians organized in 1952.

—Ed.

BOOK REVIEWS

From Where The Sun Now Stands. Addresses By A Posse of Famous Western Speakers. Introductions written by and speeches compiled by W. D. "Dick" Grisso. (Stagecoach Press, Santa Fe, 1963. Pp. 80. Bibliography. Editor's Preface and Frontispiece. Art by Jose Cisneros. Index. $4.95. [Limited de luxe edition, 99 copies, at $15.00.])

An unusual and another fine book to enjoy and add to one's collection of Western Americana. These are famous speeches (with personal introductions of the speakers written by the editor) selected from over 20 years of reading and final choices from 200 finalists to fit a pattern to give "the flavor of the frontier, a touch of western history and universality of interest."

There is humor, there's pathos, nostalgia and many other varied emotions expressed. Through these speeches are noted historical events that reveal many things as well as personalities and attentive oratory. Philosophies are expressed, events are translated and people of all kinds are described.

The title was taken from the great speech of the famed Indian Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces. (Chief Joseph is credited as being the greatest master of retreat strategy the world has ever known.) When Chief Joseph conceded defeat to General Oliver O. Howard, he said: "Hear me my chiefs. I am tired: my heart is sick and sad. *From where the sun now stands* I will fight no more forever."

Outstanding speeches to this writer besides the above are Wm. Herman Knickerbocker's "He Died In Rawhide"; Judge Kirby Benedict's delivery of a death sentence to "Jose Maria Martinez! Stand Up!"; Senator George Graham Vest's: "A Tribute to the Hound, Old Drum"; General Stephen Watts Kearny's: "Armijo Is No Longer Your Governor" and Patrick J. Hurley's unveiling ceremony speech for the famed statue in Ponca City titled: "The Pioneer Woman." However every person will revel in Temple Houston's speech delivered in Woodward, Oklahoma: "Tell Her To Go In Peace."

One will enjoy the vocabularies and can envision the tonal effects and the delivery of these speeches. Mr. W. D. Grisso, Oklahoma born and reared and lover and collector of Western Americana may be criticized for his selections, over what others may have chosen, but Mr. Grisso himself delights in controversy and thinks everyone will read these speeches with relish. We agree!

The chapter headings and page figures in this book are hand set in Union Pearl, the first known English decorated type brought to America. This makes the format of the book beautiful with the additional appeal as printing artistry.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma —by Joe W. McBride

Wild, Woolly and Wicked, By Harry Sinclair Drago, (Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, 1960, Pp. 354, $5.00.)

Thousands of words have been written about the Kansas cowtowns that flourished during the decade of the great Texas cattle drives, but few writers approach the clarity of style used by Mr. Drago. It is factual writing without losing the flavor and the color of the old west.

Presented in chronological order, the rise and fall of such boomtowns as Abilene, Ellsworth, Newton, Wichita, Caldwell and Dodge City unfolds as the great tide of longhorns flooded the prairie. Holding a large place in the history of the American west and in the annals of the cattle trade, these towns, because of their rail locations, mushroomed from prairie sod into settlements bursting with life, energy and violence. Each had its wild day in the sun only to pass on to quietness and respectability.

Layers of legend and myth had to be peeled away to tell the story of the people and the events that made each town. In the beginning, everyone—merchant, buyers, saloonkeepers, bankers, gamblers, peace officers—want the cowboy trade. In doing so, each had a share in creating the wild and woolly days that followed.

Many of the tales of noted and publicized frontier peace officers have been completely debunked. Some are dealt with quite strongly by Mr. Drago. Others, lesser known, have been placed in positions of honor judged to be rightfully theirs.

As each town had its moment of glory, so came the day when the cattle drives ceased to come. The days of the great cattle drives were finished. Disreputable as their early beginnings seemed to be, Abilene, Wichita and the rest, were founded by a fabulous and fantastic business. Without the cattle trade, some of these towns might have withered and died on the steel vine of the railroad.

Hominy, Oklahoma —Arthur Shoemaker

JOHN D. LEE. By Juanita Brooks. (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California. 1962. Pp. 404. Maps and illustrations. Appendix listing "Families of John D. Lee." Bibliographical Note. Index. $9.50.)

Juanita Brooks has made an outstanding contribution in the field of American history with this book. Her subject, John D. Lee baptised in the faith of the "Latter Day Saints"—Mormon Church -in 1838, has been one of the most controversial figures in western history for his participation in the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857. Many published accounts have appeared in the hundred years since the tragedy with Lee as the central figure, around whom has grown up "an amazing amount of folklore." Yet his family think of him as a "hero-martyr who died to save the good name of his church and assumed in silence the full disgrace of a group crime for which he was not responsible."

A monument marks the location of Mountain Meadows in a southwestern Utah Valley, about a mile and a half from the Utah State Highway 18, between St. George and Enterprise. The caption on the plaque states that Mountain Meadows was "a Favorite Recruiting Place on the Old Spanish Trail." The text on the plaque gives some details of the bloody massacre, after which only 17 small children remained alive out of a company of 140 emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri on their way to California. Then come these words: "John D. Lee, who confessed participation as leader, was legally executed here March 23, 1877. Most of the emigrants were buried in their own defense pits." The signatory line in small type on this plaque states: "This monument was reverently dedicated September 10, 1932 by the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association and the people of southern Utah."

The author—herself a member of the Mormon Church—points out in the Introduction of the book that for a century the whole subject of the horrible crime at Mountain Meadows "has been taboo in the Mormon Church, something to skirt around, leave out, or glance at quickly, then look the other way. *The story of a massacre by the Indians* [italics, M.H.W.] *acting under the direction of John D. Lee has been stoutly defended* . . . except for his connection with that tragedy, Lee's name has been cut from the records of the church." Mrs. Brooks who is unrelated to Lee goes on to say that it is about time in history to "bring him out of the shadows and present him in his true light as a zealot, frontiersman, colonizer, and loyal member of his church."

Mrs. Brooks recounts briefly events since she was a young teacher of nineteen that have brought her to write this definitive biography of John D. Lee. She bases her narrative on records of fact, excerpts from Lee's own diaries and other authentic source materials, her own interpretation and analysis showing her deep insight and careful study presented with restrained emotion without bias or prejudice for her subject. The author in this work, as another points out, gives glimpses of "the operation of the Council of Fifty (Ytfif), the Mormon Reformation, the Law of Adoption, marriage customs, healings, relations with the Indians, and other phases of life and customs in early Utah."

The last three paragraphs are a fitting close to the volume, in which Mrs. Brooks says that "the dearest hope" of the many descendants of John D. Lee for eighty-four years since his execution has been that his name some day be cleared. This hope became a reality on April 20, 1961, when the executive officers of the Mormon Church after considering all the facts available authorized that John D. Lee be given re-instatement to membership and former blessings. The necessary ordinances were performed in the Salt Lake Temple the following May 8 and 9, 1961.

Juanita Brooks is now of the Utah Historical Society, and has proven herself qualified as a writer of history, careful and critical, in producing this interesting and readable biography *John D. Lee*. The format is the same high quality of books by The Arthur H. Clark Company, published as its "Western Frontiersmen Series IX."

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

GUY CLIFFORD REID

1892-1962

Guy C. Reid made his home in Oklahoma City from 1920 to 1962, well known during these forty years as one of the State's leading architects. He was a quiet, reserved man highly respected by his business associates for his diligence and integrity in his chosen profession. He will always be held in loving memory by the members of his family and his many personal friends for his kind heart and his faithful loyalty to all of them.

Guy Clifford Reid, born in Des Arc, Arkansas, on December 22, 1892, was the eldest of four sons—Guy C., Lynn, John Roy and Faber—of John R. and Mattie A. (nee Rheinhardt) Reid. Both parents were members of leading families in their communities in the history of Arkansas.

His mother, Mattie A. Reid, was a descendant of Christian Rheinhardt (born 1743) from the Rhine River region in Germany, who settled in North Carolina where he served in the American forces under General Rutherford during the American Revolution. He was one of the founders of the "Old White Church" at Lincolnton, North Carolina (1788), as a trustee of the "Society of Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian and Dutch Lutheran" in this settlement of people who "were thrifty, upright, conservative about changes, and tenacious of customs." His grandson, Augustus Michael Rheinhardt, settled his family in Arkansas. One of his daughters married William Conway of the noted Conway family in this state. His daughter Mattie (after the death of her first husband, M. Jones) married John Ramsey Reid. One of the sons, John Robert Rheinhardt, was a well known leader and merchant at Oktaha in Muskogee County, Oklahoma for many years. The father, Augustus Michael Rheinhardt, served as Captain of Company C, Twenty-fifth Arkansas Regiment, in the Confederate States Army, east of the Mississippi River. Out of the Army for a time on account of ill health, he again joined the Confederate forces, Baines Company, Second Arkansas Cavalry, Cabell's Brigade, Monroe's Division of the Trans-Mississippi Department, that saw service in the Indian Territory and was disbanded near Corsicana, Texas, at the close of the war.

John Ramsey Reid, father of Guy C. Reid, was a son of John Reid who came with his brother from Scotland to North Carolina and later married Mary Catherine, daughter of Roderick MacIver (Scotch-Irish descent) and his wife Susan (nee Todd) MacIver, the family having moved from North Carolina and built the first house on the site of Jackson, Tennessee. John and Mary Catherine (MacIver) Reid had one son, John Ramsey Reid who was left an orphan at the age of four, with the death of both parents. He was reared by his grandparents, Roderick and Susan MacIver, after the death of his mother, and as an only heir inherited a number of Negro slaves and other property in land holdings which increased under the guardianship of his Grandfather MacIver who moved his family to Prairie County, Arkansas. One of the fine traits of John R. Reid's character was the devoted care that he gave his grandparents in their old age. As a boy growing up, he had the best advantages of the time, and is said to have attended Oxford College (now Mississippi University) several terms. At the age of nineteen (April, 1862), John R. Reid enlisted in

GUY C. REID

the Confederate States Army, Co. C, McNairs Brigade, at Hickory Plains, Arkansas. Later, Captain Augustus M. Rheinhardt of Co. C, Twenty-fifth Arkansas Regiment, Trans-Mississippi Department, C.S.A., appointed him sergeant-major in this Regiment. He also by later transfer served as a member of Co. A, Cabell's Command, F. F. Fagin's Division in a number of battles (Poison Spring, Mark's Mill, Jenkin's Ferry) and heavy skirmishes in Arkansas. At one time, he was stationed with his command at Boggy Depot, the noted Confederate commissary supply depot north of Red River in the Indian Territory. At the end of the War, John R. Reid (aged 23 years) faced hard circumstances for one who owned land in Arkansas then had "nothing but taxes on his hands." The young man shouldered heavy responsibilities and cared for his aged grandparents and two widowed aunts each with a large family of children. Both of his first two, young wives died leaving him children who added to his family cares. He increased his land holdings to two large plantations, engaged in the mercantile business at both places, and became the owner of one of the largest livestock farms in Prairie County. He took an interest in his community, sponsored the building of churches and schools (some of these for the Negroes living here), and was elected three times to positions of honor and trust by the citizens of his County (two terms as County Treasurer and one term as County Judge.) When his health began to fail in 1912, he traded his farm near Des Arc for property in Stillwater, Oklahoma, where he and his third wife, Mattie (Rheinhardt) Reid, and their four sons made their home. He died in 1915, and was buried in Lakeside Cemetery at Des Arc where his old home-town paper published a brief review of his life and family in a "Tribute of Respect to the Memory of Judge John R. Reid."

Guy C. Reid graduated with the B.S. degree in architecture from (present) Oklahoma State University in May 1916. He first worked in the office of Mr. George Winkler, Architect, Tulsa, Oklahoma, with whom years later he was associated in the architectural field in Oklahoma City (1935-1952). He enlisted in the U.S. Army, in May, 1918, and served in World War I as 2nd Lieutenant, Field Artillery, after graduating from the Officers' Training Camp, at Louisville, Kentucky. He entered the private practice of architecture in 1920, in Oklahoma City, and for a period of years was associated with Charles Monnot, Sr., in the profession.

Mr. Reid married Gertrude Wright, the younger of two daughters of Dr. and Mrs. E. N. Wright of Olney, Oklahoma, Gertrude having also graduated from Oklahoma State University in 1916. Mr. and Mrs. Reid were the parents of two children: a son, John Allen Reid, and a daughter, Mary Catherine Reid (Mrs. M. C. Katona of Boulder, Colorado). Mr. Guy C. Reid is survived by his wife, his son, his daughter, and three grandsons: Robert Alexander Katona, James Marsh Reid and William Madison Reid. Two brothers also survive, John Roy Reid and Lynn Reid, besides many relatives who are descendants of both the Reid and the Rheinhardt families in Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Guy C. Reid was elected and served as President of the Oklahoma Chapter, The American Institute of Architects, 1948, and in this same year was state delegate to the A.I.A. Convention in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was a member of the "National Council of Architectural Registration Boards," and was also a licensed architect in the State of Colorado. Outstanding buildings in Oklahoma erected with Mr. Reid as architect include Oklahoma City Public Library; Ponca City Junior High School; the men's and the women's dormitories at Central State College, Edmond; Bennett Hall at Oklahoma State University; Agricultural Hall #2, Oklahoma State University; Oklahoma City State Hospital Building Addition; Elk City Methodist Church; Wesley Hospital Addition, Oklahoma City; "Gold Star Memorial Building," Oklahoma City University; Elk City Methodist Church; Medford High School. The last seven years of his life, Mr. Reid was in partnership with his son, John A. Reid (Veteran World War II, graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology) as "Reid & Associates Architects," Oklahoma City.

Guy C. Reid was a Mason (32nd degree), member of Siloam Lodge No. 276; also, a Shriner, Oklahoma Consistory, Scottish Rite Temple. He belonged to the Men's Dinner Club and (formerly) the Beacon Club, Oklahoma City. He was a member of the First Presbyterian Church. Burial services in memory of Guy C. Reid were held on November 24, 1962, in the Chapel of the First Presbyterian Church, with Dr. C. Ralston Smith officiating, and the final resting place was in Rose Hill Cemetery, Oklahoma City.

A personal letter of condolence to the son, John A. Reid, expressing the high regard of associates and friends of his father in Oklahoma, was written by Mr. Paul R. Wade, owner and publisher of the *Elk City News,* referring to the Elk City building project of which Superintendent of the Elk City Schools, Jerry Kirk and other leading citizens were members, stated:

"During our association with you and your father in recent years in connection with The Elk City Methodist Church building project, we came to have the highest regard and deepest respect for Guy C. Reid.

"We found your fine father always to be a man of the utmost integrity, sincerity, a thorough Christian gentleman, who lent honor and stature to his profession."

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma —Muriel H. Wright

FLOYD ERNEST MAYTUBBY
1893-1963

Floyd E. Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, passed away Sunday morning, February 24, 1963, in Oklahoma City where he and his family lived for many years. He was born in Caddo, Indian Territory, on November 27, 1893, the son of Samuel W. and Lula (Maben) Maytubby. He lived in what is now Bryan County, Oklahoma, and obtained his early education in the highschool and the old Harley Institute at Tishomingo, Oklahoma. There he was a school mate of Oklahoma Supreme Court Justice Earl Welch.

Governor Maytubby married Frances Leecraft, June 30, 1917. Of this marriage one child was born—a daughter, Lelah (Mrs. James W. Bill Berry) of Oklahoma City. His two grandchildren, Becky and Jimmy, were the pride and joy of his life.

In 1939 President Roosevelt appointed Floyd Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, in which position he served up until the time of his death. His service as Governor of the Chickasaws was notably one of ability, industry, honesty and courage. He will go down in history as one of the Chickasaw's greatest governors.

Born in the Indian Territory before Oklahoma became a state, he saw Indian life in its transition period and early became interested in the affairs of his tribe. His avowed ambition was to wind up the affairs of the Chickasaws while the enrolled members of the tribe were still living. He was prominent in initiating and sponsoring legislation giving the Secretary of the Interor authority to negotiate with the Chickasaws and Choctaws for the sale of all coal deposits belonging to both tribes. The money from the sale was paid out to members of the two tribes per capita.

Governor Maytubby was a charter member of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes and was active in the affairs of the Council. He also worked to bring about the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Bill through which all Indian tribal claims in the United States might be settled. He worked unceasingly to further the interests of his people, the Chickasaws.

In the banking business for more than fifteen years, he had the opportunity of forming a large acquaintance, and his gentle, pleasing personality made him friends everywhere. For a number of years he was in the insurance business in Oklahoma City and recently retired. Up to the time of his death he was active in civic affairs of the community and displayed a special interest in the Indian young people and was instrumental in placing them in good positions with various Oklahoma firms.

He was a member of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee of Indian Health, a member of the Oklahoma City Golf and Country Club, American Legion, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, Masonic Lodge, and was an active member of the National Congress of American Indians of the United States. He was a member of Central Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City.

Governor Floyd Maytubby's personality and his activities in the part the Indian people have had in the development and the promotion of the best in life for the State of Oklahoma will be greatly missed.

—N. B. Johnson
Justice Supreme Court
of the State of Okla.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma has learned with deep regret and profound sorrow of the untimely passing of Floyd Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, on the 24th day of February, 1963, and

WHEREAS, Governor Maytubby was a distinguished charter member of this Council and worked faithfully and untiringly for the interest of the Indian people, not only of his tribe but all Indians as well, and discharged the duties and obligations of his office as Governor of the Chickasaw Nation for twenty-four years with honor and fidelity, and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of this Council to express its recognition and appreciation of his outstanding service and to extend our deepest sympathy and condolence to his wife, Frances; his daughter, Lelah; Becky and Jimmy Berry, his grandchildren, and to other members of the family.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to members of his family; that a copy be spread on

FLOYD E. MAYTUBBY

the records of the Oklahoma Historical Society and upon the records of the Inter-Tribal Council.

Adopted this the 9th day of March, 1963, at a special meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

B. Frank Belvin
President

ATTEST:
Marie L. Wadley
Executive Secretary

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MARCH 27, 1963

The Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the office of the Administrative Secretary at 3:00 p.m. on Wednesday, March 27, 1963. Members present were President George H. Shirk, Vice-President Fisher Muldrow, member Mr. Joe McBride, and Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker. Mr. R. G. Miller was unable to be present because of previous commitments.

The Committee unanimously expressed regret at the recent death on March 17, 1963, of Mr. Tom Harrison, long-time member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was moved by Mr. Muldrow and seconded by Mr. McBride that the Open House program, as submitted by President Shirk, be approved, along with any necessary expenditures that might be needed in bringing the program to completion. The motion was approved.

A plan for accumulating biographical data on each member of the Oklahoma State Legislature was discussed. A definite plan and form were determined and approved. The biographical materials thus secured are to be printed in a future issue of *The Chronicles.*

The work program for Fort Washita, as outlined by the Fort Washita Commission, was submitted. Upon the motion of Mr. McBride and the second of Mr. Muldrow, the program as submitted was approved.

Mr. Shirk asked that the status of the anchor from the U. S. S. Oklahoma and the ship's bell from the U. S. S. Oklahoma City he made a matter of record. He stated that these two articles had been secured from the Navy Department for the State of Oklahoma by the Navy League of Oklahoma City; that all costs for shipment and the erection of the permanent display had been paid for by the League; that the Navy Department has indicated that formal title to these articles has been transferred to the Oklahoma Historical Society, subject only to possible future national defense requirements; and that, although the title to the property be in the Society, they are on permanent loan to the Navy League for display in the Oklahoma City Civic Center. Mr. Muldrow moved that the arrangement be confirmed and approved and made a matter of record. The motion was seconded by Mr. McBride, and upon a vote was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Fraker requested that $3,300.00 be made available from Account No. 18 for operational expenditures. He explained that most of such money would be used in paying for the final issue of the Chronicles for this year. Mr. Muldrow moved that the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary be approved. Motion was seconded by Mr. McBride and carried.

The Committee also approved expenses of Mr. Fraker to a meeting of the Council of the American Association for State and Local History, of which he is a member, to be held in Omaha during the time of the annual Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting, May 1-2-3.

It was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that appreciation be expressed by the Committee to Mr. Shirk for the $250.00 he had donated to the Society for historical research.

Prior to the conclusion of the meeting, the Committee was in telephone communication with Mr. Milt Phillips, and Mrs. George L. Bowman, who expressed approval of all of the foregoing actions.

George H. Shirk
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 27, 1963

The 71st Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by George H. Shirk, President, at 9:40 a.m. in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

He introduced members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and other prominent personages, among whom were: Mr. Bill Burchardt, editor of *Oklahoma Today;* Mr. Robert Newton and Mrs. George Calvert, who had directed work for the Open House Committee; and Miss Muriel H. Wright, editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Mr. Shirk introduced State Senator John C. Wilkerson, Jr., of Pryor who gave a memorial address for Thomas J. Harrison, long-time member of the Board of Directors, who died in March of 1963.

Mr. Joe W. Curtis, member of the Board of Directors, moved that the proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society during the past year be confirmed and approved. The motion was seconded by Mr. Joe W. McBride, and adopted by the membership when put to a vote.

Mr. Shirk then introduced other distinguished guests in the audience including members of the delegation from the American Oil Company who were present for the presentation of the painting "The Run of 1889."

President Shirk announced that the members of the Board of Directors would convene at about 10:45 a.m. in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Press Association Building for a joint meeting and lunch with the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Press Association.

Mr. Robert L. Springer of the American Oil Company was introduced for the purpose of presenting the painting "The Run of 1889" to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He spoke about the painting and the artist, Charles McBarron. He said that the painting will reach more than 30 million viewers during the balance of 1963. He then presented the painting to the State of Oklahoma for permanent custody of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Governor Henry Bellmon spoke for the State of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Historical Society and said that it was a real pleasure to accept the painting on behalf of the people of Oklahoma. He said that the picture had real significance for him because Mrs. Bellmon's grandfathers came into Oklahoma at the time of the Cherokee Strip Run, and that his own father came in a few years later and also was a true homesteader. He said that the painting would be a real inspiration to the people of today, permitting them to see what hardships their forefathers went through.

Mr. Shirk then asked Governor Bellmon to sign the acquisition form for the Oklahoma Historical Society as the one who accepted the painting on behalf of the Society.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the meeting, adjournment was had at 10:15 a.m.

George H. Shirk
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Seventy-First Annual Meeting
May 27, 1963

Presented in the Auditorium of the
Historical Building at 9:30 a.m.

Program

Presentation of Painting ....Robert L. Springer
"The Run of 1889" American Oil Company
Reception of Painting............................Hon. Henry Bellmon
Governor of Oklahoma
Thomas J. Harrison
In Memoriam..............................Sen. John C. Wilkerson, Jr.
Pryor
Business Meeting
Adjournment

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 27, 1963
(Recessed from April 25, 1963)

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 11:00 a.m. in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Press Association Building, having been recessed to this date from April 25, 1963.

Those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and President George H. Shirk.

Those absent were Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, and Mrs. Frank Korn.

Mr. D. C. Frost, President of the Oklahoma Press Association opened the joint meeting of the two Boards of Directors by expressing the thought that the members of the O. P. A. Board of Directors were glad to have the opportunity of sharing in the Anniversary and other work of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He then introduced members of the Oklahoma Press Association Board of Directors who were present: Mr. Milton B. Garber, Enid; Mr. Wallace Kidd, Anadarko; Mr. H. Merle Woods, El Reno; and Mr. Ben Blackstock, manager, Oklahoma City. He then turned the meeting to President George H. Shirk, of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

President Shirk said that it was significant that the Oklahoma Historical Society should return home after 70 years, because the Oklahoma Historical Society was originally established by the Oklahoma Press Association as a depository for old newspapers. He read from the proceedings of the 1895 Legislature, whereby the Society was established. It told about the establishment of a special department of the Oklahoma Press Association, the Oklahoma Historical Division, in which territorial newspapers would be deposited and preserved. The then Territorial Governor asked the Legislature to enact a bill to establish the Oklahoma Historical Society, which was done.

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society were introduced with the comment of President Shirk that it was significant that four of the members in attendance of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society were also members of the Oklahoma Press Association.

President Shirk passed around the miscellaneous material that had accumulated since the last quarterly meeting. He mentioned the fact that Governor Bellmon has instituted measures to secure the Faith 7 space capsule of LeRoy Gordon Cooper for the State of Oklahoma for permanent display at the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was moved by Dr. Estill-Harbour and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that Mr. Lowe Runkle, Mr. Jordan B. Reaves, Mr. Robert Newton, and Mrs. Maude Calvert be commended for their work on the Open House which took place on May 26, 1963, in honor of the 70th Anniversary of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The copy of an advertisement was displayed that would soon be published by the Liberty National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City. The advertisement emphasized the Oklahoma Historical Society as one of the outstanding cultural institutions of Oklahoma. Miss Seger moved that a Certificate of Commendation be presented to Mr. Harvey P. Everest for his interest thus shown in the Society. Upon a second the motion was adopted.

The President called to the attention of the Board the fine contribution to history made by Hugh D. Corwin of Lawton in the preparation of the series of historical articles on the southwestern part of the State. Mr. Finney called to the attention of the Board the fine work being done by L. L. Males of Cheyenne. Mrs. Bowman moved that both be commended by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and upon a vote was adopted.

Mr. Fraker reported that there had been 3 new Life Members and 58 new Annual Members added during the past quarter. He asked that the Board approve these new members and also the gifts made to the Oklahoma Historical Society since the preceding Board Meeting. Mr. Mountcastle so moved and Mrs. Bowman seconded such motion which was adopted.

Mrs. George L. Bowman made the Treasurer's report which showed the special accounts of the Society in good condition.

Mr. H. Milt Phillips reported for the Microfilm Committee. He said that an average of almost one million newspaper pages is put on microfilm each year. He said that the Society has from 25 to 30 million pages of newspapers from Oklahoma that have been furnished by the publishers since the Oklahoma Press Association created the Oklahoma Historical Society. He further stated that of this around nearly six million pages have been placed on microfilm. Mr. Phillips pointed out that a permanent vault had been built to maintain the negatives of the Oklahoma Historical Society's films for perpetuity. He also said that a newspaper museum is being planned.

Dr. James Morrison reported for the Fort Washita Restoration Commission. He said that he would like to delay a detailed report until the Fall meeting. Mr. Shirk explained to the members of the Oklahoma Press Association the nature of the Fort Washita restoration project.

It was moved by Mr. Muldrow and seconded by Mr. Miller that the Society be authorized to make application for a Federal grant to match funds raised for the restoration and preservation of Fort Washita. The motion carried.

Resolutions required by the Housing and Home Finance Agency were read, being Resolutions CFA-1101a and CFA-1101-2a. Mr. Muldrow moved that the Resolutions as read be adopted. The motion was seconded by Dr. Morrison, and upon a vote was adopted.

The Chairman appointed Judge N. B. Johnson as representative of the Oklahoma Historical Society when he attended the dedication of the home of John Ross at Rossville, Georgia the 29th of May, 1963.

Mr. Shirk mentioned the Oklahoma Historical Society Annual Tour instigated by Mr. R. G. Miller. Mr. Miller said that starting in 1952, such tours had been conducted annually. They had carried from 110 to 175 by bus to almost every part of the state. He said that he feels that the tours are helping people all over the state to become historically conscious.

It was moved by Mr. Curtis and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the Oklahoma Historical Society appear as joint sponsors of the second annual Oklahoma Genealogical Short Course at the University of Oklahoma. The motion was approved.

Mr. Phillips remarked that David Phillip Wilson has been commissioned as the artist for painting a portrait of LeRoy Gordon Cooper. He said that the picture should be finished in November; and that the Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce and Development Council felt that the Oklahoma Historical Society should be the permanent place for the Faith 7 capsule and the portrait. He said that the Society should work with the Governor, the Legislature's committee, the Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce and Development Council on the arrangements for a reception in November of the portrait of Major Cooper and Cooper himself. Mr. Phillips continued by saying that Gordon Cooper was the first American to live in space, and that it should be a source of great pride that he is from Oklahoma. He said that the Oklahoma Historical Society should take an active part in all the arrangements rather than being merely in the background.

Mr. Phillips then moved that the President be authorized to name a committee of five, of which the President shall serve as chairman, with authority for the committee to work with the Governor, the Legislature's committee, the State World's Fair Committee, and the Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce and Development Council in the effort to secure for Oklahoma the Faith 7 capsule, and to cooperate in securing the portrait of Major Cooper for the Oklahoma Historical Society, and to do all things necessary to bring the capsule and portrait to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion. Said motion was put and adopted.

Dr. B. B. Chapman commended the effective action of William J. Dale, Chief Curator, in establishing an on-the-site marker on Wild Horse Creek, campsite in 1832 of Washington Irving and the U. S. Army Rangers. He said that Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, wrote the inscription, and participated in the dedication program on April 7, 1963, attended by 2,000 persons.

President Shirk turned the gavel to Mr. Frost who said that this meeting should be a forerunner for closer relations between the two organizations. Miss Seger moved and Dr. Estill-Harbour seconded that the Board of the Oklahoma Historical Society express appreciation to the Oklahoma Press Association for its cooperation in the joint meeting. The motion was adopted by the Society's Board.

Mr. Frost said that the Oklahoma Historical Society was welcome, and that whenever the Oklahoma Press Association could help the Oklahoma Historical Society, they would be glad to do so.

It being determined there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned to a buffet luncheon served by the Oklahoma Press Association.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED

LIBRARY:

Map: Fort Smith Quadrangle, 1890. U. S. Government Survey Topography sheet.
Map: Oil Pool Map of Oklahoma, 1957.
Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City

Stewarts of Sequatchie Valley, Tennessee—Mary Stewart Blakemore.
Donor: Mrs. M. Neville Blakemore, Richmond, Virginia

Smith's Complete Directory of Oklahoma Territory, 1890-01—J. W. Smith
Donor: R. L. Bosworth, Oklahoma City

Family chart of Percy Holden Washbourne
Donor: General Lee B. Washbourne, Jay

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine (13 copies)
Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, Oklahoma City

"Oklahoma Emancipation Proclamation—One Hundredth Anniversary"
Donor: Savoie Lottinville, Norman

"The True Meaning of the Stomp Dance"—Marshall Walker
Donor: Marshall Walker, Blackgum

Photograph of signature of Stand Watie from Carey Ferry records, Jan. 4, 1862
Newspaper clipping of Carey Ferry Records
Donor: Mrs. Mary Rhea Needham, Grove

Memorial folder of Waldo E. McIntosh, Jr.
Donor: Waldo E. McIntosh, Sr., Tulsa

1870 census of Alabama (Autauga-Butler counties)—Microfilm
Donor: Mrs. Esther Baggett, Oklahoma City

The House of Fowler, an Index
Donor: Miss Hazel Biby, Oklahoma

"Symbol Book of the Camp Fire Girls"
"Indian Name Book of Camp Fire Girls"
Donor: Nancy Atkins, Oklahoma City

"The Newton County Homestead"
Donor: Walter F. Lackey, Low Gap, Arkansas

Meek Genealogy—Carleton L. Meek
Donor: Carleton L. Meek, Lincoln, Nebraska

Reports of the Committees of the Senate of the U. S. for the 1st Session, 39th Congress, 1865-66.
Reports of the Committees of the Senate of the U. S. for the 2nd Session, 37th Congress, 1861-62.
Donor: J. S. Tissington, Muskogee

Four letters concerning records of Tom Mix.
Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, Oklahoma City

Asters at Dusk—Polly Pollock
Donor: Mrs. M. S. Pollock, Vandalia, Ohio

"The Descendants of Edward Lytle of Pennsylvania, Butler County, Ohio and Indiana"—Leonard Lytle
Donor: Mrs. W. J. Little, El Reno

Souvenir program: "Inauguration of Governor Walton and World's Greatest Barbecue, January 9, 1923"
Souvenir Program: "Inaugural Ball, January 10, 1923"
Donor: Hugh P. Haugherty, Oklahoma City

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Vol. 3—Charles Smart
Donor: Dr. John F. Lhotka, Oklahoma City

Swinton's Fourth Reader
Swinton's Third Reader
Donor: Walter L. Crittendon, Oklahoma City

"Oklahoma Poetry, Spring 1963"
Donor: Leslie McRill, Oklahoma City

Roster of members of the Tulsa Historical Society
Oklahoma City Telephone Directory, November 1934
"Colonel McAlester's Legacy" by Leonard W. White
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

History of Gilead Baptist Church, Hardin County, Kentucky, 1824-1924.
Cash Genealogy—O. C. Cash
"The Cash Family"—O. C. Cash
Donor: O. C. Cash, Tulsa

2 rolls Microfilm Census records: 1870 Arkansas (Clark-Hot Springs counties)
Donor: Mrs. Bertha DeWitt King, Shawnee

"900 Years of Calendars"—Charlie F. Dollard
Donor: Charlie F. Dollard, Claremore

Maryland Calendar of Wills, Volume 4—Jane Baldwin
The Statistical Handbook of Trigg County, Kentucky—Eurie Pearl Neel
The Wilford-Williford Family Treks into America—Euroe Pearl Neel
Donor: Dr. Donnell M. Owings, Norman

The Bettes, England to America—Adele Cobb Kerrigan
Donor: Jo Beryl Bettis Huffine, Oklahoma City

Texarkana Pioneer Family Histories—Nancy Moores Watts Jennings
Donor: Nancy Moores Watts Jennings, Texarkana

State Farm Road Atlas, 1963
Donor: Bill Kent, Oklahoma City

"Pea Ridge: The Place Where the South Lost the Civil War"—Hugh Park
Press Argus, December 27, 1962—"The Battle of Van Buren"
Donor: Hugh Park, Van Buren, Arkansas

"History of the U. S. Naval Ammunition Depot McAlester, Oklahoma"—Meleo M. Schene.
Donor: Judge Robert J. Bell, McAlester

"Battlefields Near Richmond"
Donor: Philip Holhweck, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

"Flags of Our Country"—Humble Oil and Refining Company
Donor: Howard J. Van Dyke, Houston, Texas

The Will Rogers Field News, April 17, 1943
Donor: Roy Isaacs, Oklahoma City

Capitol Building for the State of Oklahoma, Layton, Smith & Forsyth, Architects.
McLeod Honor Farm—Oklahoma State Board of Public Affairs.
New Capitol Office Buildings—Oklahoma State Board of Public Affairs.
Renovation of Capitol Buildings and Grounds—Oklahoma State Board of Public Affairs.
Donor: Oklahoma State Board of Public Affairs

"The Papoose of Murrow Home"—December 25, 1962
"The Skirmisher"—February 9, 1963
"The Southwestern Lumbermen's Association Roster of Dealers and Buyer's Guide"—May, 1944
"Crossnore School Bulletin"—January 1963
Oklahoma City Telephone Directory, 1949, 1950, 1953
Newspaper article: "Ripley, Oklahoma"
Newspaper article: "Fort Sill, Oklahoma"
3 copies of *Maronette*
4 programs: "Grand Commandery Knights Templar of Oklahoma"
3 copies, *P.E.O. Record*
Independent Petroleum Monthly, 3 copies
Kansas-Oklahoma Oil Reporter, 3 copies
Oklahoma Professional Engineer, 3 copies
"The Petroleum Industry"
"Clectrac Equipment Manual"
Sooner Spirit, 17 copies
"Looking Backward With a Smile"—Fox Wood
Collection of 33 organizational yearbooks, programs and rosters of membership.
Oklahoma Highway Map, 1935
"Oklahoma State Board of Registration for Professional Engineers Reports"—1947, 1950, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961.
Stillwater-Perkins Telephone Directory, 1959.
Collection of newspaper articles on Oklahoma.
Manual for Noncommissioned Officers and Privates of Infantry of the Army of the United States, 1917.
Small Arms Firing Manual, 1913.
Standard Specifications for Highway Construction — Oklahoma State Highway Construction
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City

GIFTS RECEIVED

Museum

PICTURES:

Photo of Big Pasture Monument
Photo of Fort Cobb Monument
Donor: purchase

Will Rogers
Covered wagons waiting to make the Run
Donor: B. B. Chapman

Mrs. O. O. (Mamie) Hammonds
Gov. Henry S. Johnston
Rest Haven
Drug store at Atoka in 1903
C. B. Jones, Indian Scout
Robin Johnston
Reba Johnston
Dr. Forney Hutchinson
Mrs. Henry S. Johnston
Group picture shows Governor and Mrs. Haskell, 1910
Group picture shows Governor and Mrs. Johnston
Dining room, State Prison, McAlester
Judge James R. Armstrong
Donor: G. Scott Hammonds

Guymon flood, May 20, 1909
Guymon Christian Church
Mrs. M. P. Lehman
Site of Camp Radziminski
Donor: Hugh Corwin

Armistice Day Parade in Lawton, 1918
Major Joseph R. Reed
Senator Elmer Thomas
Early day "Flying School at Lawton"
Senator Elmer Thomas and President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Holy City, Pageant Site, Wichita Mountains
First Airmail Feeder Service, Waurika, May 19, 1933
Donor: Mrs. M. P. Lehman

White Horse Battery A 160th F.A. June 1933
Donor: W. S. Key Estate

Miniature of Willie Murray, wife of Governor Johnston Murray
Donor: Mrs. William H. Murray, Jr.

Sod House near Taloga, 1903
Dugout near Taloga
Riggs Store, Taloga, 1903
First Bridge at Taloga, 1911
Riggs Store, Taloga, 1908
Mt. Sheridan 1904
Taloga Normal School
Hotel Taloga
Mt. Scott, 1904
Brush Arbor and Wagon Team
Camp office of Waco Mining & Milling Company
Sod House and group picture
Indian Tepee shows mother and children
National Newsmen Convention at 101 Ranch, 1902
Home of Arthur Hicks near Weatherford, Oklahoma
Minnie Chipps, Cheyenne Girl, 1899
Scene at 101 Ranch, 1902
Sod House and group, shows baby buggy
Group of people, sod house, cow, chickens
Three rough plank houses
Hewn log house
Pine School District 23, 1906, shows children and teacher
Log House and a Plank House, Dewey County
Taloga Normal School, 1905
Lone Chief, Ponca
Prayer Baptism of Dr. William Davis
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. W. A. Rigg

Teddy Roosevelt and John Abernathy on a wolf hunt
Battle of the Washita
Donor: Copied by the Society

Stage Coach, five negatives
Santa Fe Trail, northwest Oklahoma
Northwest corner of the Oklahoma Panhandle
Fort Nichols, four pictures
Autograph Rock site 1, seven pictures
Autograph Rock site 2, seven pictures
Donor: Society purchase

Wirt Franklin, outstanding Oklahoma Oil Man Award, 1961
H. R. Straight, outstanding Oklahoma Oil Man Award, 1962
Donor: Oklahoma Petroleum Council

Group at Beavers Bend, Historical Tour, 1962
Donor: R. G. Miller

Governor J. Howard Edmondson at his birthday party, September 9, 1962
Governor Edmondson's birthday cake, capitol party, September 9, 1962
Official Flag of the Governor of Oklahoma
Governor's Flag used in the inauguration of Gov. Edmondson
Donor: Mrs. Manon Turner Atkins

Lake Elmer Thomas shows Mt. Scott
Donor: Planning and Resources Board

Sterling Price King
Guthrie 1889
Donor: Mrs. W. B. McLeod

Indian Chiefs and Representatives of the Indian Tribes, Constitutional Convention
Donor: J. W. Sorrells

Dregging in Oklahoma, three pictures
Donor: Mrs. Jean Truitt, Registrar Ft. Wayne Historical Society

MUSEUM

EXHIBITS:

Dresser, marble top, hand carved pulls, walnut
Bed, walnut, hand carved
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Dave Deakins Price

High chair
Donor: Mrs. Agnes Wantland

Flag, Confederate
Donor: Robert E. Lee Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy

Record, LP recording of Will Rogers voice
Donor: Bryant Sterling, New York, New York

Quilt, made by Ladies Aid, Methodist Church, Skullyville in the 1870's
Donor: J. E. Austin

Wire, barb wire, link
Donor: Joe Durham

Badge Collection, picture buttons and ribbons
Donor: John W. Pruitt

LIST OF LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS FROM OCTOBER 26, 1962 TO JANUARY 24, 1964

New Life Members

Adams, Geoffrey Pharoah	Sandbanks, Dorset, England
Johnson, Jocelyn Welch	Tulsa, Oklahoma

Johnson, Karen Gail	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Lindstrom, Captain L. I.	Lawton, Oklahoma
McIntosh, W. E.	Tulsa, Oklahoma

New Annual Members

Anderson, Mrs. Henry P.	Sand Springs, Oklahoma
Beck, Homer C.	Wichita, Kansas
Blackley, Mrs. W. J.	Indianapolis, Indiana
Callahan, Mrs. J. T.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Connell, Lillian V.	Tahlequah, Oklahoma
Cundiff, Mattie	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Dunaway, W. F.	Guymon, Oklahoma
Fly, William Benton	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Graham, Sue Ann	Wagoner, Oklahoma
Gray, Mrs. T. E.	Elmwood, Oklahoma
Hall, Mrs. Guy E.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Hall, Mrs. Marion T.	Norman, Oklahoma
Harrod, Miss Lula	Holdenville, Oklahoma
Hight, Mrs. Lennie	Duncan, Oklahoma
Kennedy, Daniel C.	Broken Arrow, Oklahoma
Leonhardt, A. L.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Lott, Glenn	Granite, Oklahoma
Matthews, Madeline	Eufaula, Oklahoma
McCracken, Lois Anne	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Melrose, Charles W.	Kansas City, Kansas
Navarro, Mrs. M. E.	Pecos, Texas
Newton, Robert L.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Randall, Max	Nowata, Oklahoma
Reeme, Florence O.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Rouse, M. C.	Coyle, Oklahoma
Scanlan, Gladys E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Shahan, Herman W.	Weatherford, Texas
Stone, William Clarke, III	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Van Tuyl, Paul	Coweta, Oklahoma
Walton, Judy Ann	Fort Smith, Arkansas
Westbrook, Dr. Brock	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
White, Daniel Gordon, II	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Williams, Claude H.	Wilburton, Oklahoma
Williams, Luther	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Ziemba, Sally J.	West Seneca, New York

LIST OF LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS
JANUARY 25, 1963 TO MAY 27, 1963

New Life Members

Fischer, LeRoy H.	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Rogers, Cleeta John	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Turner, Reuben Riley	Fame, Oklahoma

New Annual Members

Adair, Mrs. Janie Ross	Seminole, Oklahoma
Aldridge, Mrs. Everette	Cucamonga, California
Alexander, Mary M.	Fort Smith, Arkansas
Beal, C. E.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Boatright, Mrs. DeMaries Ketchum	Cabool, Missouri
Burns, Luke	Marshall, Texas
Bussey, Hez J.	Norman, Oklahoma
Choate, Ben P., Jr.	McAlester, Oklahoma
Clement, Billy M.	Rockville, Maryland
Cleveland, Dicy W.	Olustee, Oklahoma

Coggins, Sandra	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Curtis, A. T.	Minco, Oklahoma
Davies, E. E.	Broken Bow, Oklahoma
Donahue, James H.	South Bend, Indiana
Fieck, Sammie Laura (Mrs.)	San Diego, California
Field, Mrs. Joseph H.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Fightmaster, C. W.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Franklin, Dr. W. A.	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Garrett, Paul Hamilton	Dallas, Texas
Garrity, Richard	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Gentry, Louella Florence	Sepulveda, California
Gustin, Alvin U.	Dayton, Ohio
Harrill, Ronald D.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Hawk, Darall G.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Hogue, Calvin Kirby	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Howell, Wendell E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Hultgren, Dr. W. C.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Jaeger, Richard D.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Jennings, R. A.	Sulphur, Oklahoma
Johnson, Mattie Mae	Duncan, Oklahoma
Kemm, James O.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Kiesel, Mrs. M. A.	Hinton, Oklahoma
Kinkade, Winfield Clair	Barnsdall, Oklahoma
Lackey, Walter F.	Low Gap, Arkansas
Lauer, Edna	Lone Wolf, Oklahoma
Laughbaum, H. Kirk	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Luellen, Omer S.	Hinton, Oklahoma
McIntosh, Mrs. Sally Jane Blalack	Dallas, Texas
Miller, Earl W.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Monnett, Howard N.	Overland Park, Kansas
Norton, Mrs. Hazel Rose	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
O'Connor, J. W.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Olsen, Dale C. (Mr.)	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Philips, Arthur McCrindell	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Prough, A. J.	Gotebo, Oklahoma
Rickner, Henry	Yale, Oklahoma
Robinson, William James	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Ross, R. O.	Carmichael, California
Sanford, Mrs. E. W.	Hobart, Oklahoma
Shaffer, Ward L.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Steele, Mrs. Verneta	Palatine, Illinois
Swartz, Orvoe	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Swatek, Robert E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Vowell, Floyd A., Jr.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Wagner, Joe K.	Wichita Falls, Texas
Walker, Ben	Mountain Park, Oklahoma
Wingate, Susie Stump (Mrs.)	Marshall, Texas
Young, Philip	Duncan, Oklahoma

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

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Autumn, 1963

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Cover: The front cover is from an original photo of "Whizzbang," boom town of the Osage oil days in early 1920's. The scene shows the main street jammed with 1920-model autos, the false-front buildings on either side of the street, the "Chick Sales" out-houses in the rear of the buildings, and drilling rigs and oil wells and oil tanks clear to the horizon. This jam of activity and excitement of the Osage oil-boom days are no more, and the site of Whizzbang is now only a ghost-town memory in Oklahoma. The history of "Osage Oil" contributed by Mr. Bill Burchardt is in this number of *The Chronicles*.

THE BOOMERS: OKLAHOMA PLAYWRIGHTS OPENED THE TERRITORY

By Paul T. Nolan*

Oklahoma has always been proud of its pioneers, especially of its pioneer women. Bryant Baker's memorial statue, *The Pioneer Woman,* in Ponca City is probably the best known tribute to the pioneer in the United States. And the contributions of the pioneers have long been the subject of story and song. The politicians have been honored in C. W. Allen's *The Sequoyah Convention;* the oil men, in such works as W. L. Connelly's *The Oil Business As I Saw It;* the cattlemen, in E. E. Dale's *Cow Country* and the *Range Cattle Industry;* the Indians, in Angie Debo's *And Still the Waters Run;* the city-builders, in Debo's *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capitol;* the frontier newspaper-women, in Mrs. Tom Ferguson's *They Carried the Torch;* and the list could be continued to include almost all of those who made the Oklahoma "Run" one of the world's great adventures in pioneering.

But among the pioneers, there was one hardy band, led by a woman; and Oklahoma has not even left a shovel to show where they were buried—the playwrights.

Kenneth C. Kaufman and Spencer Norton, writing of the dramatists of Oklahoma for the two editions (1941 and 1956) of *Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State,* both comment on the accomplishments of such post World War I Oklahoma playwrights as Lynn Riggs, author of *Green Grow the Lilacs, Cherokee Nights,* and *Russet Mantle;* and Mary McDougal Axelson, the author of *Life Begins.* They mention that Fleta Campbell Springer, in addition to her novels, also wrote "a play." But neither mentions a single play or playwright before World War I, and both Kaufman and Norton are among the most devoted chroniclers of the state's literary history.

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* *Dr. Paul T. Nolan, a professor of English at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, is collecting the "lost" plays of southern United States before World War I. His article in* **The Chronicles** *is part of that study. In addition to historical and critical articles on drama which have appeared in such journals as Drama Survey, Player's Magazine, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, the American Quarterly, the Mississippi Quarterly, and the Southern Speech Journal, Dr. Nolan has edited some of the "lost" plays of Louisiana for the University of Kentucky microcard series. He has also written a number of plays for the amateur theater. Last summer, Plays, Inc. of Boston published a collection of his plays, "Round-the-World Plays for Young People." Readers with information about the "lost" plays of Oklahoma are asked to write him: Box 552, USL Station, Lafayette, Louisiana.—Ed.*

This neglect of this one aspect of Oklahoma's cultural history is not difficult to understand, and it is a neglect which most of the states in the Union share. Before World War I, it is generally agreed, American drama was in a "low state," a state caused in large part by the bad practices of the stage. Anyone who wrote for that stage, it is argued, had to commit offenses against dramatic art that made their plays, at best, second rate. And the "best" of the nineteenth-century American plays — dramas like Herne's *Margaret Fleming* — are judged to be inferior to their European contemporaries like Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* and Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard.*

Before World War I, moreover, Oklahoma produced only a few playwrights who had any success on this "bad" stage. And, the argument runs, although the stage was "bad," only those plays that were successful on it were any good at all. Oddly enough, with the "conditions on the American stage," Europeans like Ibsen and Chekhov could not have produced what they were writing, but if any of the stay-away-from-the-stage American playwrights were writing like them, their work was then ignored, and it is now forgotten.

Whether the playwrights of Oklahoma were too bad for the stage or too good, they were busy. From the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893 until the outbreak of the First World War, Oklahoma had at least thirty-nine playwrights who wrote at least forty-one of the dramas while residents. And they, at least, thought their works had enough merit to justify copyrighting them. These plays now constitute what is probably the largest body of "neglected" literature in Oklahoma's history.

Pioneer Woman, Playwright Style

The author of the first play copyrighted from Oklahoma was a woman who might well have served as a model for Baker's statue, Mary Isabella Hassin. She came to "Old Oklahoma" in 1889. Seven years later she celebrated this event in her play, *The Boomers: The Opening and the Settling of the Cherokee Strip.*

The play was copyrighted from Blackburn, and no known copy of it still exists. It was, apparently, her only dramatic composition. At least, it was the only play she ever had copyrighted.

Six more plays were written and copyrighted from Oklahoma before the turn of the century. Five of them, all written by two brothers, George and Warren Noble, were copyrighted in 1897 from Guthrie. Like *The Boomers,* all five are now among the "lost" drama of Oklahoma. Their titles are known, however, and suggest that the Nobles were interested in the drama for the sake of entertainment. Four of the plays are comedies:

Dad's Angel, Baby Mine, Gay Mr. Tompkins, and the *Yankee Genius.* Their fifth play was a melodrama, *The Train Wreckers.* All were three-and-four-act plays, suggesting that some of them, at least, must have been written before 1897.

Only one other play was copyrighted from Oklahoma in the Nineteenth Century. J. Frank Gudarian copyrighted *Paradise Regained* from Hennessey in 1898. It, too, is a "lost" play; and like Miss Hassin and the Noble brothers, Gudarian apparently wrote no other works for the theater beyond his Oklahoma composition.

INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

During the first fifteen years of the Twentieth Century, Oklahoma playwrights must have been as common as corner drugstores. Every town seems to have had at least one.

Oklahoma City had five. Two were women: Lena Blackburn, author of *The Sheath Gown Girls,* "a musical comedy in one act," 1908; and Edna Sutton Stark, the author of two plays: *Via the Heart,* "a play in 3 acts," 1912, and *Diamonds Seven, Hearts Eight,* "a play in 1 act," 1915. The other three playwrights were men: Felix Hunter, author of *By Chance,* a one-act play, 1911; Courtenay Morgan, the author of *One Christmas Eve,* a "dramatic sketch," copyrighted January 3, 1910, and *Innocent Widow,* a "play in 4 acts, dramatized from Delpit's novel, *Coralie's Son,*" copyrighted January 27, 1910; and William L. Tucker, the author of *The Struggle,* "a Heart-Interest Drama in 4 acts," 1912.

Norman had three playwrights: Arthur O. May and Lew Sully, authors of *Limb of the Law,* 1914; and Mary E. Waddington, who copyrighted two plays from Norman in 1908—*Al Douglass, King* and *The Return*—and one play from Purcell in 1911, *When Daughters Will.*

Five Oklahoma towns had two playwrights each. Stillwater had Marion Hughes, author of *Three Years in Arkansas,* 1906, and L. J. Jardot, author of *Oklahoma,* 1903. Shawnee had Charles Patterson, author of *The Lost Heiress,* 1900, and We Wo Yonk, author of *Chief Black Hawk's Revenge,* 1911. Ardmore had Herbert Butzow and Jack Burnett, authors of *The Gallery God,* 1911. Hobart had William and Henry Ellis, the authors of *Who Is He?,* 1907. Anadarko had two playwrights who listed their names simply as "Spahn & Corson," when they copywrighted their only play, *The Tale of the Comet,* 1909.

Over twenty other Oklahoma towns had at least one playwright each during these years. For four towns, the only playwright was a woman. Sulphur had Anna Burgess, author of

Money Against Money, 1909. A year earlier, in 1908, Miss Burgess had copyrighted her only other play, *War of Money,* from Chicago. Perry had Norma A. Lucy, author of *The Crook,* 1911. Muskogee had Isabel S. McLaughlin, author of *The Question,* 1911. The same year. Mrs. McLaughlin also copyrighted another play, *My Wife's Daughter* from Washington, D.C., apparently her only other dramatic work. Ada had Mrs. Cannie West, author of *A Man's Love; or Driven from Eden,* 1913.

All of the other "town's only" playwrights were, apparently, men. (Occasionally women used men's names in the hopes of getting a more favorable hearing for their plays.) Tulsa had Don Louis Anchors, author of *The Coachman,* 1909. Dewey had James Baughman, author of *The Little Mountaineer,* 1908. Tyrone had Stephen Champlin, author of *Adam Killjoy,* 1904. Pryor Creek had John J. Dege, author of *Soldier Prince,* 1908. Vinita had J. Eugene Hall, author of *The Moor of Venice,* "a revised edition" of Shakespeare's *Othello,* 1915. Pawnee had Gordon Lillie, author of *Statehood at Pawnee Bill's Ranch,* 1908. Mangum had W. C. Marble, author of *The Heartsearching,* 1913. Bomar had George Rhodes, author of *Cupid's Arrow,* 1910. North McAlester had Simeon Sites, author of *The Turkey Maiden,* 1914.

Durant's only playwright, W. A. Sterrett, should be of special interest to collectors of pioneer accounts. He wrote and copyrighted two plays in 1912, both about Oklahoma: *Opening of Oklahoma* and *Opening of the Cherokee Strip.*

Capitol Hill's only playwright, Ira N. Terrill, also turned to Oklahoma history for his only play, *A Purgatory Made of a Paradise,* 1907, "a tragedy in 3 acts, depicting early day scenes in Oklahoma."

Enterprise and Quinton had to share their "only playwright," Charles T. Wilkerson. In 1910 he wrote *Beautiful Friend* in Enterprise. In 1911 he moved to Quinton for his second and last play, *The Clutch of the Vampire.*

Geary, for a time in 1909, had for its "only playwright" one of the most prolific stage writers in the country, Junie McCree. McCree wrote and copyrighted one play there, *Hebrewing and Shewooing.* For the ten years before and after his Geary residence, however, he copyrighted at least eighty-eight other plays, running from *After the Barber's Ball* to *Yit, Yat, and Yay.* All of the plays, other than *Hebrewing and Shewooing,* were copyrighted from New York. Presumably McCree was a writer-actor traveling with one of the many road shows criss-crossing the state when he did his one Oklahoma dramatic composition.

Others of these playwrights did some writing for the stage, in addition to the plays copyrighted from Oklahoma. Champlin, for example, after his play written in Tyrone in 1904, went to New York where he wrote and probably sold ten other plays, most of them one-act compositions intended for the vaudeville circuits. Only one of his plays, a three-act farce, *Who Did It?*, according to the *Best Plays* records, ever had a Broadway opening. It ran for eight performances at the Harris Theatre in New York, opening there June 9, 1919.

It is, however, in the forty-one plays written in Oklahoma that the best chance for recovering some "lost" *Green Grow the Lilacs* lies. Whether it was Terrill blaming "purgatory" on the opening of the Indian lands to white settlers or Mrs. West blaming it on "a man's love," it is in these plays, written on the scene at a time when the pioneer experience was still as fresh as bread from the oven, that the local playwrights were putting the Oklahoma adventure on record.

Some of these plays still exist in the writer's manuscript copies in the Library of Congress. Copies of most of them, however, if they now exist at all, are probably at the bottom of the trunk in the attic or in the vault with the family papers. Whereever they are, however, they are the real materials for a monument in the making for Oklahoma's forgotten pioneer, the play wright.

OSAGE OIL

By Bill Burchardt*

The gory tale broke in the national press in 1926. It attracted more attention than the then current Scopes "Monkey Trial" in Tennessee, or Aimee Semple McPherson's scandalous carryings on in California. The New York *Evening World* commented on, "the efforts of an evidently well-organized band, diabolic in its ruthlessness, to destory with bullet, poison, and bomb the heirs to the oil-rich lands of the Osage Indians . . ." The Brooklyn *Eagle* reported, "the United States government is handling the charge that a conspiracy exists against the interests and lives of these Indians . . . . " *The New York World* summed it up: "The murder of two or three heirs to bring a fortune or a title into the hands of a scoundrel is a familiar theme with fiction writers. But even lurid fiction pales beside the story of these Osage murders."

W. K. Hale, a rancher in Osage County, Oklahoma, had been arrested and charged with procuring the murder of Henry Roan, a wealthy Osage. John Ramsey, cowhand and cattle rustler, was in jail charged with killing Roan in cold blood, shooting him in the back of the head with a .45 caliber six-shooter.

About 3:00 a.m. on a spring night in 1923, a gigantic charge of nitro-glycerin blew up the home of W. E. Smith, in Fairfax, Oklahoma, killing Smith, his wealthy Osage wife, Rita, and their housekeeper, Nellie Brookshire. Ernest Burkhart, a nephew of W. K. Hale's, had been indicted for complicity in this murder spectacular.

In the ensuing trials, the U.S. Bureau of Investigation, predecessor of the F.B.I., revealed a remarkable and deadly chain of events. On May 28, 1921, the body of Anna Brown, Osage, had been found in a pasture near Grayhorse, Osage nation. There was a bullet hole in the top of her head, and an empty whiskey bottle near her body.

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* William ("Bill") Burchardt is one of Oklahoma's foremost writers, well-known as one of America's prominent freelance Western writers and as editor of *Oklahoma Today* published out of the State Capitol. He is a native Oklahoman, his family having settled in the Territory at the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893. A graduate of Central State College, Edmond, he has the M.A. degree in education from the University of Oklahoma, and has done work at Columbia University, New York City. He was a gunnery officer on the U.S.S. *Washington* and an instructor of seamanship at Cornell University during four years' service in World War II. His writing career began at the close of the War with the publication of stories along the lines of western adventure and historical pieces in such magazines as *True West*, and also professional writings in *The Instrumentalist* and *The Oklahoma Teacher*. He served as President of the Western Writers of America in 1961-62.—Ed.

Kelsey Morrison, an ex-convict, was brought from jail in Guthrie, Oklahoma, to testify that he had been hired by W. K. Hale to kill Anna Brown—the price $1,000, plus cancellation of a $600 debt, and a new car. Morrison stated that he and his wife, Katherine Cole Morrison, and Byron Burkhart, Ernest's brother, had taken Anna Brown on a drinking party. When she was drunk they had driven to the canyon near Grayhorse, and carried her from the car. "I shot her in the top of the head with an automatic," Morrison testified. "I told Byron how to hold her up, then I shot her. She fell over. I did not watch her die, but left immediately. Hale suggested . . . to leave some whiskey and if they did not find her soon they would think she died from poison whiskey. He said he wanted the body found so she could be identified ****"

It quickly became apparent why W. K. Hale wanted Anna Brown's body found and identified. Two months later, Lizzie Q. Kyle, Anna's mother, died. Lizzie Q., as her name appears on the tribal role, was an aged Osage woman whose estate was valued at several million dollars. Rumor suggested that she had been poisoned. There was no investigation. All of Lizzie's fortune, and all of her daughter Anna's oil wealth became the inheritance of Lizzie's two remaining daughters, Rita and Mollie. Rita was Mrs. W. E. Smith. When she and her husband were both killed in the nitro-glycerin blasting of their home in Fairfax, Mollie inherited all.

Mollie was Mrs. Ernest Burkhart. Ernest was W. K. Hale's nephew.

The chain of events that led to the destruction of this Osage family had begun much earlier. Washington Irving, in *A Tour on the Prairies* wrote, "The Osages are the finest looking Indians I have seen in the West." Irving described them as, "stately fellows . . . they have fine Roman countenances, and broad deep chests . . . like so many noble bronze figures."

The famed author of *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* had encountered the Osages in 1832, at Grand Saline on the Neosho River. In 1673, Farther Marquette had found them living in central Missouri on the Osage River. Caught there in rivalry between French and Spanish traders, a considerable group of Osages formed an alliance with the French trader Chouteau and moved to Grand Saline near the confluence of the Neosho, Verdigris, and Arkansas Rivers in Oklahoma, in 1802.

Here they found good hunting. Zebulon Pike, discoverer of Pikes Peak, wrote of this country, "the borders of the Arkansas

River may be termed the paradise of our territory . . . . Of all the countries ever visited by the footsteps of civilized man, there was never one that produced game in greater abundance." In April of 1824 Chouteau's shipments of peltry, trapped by the Oklahoma Osages, totaled 300 female bear, 387 beaver, 67 otter, 770 wild cats, and over 3000 deer skins.

In 1825, the Osage tribe ceded by treaty all their lands in Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, and moved to a reservation assigned them in southern Kansas. In 1870, the federal government seized these Kansas lands and sold them to white homesteaders. The Osages used the proceeds of this sale to purchase for themselves a new reservation.

The new Osage Reservation in Oklahoma was a land of rolling, green distances.[1] The white homesteaders of that early day were seeking level prairies in which to plunge their plows. They did not want these Osage lands. There was too much timber here. The limestone outcroppings were frequent and hard on plow points. They had no way of knowing that the bluestem grass growing there was the richest in nutrients of any in the nation. Neither did they know that beneath the surface of this land lay millions of dollars in mineral wealth; barrels upon barrels of black gold—oil.

As the Osages moved from Kansas into Oklahoma, one of their clans, the Dwellers-in-the-Thorny-Thicket, established a village near the center of the Reservation. They called the village Pawhuska in honor of an historic Osage chief. Pawhuska means "white hair." Chief Pawhuska won his name while fighting in alliance with the colonies during the American Revolution. He had felled a British officer and seized his hair to take his scalp. The officer's white wig came off easily in the astonished chief's grasp. An incident most remarkable. From it, the Osage chief acquired a new name.

In 1896, an oil speculator named Edwin B. Foster secured a lease for "oil and gas mining" covering the entire Osage Reservation. Signatures on this early lease include those of principal chief James Bigheart and Saucy Chief. It was ratified by the U.S. Department of Interior. The Osage agent at that time was Major Laban J. Miles, a scrupulously honest Quaker, one of the best agents who ever represented an Indian tribe. Major Miles' nephew, Herbert Hoover, frequently spent the summers visiting his uncle on the Osage Reservation.

Edwin Foster gave his oil company a colorful name; the *Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company*. His first test well

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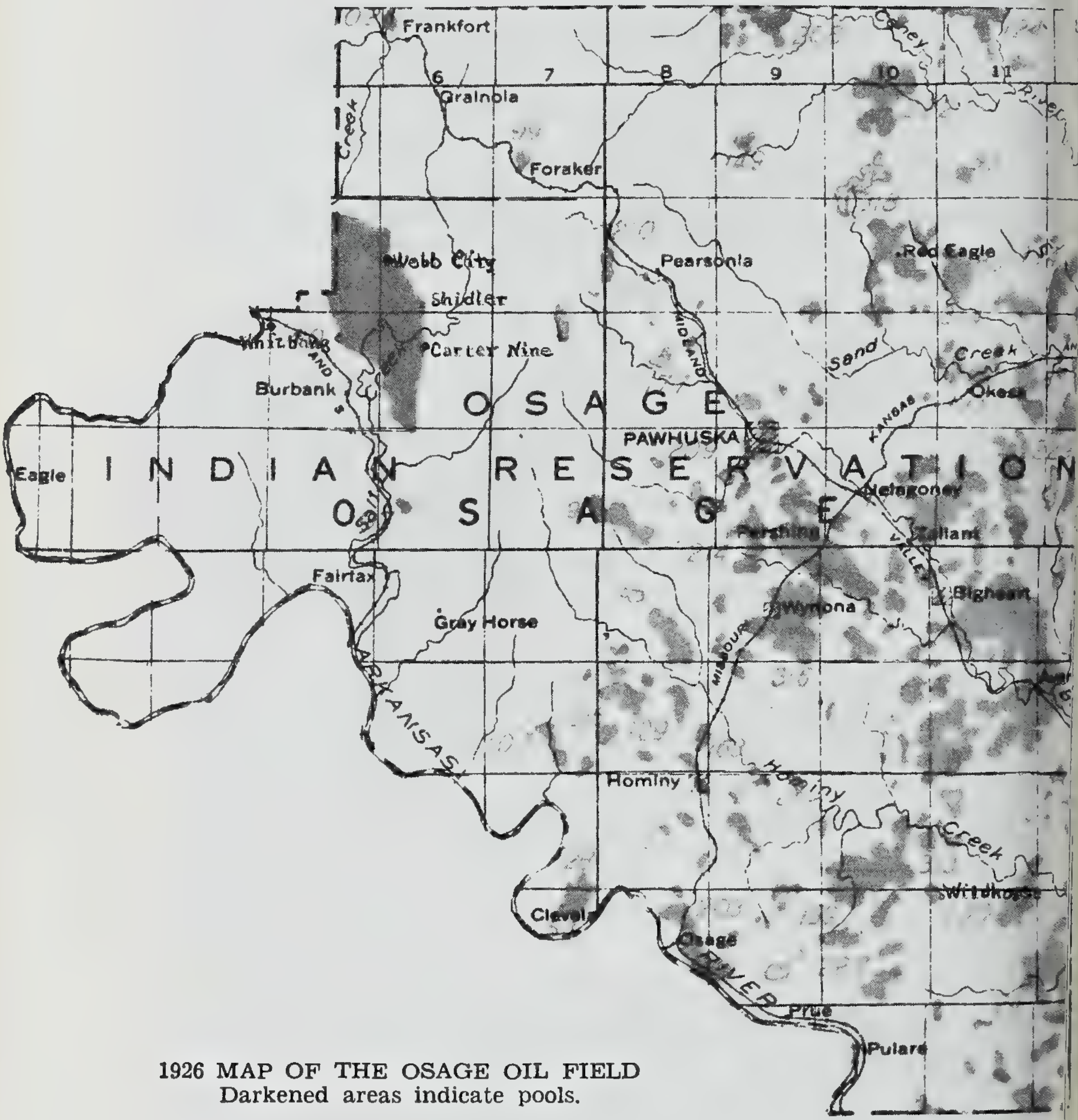
[1] Present Osage County comprises the Osage Reservation in Oklahoma territorial days before Statehood in 1907.—Ed.


Frankfort
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Sand
Creek
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MIDLAND
OSAGE
PAWHUSKA
KANSAS
Eagle
INDIAN RESERVATION
OSAGE
Nelagoney
Pershing
Tallant
VALLEY
Fairfax
Bigheart
Wynona
Gray Horse
MIDLAND
ARKANSAS
Hominy
Hominy
Creek
Clevel
Osage
RIVER
Prue
Pulare

1926 MAP OF THE OSAGE OIL FIELD
Darkened areas indicate pools.

produced only fifty barrels daily, not enough to be commercially valuable, and the well was capped. Foster acquired more stockholders and continued to drill. By 1906, the Reservation was producing more than five-million barrels of oil annually. During the next two decades, the Osage oilfield would produce more wealth than all the gold rushes in American history combined.

With the oil boom came drillers, teamsters, roughnecks, gamblers, prostitutes, dope peddlers, and bootleggers. Whiskey was a problem the Osages had encountered before. Their name for whiskey was "ped-sen-i" (fire water) named after their manner of testing it. They poured a little on the fire. If the fire flared up it was good whiskey. If the fire went out, obviously the whiskey had been watered.

In 1825, missionary William Vail had written, ". . . I have not seen one of them (the Osages) drunk. They are afraid of whiskey . . . . " The influx of white settlers during succeeding years introduced more and more whiskey until, in 1879, agent Laban Miles reported "their great reason for wanting to come here (the Oklahoma Reservation) was to get away from the great evil prevailing in the civilized states, whiskey. To their credit . . . I am happy to say not one of them has been intoxicated since arriving here." Three years later Major Miles was still able to write, "Drinking is almost unknown among them."

The oil boom brought changes. Within a year after they had signed the Foster lease, a group led by Saucy Chief, one of the original signers, protested the lease. Foster's competitors had taken the Indians across the Arkansas River and persuaded them to do so with whiskey.

As more and more whites married into the tribe pressure from mixed-bloods and whites became strong enough to force allotment of the land. In 1906, the Reservation was broken up into 160 acre tracts. There were then 2,229 Osages. Each Osage received approximately 658 acres of land. The allotment of land applied to surface rights only, however. All mineral rights were held in common by the tribe. Each Osage received a "headright," meaning that he or she would receive an equal share of all mineral income. An Osage might sell the surface rights to his land, but it was illegal to sell a "headright," The only way an Osage could lose this "headright" was to die.

The oil money rolled in: $2,719 per headright in 1917 increased to $8,090 per headright by 1920. An average Osage family of husband, wife, and three children at this time had an income of $40,450 per year. By 1925 the same family was receiving more than $65,000 per year.

As older members of the tribe passed on, their heirs inherited these headrights. At the time of her death, Lizzie Q.

Kyle had acquired by inheritance eight headrights. All of these passed on to her last living daughter, Mollie Burkhart.

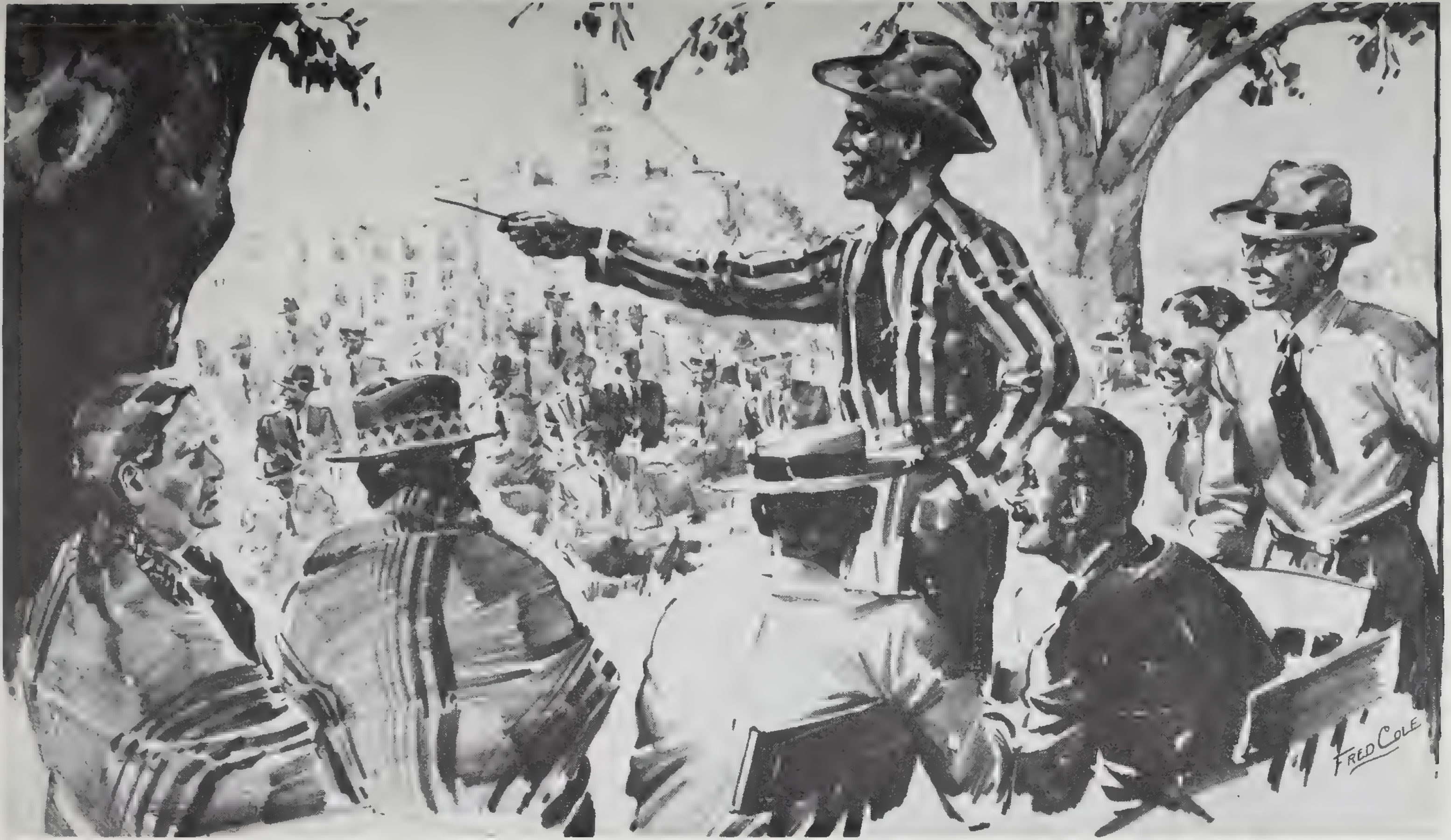
The Foster lease came under increasing attack as a monopoly. When it expired in 1906, it was never completely renewed. A new and more remarkable phenomenon developed—the public lease auction. Oil companies were given the privilege of bidding at public auction for the oil lease rights on each 160 acre tract. The prices paid for these leases were fantastic. The first public lease auction was held in 1912. During the following fifteen years, twenty-eight auctions were held.

The auctioneer, who achieved fame for his efforts, was "Colonel" E. E. Walters of the nearby Pawnee town of Skedee. The Gypsy Oil Company paid $1,600,000 for a single 160 acre lease on June 29, 1922. Total sales of that day's auction were almost eleven million dollars. A Bartlesville company set the record, paying $1,990,000 for a lease at the auction held March 18, 1924. Total sales of that auction were $14,156,800. All this money was regularly divided among the 2,229 Osage headrights. Colonel Walters held the auctions in the shade of a huge tree at the Osage Agency in Pawhuska. It became known as the "million dollar elm." The Colonel, understandably, was highly regarded by the Osage people. He received many gifts. At the 1920 auction, the tribe presented him with a king-sized diamond ring.

Special trains from Tulsa and Muskogee brought oilmen and their geologists to the auctions. Pawhuska's commodious hotels could not handle the crowds of oil tycoons and sunbrowned "rock hounds" in leather jackets, khaki pants, and knee-laced boots. Carl Coke Rister called Pawhuska the "Osage Monte Carlo." The *Petroleum News* called it the Government's Biggest Gambling Center."

With the money, came the riff-raff, whiskey, "dope," and trouble. The 1920's became a nightmare that sensational writers of the time called the "Osage Reign of Terror." Al Spencer's gang of train and bank robbers made the tangled "Cross Timbers" hideouts of the Osage country their headquarters. An ex-world champion rodeo rider named Henry Grammer became "Kingpin of the Bootleggers." With a killing behind him in Wyoming, Grammer quickly added two more in the Osage. He was found dead in an auto wreck in 1923. There is much question as to whether the wreck was an accident or was planned to silence Grammer because he "knew too much" about W. K. Hale and the Osage murders.

Crimes of violence were frequent. The 1923 Pawhuska *Journal* reports: January 17, "Cambridge State Bank robbed"; January 30, "Local man shot at his home"; January 31, "Ripley



Colonel E. Walters conducting one of the Osage mining lease sales under the million dollar elm, on Agency Campus, Pawhuska, Oklahoma. Reprint of Map, Meserve's "Chief Opothleyahola" in *The Chronicles*

Bank robbed"; February 3, "two men shot"; February 7, "Woman held in killing of out-of-town salesman"; February 8, "Skiatook shooting leaves one dead, one wounded"; February 14, "Shidler store held up and robbed."

March 11, "Two Webb City women and one man killed." March 15, "Buck Collingsworth breaks jail after robbing Burbank bank"; March 28, "Posse Kills Bank Bandit"; April 4, "White Swan Dance Hall raid nets five gamblers"; April 8, "A terrific gun battle near Webb City; one man dead, two injured"; April 18, "Three bandits captured in a wild and thrilling gun battle;" May 1, "Webb City man beaten to death by hijackers;" May 10, "Bartlesvile Bank robbed"; May 16, "Pawhuska man killed in a 'fierce gun battle' on the streets of Wynona"; May 20, "Kaw City man killed in a street duel."

June 15, Pawhuska man "Killed after a Webb City fight"; June 23, "Two safes . . . were blown here last night"; June 28, a man "dead and naked" found on the Midland Valley Railroad right-of-way; July 19, "Barnsdall Bank robbed"; July 21, "First State Bank of DeNoya Robbed"; July 26, "Robbers make good their escape after Fairfax Bank holdup"; August 4, "Hominy man shot and killed in a drinking brawl." The same issue of the *Osage Journal* reports "Coolidge takes duties as president after death of President Harding."

Back in the Osage: August 16, "Lone hi-jacker kills oil worker on the Santa Fe right-of-way near DeNoya"; August 21, "Grainola Bank robbed, and southbound train held up near Okesa"; August 28, "Man shot and killed for hitching horses to a post." A Carter Nine man died after being shot.

September 13, a Pershing man shot while resisting arrest. September 16, "Al Spencer, famed outlaw leader, was shot and killed last night." These passing triumphs of the law hardly hindered the torrent of violence. In October, a Burbank doctor was murdered, and a Pawhuska man shot in a dance hall. In November, the Webb City bank cashier was shot, another Pawhuskan stabbed, twenty-three men arrested in a raid on a gambling tent near Avant, and an audit of the accounts of the City of Barnsdall turned up a $16,000 shortage. In December, the Grainola bank, Osage County, was robbed for the second time, a woman was shot to death, and officers had a Roman holiday of bootlegger raiding during the Christmas-New Year's season. The year 1924 was welcomed in with a hold-up and robbery of the Shidler bank by "phantom bandits."

Through all this violence it does not seem altogether strange that the murders of the few Osage citizens were overlooked. The Osage Tribal Council pointed out to the U.S. Bureau of Investigation that at least two dozen killings of Osages had accumulated, and were being ignored, in the unsolved files. Many Osages had strung electric lights completely around their homes, keeping their yards ablaze with light throughout the hours of darkness.

The U. S. Bureau quietly sent agents into the Osage. They posed as cowhands, cattle buyers, and soon observed that all trails seemed to lead to popular and wealthy W. K. Hale, who was proud to be known as the "King of the Osage." He had accumulated wealth from meager beginnings. Originally from Texas, he and his wife had lived in a tent during their early days on the Osage range, grazing and fattening cattle for market. Now, twenty years later, he owned or leased many thousands of acres of that same Osage ranch land and had accumulated vast holdings of cattle, horses, city real estate, and banking interests. The Osage people considered him a trusted friend. He had been a pallbearer at Anna Brown's funeral.

The trails leading to Hale and his nephew, Ernest Burkhart, were plainly marked. George Bigheart, Osage, dying of poisoned whiskey, was taken to an Oklahoma City hospital by Hale and Burkhart. Bigheart summoned his attorney, William Vaughn, from Pawhuska. Bigheart died, and Vaughn caught the M.K.&T. night train to Pawhuska. The next morning, Vaughn's body was found on the railroad right-of-way. As the newspapers pointed out, "In more than one instance, W. K. Hale came into possession of the property of these families."

Henry Roan, Osage, was found in his car, dead and frozen, on February 6, 1923. The car had been abandoned in a lonely Osage range pasture. It was never determined how long he had been dead. He had been murdered—a .45 caliber bullet through his head. W. K. Hale held a $25,000 insurance policy on Roan's life.

Bureau of Investigation agents were not blind to the fact that Mollie Burkhart, Ernest's Osage wife, had inherited the fortunes of her mother and her two murdered sisters. The problem was to find a crime in which the Federal Government would have jurisdiction. The Roan killing solved that. Henry Roan was murdered on government restricted land. W. K. Hale and John Ramsey were charged with Roan's murder. The State of Oklahoma followed suit, charging Ernest Burkhart as the conspirator who had arranged the nitro-glycerin explosion which killed W. E. and Rita Smith, and their housekeeper.

It soon became apparent that, because of Hale's vast wealth and influence, it would be virtually impossible to convict these men of the crimes with which they were charged. Witnesses were intimidated. They would simply disappear, perhaps to turn

GROCERY BAKERY MEAT MARKET

Pawhuska: Cowtown, Indian trading center, agency town, about 1901.

up later in Mexico, or not at all. The first trial resulted in a hung jury which failed to reach a verdict after fifty hours of deliberation. There were charges of perjury. Rumors reported that jurors had been bribed.

Correspondents from the nation's leading newspapers and magazines arrived to cover the trials in Guthrie, Oklahoma City. and Pawhuska. Their sensational stories reported that the Wild West which supposedly had ended with the end of the 1800's, still lived in Oklahoma. By 1926, mass communications, news wire services, and radio had brought an immediateness to newsworthy events that had been unknown during the days of the western frontier. The nation had begun to develop a national social conscience that had hardly existed during the days of the Indian wars and of Buffalo Bill, Jesse James, and Billy the Kid.

But Oklahoma was still in its frontier period. Appropriately called the "last frontier," the last of Oklahoma's public lands were opened to settlement in the same year that Edwin Foster obtained his lease for "oil and gas mining" on the Osage Reservation.[2] The Osage was producing great quantities of oil before statehood, and was faced with the same boomtown conditions that had confronted Dodge City in the days of the cattle drives, gold-mining Tombstone in the days of the Earps and Clantons, any of the wild and reckless boomtowns famed in Western Americana, Virginia City, Deadwood and all the rest.

The difference was that the Osage was viewed in the limelight of mass communications. Other western boom violence had been viewed in retrospect. The nation became aware of Tombstone's and Virginia City's wickedness and violence long after those wild old towns had been tamed. The sinkholes of sin in Dodge City and Deadwood had long lain quiet, law and order was in control, there was no evil left for reformers to rail against, by the time their lurid pasts became legend; but the blood and thunder in the Osage was happening *now.* The nation was astonished, shocked, and secretly delighted, to find a last outpost of the Old West still alive, "raising hell and putting a chunk under it." It made for avid reading, boosted newspaper circulation, and brought forth howls of condemnation from the righteous.

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[2] "Old Greer County," the region lying between Red River and the North Fork of Red River (now comprising 4 counties and parts of counties in the southwestern part of the state) was awarded to Oklahoma Territory as its 23rd county by the U.S. Supreme Court on March 16, 1896, following the Court's decision in the noted "Greer County Case" (United States vs. Texas). An Act of Congress on January 18, 1897, declared the region open to settlement as "public lands," providing certain rights for occupants who had settled in the region in the early 1880's when "Greer County" was claimed as a part of Texas. (Ref., Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State Of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, 1917).—Ed.

In all the excitement, misconceptions were born that still persist. It became a widely accepted philosophy that the oil wealth of the Osages was a sort of retribution, which the "white men" deserved for confining them in a horrible place, a rocky and barren land that "no one wanted." Certainly it is true that no tribe of Plains Indians wanted to be limited to any reservation anywhere. In today's perspective we can readily understand why: They wanted to range free as had their fathers and grandfathers before them. At least the Osage Reservation was land the Osages themselves had chosen. They had hunted there for more than a century before it became their reservation. Equally important, this land was not given to them. They bought it with their own tribal funds. A good thing, for after the revelation of oil, the avaricious sought diligently for some legal means to claim title to it. They found none. The Osage is a beautiful land, as anyone who has wandered over its vastness will agree. Its lush pastures provide the only area to which carloads upon carloads of cattle are shipped each year for finishing, without the need for any supplementary feed.

Others among the partially informed came to believe that there was something uniquely evil in the killing and outlawry in the Osage. Murder and robbery are always evil, and not less so because they occurred in the New York Bowery of 1890, or San Francisco's early day Chinatown. It is just that the passage of time seems to place an aura of romance and glamour over *old* violence. It is *current* violence which seems raw and crude. The Osage murders were indeed current when they came to the attention of the American public.

It is a mistake to view these crimes in a different light because the criminals were white, and the victims Indian. This was no race war. Criminals did not prey on the Osages because they were Indians, but because they had money. Vultures quickly descended on every western boomtown from California to Kansas, from Montana to Texas. The murderers, cardsharps, dope doctors, thieves, and shyster lawyers in the Osage would have schemed just as malevolently had their wealthy victims been white, and they would have succeeded equally as well.

Sensational writers of the time portrayed the Osages as guileless fools. There were a few guileless fools among the Osages, as there will be in any community of 4,000 people. A few were immoral, but the percentage of those gross or stupid certainly ran no higher than in any community of whites of similar size. Among the Osages there were men of great wisdom and sagacity; astute, perceiving men who used their wealth wisely, and are today prosperous.

The Osages prospered in their early environment, later with the French trappers, and had a healthy tribal treasury for a quarter of a century before oil was discovered on their land. Among them were people wise and unwise, moral and immoral; the Osages were a cross section of humanity, except for what John Joseph Mathews has called "an Olympian attitude toward money." A 1927 account tells of an Osage lady who one afternoon purchased a $12,000 fur coat, a $3,000 diamond ring, a $5,000 automobile, and $7,000 worth of furniture which she shipped to California for an additional $600. She had made a $4,000 down payment on a home in California, and in the same transaction invested $12,000 in Florida real estate.

A Department of Interior report tells of an attorney who purchased an automobile for $250 then sold it to an Osage client for $1,250. This same attorney handled the affairs of another of his Osage clients in such a way that by 1929 his client was bankrupt and in debt $20,000 for mortgages held by the attorney, in spite of the fact that the Osage had inherited an estate of $90,000 and had an income of $7,000 to $12,000 per year.

So the swindles went round and round, anachronistic outlaws boomed into this last frontier for one final fling at outlawing, and the mass communications portrayal of the Osage Nation as the last stronghold of the Wild West made Oklahomans so sensitive and self-conscious about their western heritage that for two decades social ostracism fell upon anyone wearing a broad brimmed hat, high-heel boots, or anything reminiscent of western attire.

Two months after the hung jury failed to reach a verdict in the federal court in Guthrie, W. K. Hale and John Ramsey were again brought to trial, in federal court in Oklahoma City. Blackie Thompson, one of the anachronistic outlaws serving a life term in state prison, was released under immunity to testify that Hale had offered him $1,000 and a new Buick to blow up the Smith home. Thompson had refused. Ernest Burkhart finally confessed that he was the "go-between" who had actually secured the Smiths' killer. Acting on instructions from Hale, Ernest had approached John Ramsey. He had talked with the "Kingpin of the Bootleggers" Henry Grammer. He made the offer to another outlaw, Curly Johnson. He had tried to hire train and bank robber Al Spencer. All refused. Finally, he made a deal with one Ace Kirby. For $3,000, Ace had nitro-glycerined into eternity W. E. and Rita Smith and their housekeeper. Ace Kirby could not be prosecuted. He had been cut in half by a storekeeper's shotgun blast during an attempted robbery some months earlier.

Ernest testified that Hale had hired Ramsey to kill Henry Roan; Ramsey's price $500 and a new Ford. The "King of the Osage," W. K. Hale, took the stand and denied everything. He had been in Fort Worth attending the Fat Stock Show when the

Smith home was blown up. He insisted he had no reason to want Roan killed. But the jury's verdict this time was "guilty."

Hale, Ramsey, and Burkhart were sentenced to life imprisonment. Hale appealed. He was re-tried in 1929, and again found guilty. Ramsey appealed and was re-tried. At his last trial, Ramsey told an interesting new story, claiming that Curly Johnson had killed Henry Roan. Ramsey claimed that Burkhart's wife intended to get a divorce and marry Henry Roan. Mollie Burkhart had, in fact, been Roan's wife before she married Burkhart. If she had divorced Burkhart and re-married Roan, Ernest Burkhart would have lost the wealth Mollie had inherited from her mother and murdered sisters. Ramsey's new defense failed to convince the jury. He was again found guilty.

At least twenty Osage murders were never officially solved. But with Hale, Ramsey, and Burkhart in prison, killing in the Osage came to an abrupt halt. The "Osage Reign of Terror" was over. The Osage is quiet now. The old boomtowns—Whizbang, Pershing, Carter Nine, Hogshooter, Wildhorse—are gone. The Osage still produces oil; the range land near Burbank, Fairfax, and Shidler is serried with rank upon rank of oil pumping rigs as far as the eye can see.

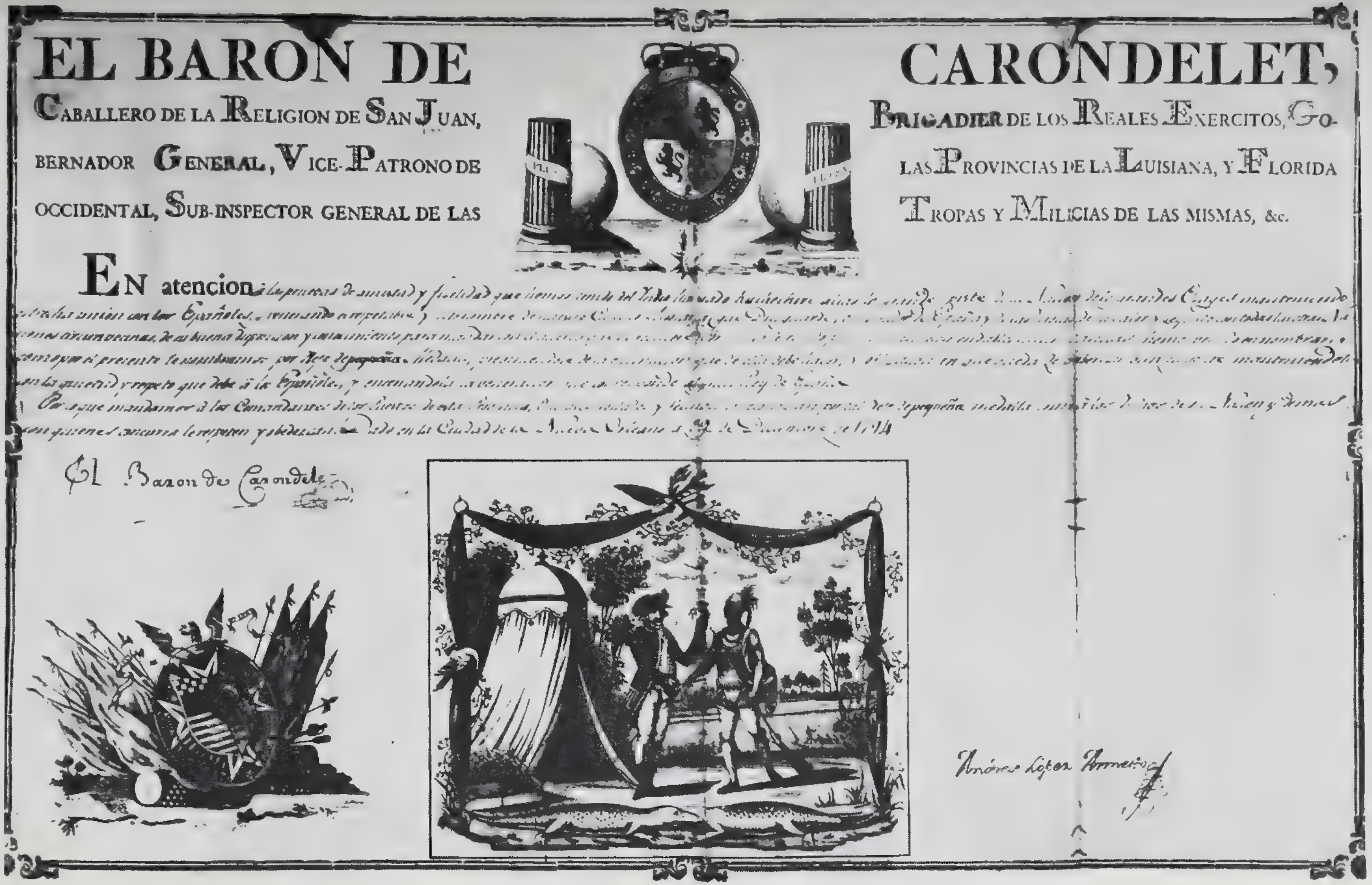
From the Osage people have come Major General Clarence L. Tinker, for whom Tinker Air Force Base, the world's largest Air Material Command, is named; John Joseph Mathews, author of the recent prose-poetic history of the Osages, is one of the most erudite men of our time; Marjorie Tallchief is now leading ballerina with the Paris Opera; and her sister, Maria Tallchief, is prima ballerina of the New York City Ballet. My Osage friend and college-roommate, Bob Warrior, was a congenial bronze giant who drove a Cadillac convertible to college and organized a dance band to imitate the Guy Lombardo sound. Bob was killed in the World War II island fighting in the Pacific.

Father Marquette, Washington Irving, the French trader Chouteau, all were much impressed with the Osages. They were not wrong. If the Osages have a tribal characteristic, it is that they are philosophical, perhaps even mystical, an admirable people who underwent a fantastic ordeal on America's final frontier.

THE ORDER OF 1794 BY EL BARON DE CARONDELET TO GIVE HONOR AND RESPECT TO THE CHIEF OF THE LITTLE MEDAL OF THE GREAT OSAGES

(Translation)

THE BARON OF CARONDELET,
Knight of the order of St. John, Brigadier of the royal armies, Governor



EL BARON DE CARONDELET,
CABALLERO DE LA RELIGION DE SAN JUAN, BRIGADIER DE LOS REALES EXERCITOS, GOBERNADOR GENERAL, VICE-PATRONO DE LAS PROVINCIAS DE LA LUISIANA, Y FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, SUB-INSPECTOR GENERAL DE LAS TROPAS Y MILICIAS DE LAS MISMAS, &c.

EN atencion

El Baron de Carondelet

Andres Lopez Armesto

AN EARLY EVIDENCE OF ACCORD BETWEEN THE OSAGE PEOPLE AND EUROPEAN COLONISTS

General, Vice Protector of the Provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, Sub-inspector general of their Armies and Militias of the same, etc.

In appreciation of the proofs of friendship and loyalty which we have received from the Indian named Kuchechire representing the high council of the Nation of the Great Osages, maintaining unbroken union with the Spainards and honoring the respectable and high name of our Catholic Monarch (whom God protect) the Emperor of Spain and of Indian Territories, of his prowess and influence among all the other neighboring tribes, of his good disposition and judgment in commanding with the alertness that is required. For all this, wishing to reward such praiseworthy qualities we come to name the above mentioned, through these present, as Chief of the Little Medal, proving the recognition which he should receive, and entrusting him with the responsibility of governing his people benevolently, maintaining peace and respect due the Spainards and rendering the honor which is proper to the great King of Spain.

Wherefore we order the Commanders of the ports of this province, the officers, the soldiers and the militiamen to recognize said Chief of the Little Medal, as also the Indians of his tribe, to give him consideration, respect and obedience. Given in the city of New Orleans on the 29th day of December 1794.
(Signed): *C. L. Baron of Carondelet*
(Signed): *Andrew Lopez Armesto.*

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CONFEDERATE INDIAN DEPARTMENT CONDITIONS IN AUGUST, 1864

By Allan C. Ashcraft*

One area seldom given consideration in Civil War studies is the Confederate Indian Territory. With the coming of secession and war, the Confederate States government made strong overtures to tribes residing there. Working under the belief that "they were better to have as friends rather than as enemies," Confederate agents negotiated a series of friendship treaties and alliances with several major Indian groups. In exchange for promises of protection and gifts, these tribes swore to support the Confederate government and, in some cases, agreed to provide military units for the Southern army. Eventually the Confederacy could list over a dozen regiments, battalions, and squadrons bearing Indian designations in their titles. While the military ability of these organizations fell under very serious question, they continued to be used in actions against the Federals.

As for non-military tribal members, their care caused serious problems for Southern leaders. Particularly the Confederate authorities felt obliged to safeguard the well being of tribes furnishing military units—the Cherokees, Creeks, Osages, Seminoles, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and a mixed group known as the "Reserve Indians." To attend these peoples, a Confederate Superintendency of Indian Affairs was created. Because the Superintendent was also the military commander of the District of Indian Territory, most of the actual supervision of the tribes fell to the Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

In August of 1864, Colonel R. W. Lee completed a four month term as Assistant Superintendent and was preparing to transfer to a new station. As a final step in resigning his Indian duties, Lee prepared a comprehensive report on tribal conditions at that time. The document sheds much light on the problems of the Indians, on the location and numbers of Confederate Indian groups, and on the manifold difficulties encountered by Lee as he carried out his strange task of bringing military governmental supervision to the various tribes: [1]

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* Allan C. Ashcraft, Ph. D., is Assistant Professor of History in The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Texas. Through his deep interest and special research in original documents and records on the history of the Civil War in the Indian Territory, Dr. Ashcraft has produced several manuscripts with notes on the subject that are in line to appear in future numbers of *The Chronicles*. The first of these manuscripts with Dr. Ashcraft's notes is the hitherto unpublished report of "Colonel" R. W. Lee, Assistant Superintendant of Indian Affairs, C.S.A., 1864, which gives conditions among the Indian peoples in the Choctaw and the Chickasaw nations under the Confederate Department, Choctaws and Chickasaws and refugee Indians from other nations and tribes north of the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers. The author expresses his acknowledgement to the Fund for Organized Research of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas for a grant which made his research possible.—Ed.

Office Supert. Indian Affairs
Arks. & Red River Superintendency
Fort Towson Choctaw Nation
August 20, 1864

Maj Gen S. B. Maxey [2]
Comdg Dist Ind Terry
Ex Officio Supert. Indian Affairs

Being about to retire from this office, under orders from the field, I have the honor to submit the following Report.

---

[1] The "Endorsement" shown on the original Report by Col. R. W. Lee in the National Archives at Washington is as follows:

Endorsed
Report of Col.
R. W. Lee Asst. Superintendent
of
Indian Affairs
Arkansas & Red River
Superintendency
August 20th 1864
Headquarters, Dist. Incl. Tex.
Fort Towson, C. N.
Oct. 1st 1864
Respectfully forwarded for information
of the Genl. Comdg. T. M. Dept.
S. B. Maxey
Maj. Gen.
Ex Of[ficio] Supt.
Ind. Affairs

Rec. Hq. Qtrs. T. M. D. 2 Oct. 64

[2] Samuel Bell Maxey, a native of Kentucky, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy and was promoted to Bvt. 2nd Lieut, Seventh Infantry, July 1, 1846. He served with his command in the War with Mexico, and resigned from the U.S. Army in 1849. He was a counsellor at law in Kentucky, 1951-57, and in Paris, Texas, 1857-61 when he joined the Confederate States Army. As Brig. Gen., he was assigned the command of the District of the Indian Territory, Trans-Mississippi Department, C.S.A., on December 11, 1863. General Maxey in command of Gano's Texas Brigade and Tandy Walker's Choctaw Brigade served in the Army of Arkansas under the command of General Sterling Price, and was with the victorious Confederate forces in the Battle of Poison Spring (Arkansas) on April 18, 1864. General Maxey with his Choctaw and Texas brigades, that had been cited with high approbation for gallantry in action during the recent battle, was relieved from duty in the Army of Arkansas (*Special Orders No.* 1), on April 28, 1864, and returned immediately to the Indian Territory, with his headquarters at Fort Towson near Red River in the Choctaw Nation (References: George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register *** U.S. Military Academy* [New York, 1868], Vol. II; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXXIV, Pts. I and II.)—Ed.

Since I assumed the duties of Assistant Supert. by virtue of your order of the 10th May last, but little business of a general character touching the interests of the several tribes in this Superintendency has demanded my attention or action.

The *taxation* of refugee Indians who by the fortunes of war, have been compelled to seek an Asylum in Texas, was brought to my notice by the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.[3] The subject of this onerous and unjust requirement, on the part of the authorities of the State of Texas, was submitted for your consideration, on the 11th day July ult, and the papers connected with this matter, with your endorsement thereon, were returned same day, and were immediately referred to the General Comdg Department, that they might be laid before the proper Confederate and State Authorities.

This Office has not been notified of any subsequent action in the premises, but from the known liberal and benevolent policy of the Confederate Government toward the Indians, a favorable result may be anticipated.

The impossibility of procuring clothing and other necessities for the destitute Indians, either in the Territory or neighboring State had received your attention before I entered upon the duties of this office, and the project of purchasing cotton for the Mexican market [4] with which to purchase the articles required had been inaugurated by yourself, and permits of exemption for some Fifteen Hundred bales, for the benefit of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, had been obtained.

On the 6th July last, the Agent for the Seminoles, [5] forwarded to this office an application of the Seminoles, through their principal chief, Col. John Jumper, [6] for permission to export, as above indicated, and for the purposes specified, Two Hundred bales.

Pursuant to the policy adopted by yourself, I referred the matter to Gen Smith [7] comdg. Dept, requesting that the privilege be extended to the Seminoles, and that permit issue therefor. No reply has as yet been received at this office, and the delay is much to be regretted, as the Season for suffering approaches.

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[3] Stand Watie became the Principal Chief of the Confederate Cherokees, with the factional split in the Cherokee Nation over secession.

[4] For many months various commands and governments of the trans-Mississippi states of the Confederacy had taken advantage of the Texas-Mexican border, the only overland trade route left open to the South. In frequent cases of need, authority was given to haul cotton to the lucrative markets in Mexico.

[5] The Reverend J. S. Murrow, Baptist Missionary to the Seminoles, well known in the post-war history of the Indian Territory.

[6] Lieutenant Colonel John Jumper was also commander of the Seminole Battalion in the First Indian Brigade, C.S.A., under the command of Brigadier General Stand Watie. John Jumper was chief of the Seminole Nation (1850-1877), during and after the Civil War representing the Southern Seminoles.

Although this project is conducted by national and individual enterprize, without pecuniary aid from the Government, yet in the capacity of Guardians of the rights and interest of the Indian. The Government authorities in the territory might properly and doubtless should exercise a discretionary control and supervision over the entire operations and process of the business, lest instead of a benefit and blessing, it becomes an engine of wrong and oppression.

During the month of May last Governor Colbert [8] of the Chickasaw Nation reported to this office that depredations upon the property of the Chickasaws, had been committed by members of the Creek Nation and intimated that should the outrages be persisted in the amicable relations existing between the two Nations might be disturbed.

This intelligence was communicated to the Creek Chief, [9] and to Major Vore [10] Agent for the Creeks, and the latter directed to investigate the matter and make report. In May Vore's intelligent report, he sets forth that some wrong may have been done, in the process of Separating the horses, belonging to the two tribes, which had been penned together for the purpose of identification; and that some stray horses might have been claimed by Creeks, which were proven to be the property of Chickasaws. He presumes that the aggressions complained of, were in the main inadvertent, or were committed perhaps by straggling Creeks if by Creeks at all.

He was unable to discover any specific acts of larceny, or identify any offenders, and as the matter was entirely divested of a National Character and seemed based upon misapprehension, further inquiry was deemed unnecessary. No complaint has since been made, and with ordinary vigilance it is presumed that the understanding between these Nations with regard to the rights of property will not again be disturbed.

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[7] General Edmund Kirby Smith (native of Florida, graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, 1841, served with the U.S. Army in the Indian Territory before the Civil War) commanded the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi West.

[8] Dougherty ("Winchester") Colbert was governor of the Chickasaw Nation in 1858-1860, and during the Civil War served in the same position for two terms (1862-1866).—Ed.

[9] Samuel Checote was a full blood Creek and member of the McIntosh Party in the Creek Nation. He was commissioned Lieut. Colonel of the First Regiment of the Creek Mounted Volunteers, C.S.A., in 1861. He was a minister in the Methodist Indian Mission Conference (South) from 1852. He was elected and served several terms as Principal Chief of the Creek Nation after the Civil War.—Ed.

[10] Major Israel G. Vore served as the Confederate Creek Agent and, also, was quartermaster of Brig. General Douglas H. Cooper's Indian Cavalry Division, C.S.A.

The subsisting of the destitute families of the several Indian tribes, who have been driven from their homes or deprived of the means of subsistence, during the present war, being obligatory upon the Government as implied by treaty stipulations, and being besides a matter of generous policy, aside from ultimate and permanent considerations, the utmost efforts of their office, have been directed to its accomplishment in a manner, at the same time, as efficient as possible, under the present system, and under existing circumstances, as far as practicable, satisfactory to the Indians.

The system of supplying these indigent families from the Commissariat of the Army, is liable to objections; it involves a vast amount of labor, much inconvenience and uncertainty. These persons are scattered over a great extent of country, the stores cannot be accumulated at any given point for want of sufficient transportation the trains for the different depots, cannot be kept up in consequence of being compelled to haul from different mills, a distance of from fifty—to one Hundred and fifty miles—and thus the supplies are uncertain, and consequently the issues are deficient, and irregular oftentimes causing suffering and discontent. I need not enlarge upon this subject; and merely submit for your consideration whether it would not be practicable and advisable, to sever the operations for supplying the army, and those for supplying these dependents, and to provide for at least a portion of the indigents by Contract. I am aware that in these degenerate times, it is difficult to procure contractors, honest and honourable and free from the sins of peculation speculation and swindling, but it does seem to me that by the adoption of a system of strict accountability, on the part of all Agents and by throwing around all engaged in furnishing, or in any way handling supplies, a vigilant chain of scrutinizing sentinels, that something like fair and honest dealing might be realized, a certain regular and equitable distribution of supplies be attained and a very considerable amount of labor and expenditure saved.

Should the present system be continued, it will be absolutely necessary to keep a large independent train for the exclusive purpose of accumulating supplies at Warren, Texas, for the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and a portion of the Choctaws, which train should be entirely under the control of the subsistence Agent for that depot and not subject to diversion or interference.

From this Depot the Subordinate depots could (with facilities increased) be furnished by trains procured within the encampments.

The balance of the Choctaws could be supplied as at present from the stores at Doaksville, which however for this special purpose, have hitherto been very deficient.

The Creek families are encumbered on both sides of Washita River extending up it from its mouth, some 25 miles, and up Red River about 12 miles. Two depots are established for these, one on each side of the River, which are conducted by a commissary agent at each place. Many have built huts, and in general they are reasonably comfortable, and healthy, and if regularly supplied with provisions would be as contented as they could well be made, away from their once cheerful homes. Notwithstanding the unremitted exertions of all concerned during the last three months, owing to the constantly increasing want and uncertainty of transportation, the supply for these people did not reach more than one half the amount intended for them. They have suffered some what but have been sustained—

I remark here that the beef has been furnished by special contractors who have not been prompt and punctual in their deliveries. Perhaps it would be well for the Commissary Agent at Warren to employ additional purchasing Agents, for this Special Service, and thus control the supply of Beef as well as breadstuffs.

For June the number of indigent Creeks drawing or entitled to rations was as follows. 3307 Adults — 1364 children making 4671 persons, and drawing 3989 rations, children under 10 years of age having but half rations. For July the whole number of persons was 4823.

Amongst those receiving this aid from Govt. are some who under ordinary circumstances as to currency and provisions might well subsist without aid. But in consequence of the scarcity of provisions and the difficulty of obtaining them with the depreciated currency at their command, together with the impossibility of making discriminations among Indians, without creating disaffection, it has been deemed proper to include all whose names the chief desires placed upon the Rolls. This has added comparatively little to the expense, while it has visibly increased satisfaction and content. The presence of even a few disaffected persons in a community especially an Indian Community "leaveneth the whole lump"—and it is better to expend something to secure harmony, than by a niggardly economy to ensure discord among our Indian friends.

Under the superintendence of the Inspector of Camps, workshops have been erected and are in successful operation. These consist of a manufactory for making Looms and spinning wheels, a wagon shop and blacksmith shop. These have accomplished considerable, but in order to meet the wants of the families the transportation service et cetera—their operative powers are too limited and I respectfully recommend that their capacity be increased at least three fold.

Funds for putting these shops in operation were borrowed to the amount of $1650—. About $850— of which only have been spent. The balance being unavailable is on hand leaving some indebtedness. It is presumed that the amount expended will be refunded by the Indian Bureau, and that additional funds will be supplied to pay indebtedness, improve the present shops, and meet the expense attendent upon the contemplated extension of their capacity.

The plan of making these shops self sustaining has been adopted, and the experiment seems to work well, and meets but little opposition. The actual cost as near as can be ascertained, of all work done is charged, and this being reasonably light, is not burdensome to the people, while at the same time, it restrains them from troubling the artisans for work, not absolutely needed or crowding the shops with valueless dilapidated vehicles, and other trash.

Beside the fact of paying something for an article received, factitiously enhances its intrinsic value, and induces increased efforts, for its preservation, if not for the enlargement of its utility. Should it however be deemed advisable to perform, without charge the work done at these shops it would be very acceptable to the people; and perhaps precautionary regulations might be devised, which would prevent an abuse of the privilege.

The foreman of these shops occupies an important and responsible position, and to secure the faithful services of a competent person, his compensation should be liberal. The pay of mechanics allowed by the regulations of the Indian Bureau, is entirely inadequate and increased pay should be substituted. This will apply not only to the Artisans, in this particular service, but to all employed within the Superintendency.

Provision having been made to supply looms wheels, and cards for these people in order that they may be enabled to render them subservient to their necessities and comfort, the mode of supplying them with cotton and wool, becomes an appropriate matter for consideration. From the scarcity or remoteness of these articles, it is impracticable for the few individuals who have means to make purchases themselves, and it will be necessary that the articles should be procured in quantity, and transported to the vicinity of the encampments and depots. I respectfully suggest that the commissioner of Indian affairs be requested to authorize the purchase, and that the articles be distributed gratuitously, under judicious supervision, to such as are prepared to make use of them.

The *Cherokee* families are principally located upon the waters of "Blue" from its mouth to Tishomingo a distance of forty miles, and at Goodland 20 miles West of Fort Towson. The authorities of this nation have been permitted to exercise the control of the measures necessary for the comfort and subsistence of their destitute families, drawing their supplies however from the Depot at Warren, Texas and other sources in that State, under the supervision of the Superintendent of Issue for Indigent Indians.

Three depots have been established to supply these people, and an agent appointed for each all under the Superintendence of a chief issuing Agent. During the last three months, the Cherokees have been supplied some what more regularly than the Creeks, although from various causes the supplies have frequently been deficient in quantity and irregular in distribution.

One of the causes of deficiency and irregularity is the universal hindering Hydra—short and uncertain transportation, another the frequent change of Issuing Agents, and their irresponsibility—and consequent want of energy and activity— It is in place here to remark that the present mode of appointing agents, is for the above reason objectionable; and to suggest that all agents be appointed by the .Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and that they be removable by him alone, and be responsible only to him. This dependence and responsibility would serve as a stimulus to exertion, and by selecting and placing his Agents, intervals of service would be prevented, and the Superintendent be at all times cognizant of their position, character and conduct.

A moderate degree of comfort characterizes the Cherokee settlements, and since the subsidence of the small pox which has prevailed amongst them they are comparatively healthy and contented.

The Cherokees have a wheel and loom manufacturing, wheelright and blacksmith shops on quite an extended scale, which turn out a considerable amount of work for the benefit of the indigent families. These are conducted under the charge of the authorities of the Nation, without expense to the government. They are well supplied with hands, and have furnished most of the families the Articles needed for household and other purposes, at moderate rates.

No application has been made for cotton and wool, and it is not known whether the assistance of the Government, in this regard is desired or not.

The number of this tribe fed by the Government for the month of July was 2906.

The *Chickasaws* more fortunate than the Creeks and Cherokees, have not been compelled to abandon their country, still a portion of them have been driven from their homes and are in a destitute condition, and even those families which have been enabled to linger by their firesides, have been deprived of the helping hand of father husband brother or son, by the patriotic devotion of their people to our cause, in the ranks of the Army, and have consequently created but little which upon to subsist.

Many of the Chickasaws, however have failed to avail themselves of the proffered aid of the Government: and the fact is creditable to them that they have not applied for assistance unless impelled by absolute want.

For the month of July the rolls exhibit the names of *785* persons entitled to rations but the number drawing has never exceeded *584*. But one depot has been found necessary. This is established at "Robinson's Academy" under the charge of Revd. J. C. Robinson, as Issuing Agent.

The refugees of this tribe seem well satisfied, and if the effort to procure clothing from Mexico, proves successful, they will be reasonably comfortable during the coming winter.

The *Choctaws* like the Chickasaws still have a footing in their own country and amongst the families thereof also much destitution prevails from causes similar to those which affect the Chickasaws. Nearly all of the men are in the field and but little has been done this season towards cultivating the soil. To subsist successfully and satisfactorily all the destitute of this tribe will be found a serious if not impractical undertaking. They are scattered through the length and breadth of the nation; they are found at and around Boggy Depot thence along the road to Gaines Creek stretching along its banks, on Jacks Fork and Kiamitia from source to mouth, in Sugar Loaf and Wade Counties in the direction of Ft Smith and from Island Bayou to the eastern limits of the Nation. Much of the country in which these people are located is rough and mountainous and nearly inaccessible, admitting of but few depots, which could be regularly supplied, or from which issues could be made without great inconvenience to the people. It must however be borne in mind, that suffering exists, that relief has been promised, and is expected, and that no difficulty attending the fulfillment of a promise made to an Indian is appreciated, no impossibility recognized. It remains therefor for the best means to be devised, by which to approximate as nearly as possible the fullfilment of their expectations of these people and the satisfaction of their wants. The necessity of establishing depots, as near the base of supplies as possible, is too obvious to require comment. One Depot is already established at Ft. Towson which supplies some 800 Choctaws at that place and extends occasional help to the suffering families on Jacks Fork and Kiamitia, and the Superintendent of Issues, is now engaged in perfecting the enrollment and making arrangements to supply all within our reach. The establishment of three depots at Boggy Depot at John Springs on Kiamitia and perhaps at Johnsons Station will it seems to me, be as much as we can do in the premises. If these Depots are well supplied, provisions will be within reach of the largest portion of the needy, and will sufficiently manifest the benevolent purpose of the Government. If those requiring aid will wantonly wander everywhere, we cannot follow them, nor can we seek and succor them in remote mountainous recesses.

The number of Choctaws immediately dependent upon the depot at Ft Towson is about *800* adults and *600* children, making *1400* persons and when the Rolls shall have been completed they will show about *4480* persons in the Choctaw Nation claiming the aid of the Government.

The *Seminole* families are located near the "Oil Springs" about 50 miles west from Ft Washita and are provided with rations by the Contractors for supplying the Reserve Indians, Messrs Johnson & Grimes. The number of Seminoles thus supplied is *574* and with them *441* Creeks are also fed, being connected with the Seminoles by ties of consanguinity or affinity, and always living amongst them.

The Agent for the Seminoles sometimes since having filed complaint against these contractors, alleging that they had repeatedly failed to comply with the contract, The Inspector of Camps was directed to make thorough investigation of the matter. The report of the Inspector exonerates the contractors from any intentional short comings and from all failure, except from interrupting causes which could not have been foreseen or controlled; and that the inconveniences arising from these occasional delays, had been remedied as soon as possible and deficiencies supplied.

The charges have been reiterated by the Agent and his letter on file in this office of date of August 6th is referred for further scrutiny in the premises to my successor.

The *Reserve* Indians having left the "Reserve," have their temporary agency on Washita river about 18 miles west of Ft. Arbuckle and the affairs of the tribes are now under the personal supervision of the agent, Capt. L. G. Harmon. The only "Reserve" now represented and residing at and around the Agency, are, the Cadohadacos, the Anadacos and Comanches and number *532*. These are satisfactorily supplied with rations by the contractors Messrs Johnson & Grimes.

Through the well directed zeal and energy of Capt Harmon, these Indians have been induced to labor somewhat, and with the assistance of four hired laborers they have cultivated a farm, which will give them sufficient corn to furnish them bread during the coming year. Much credit is due to Capt Harmon for his intelligent management of his Agency and for the comfort content and prosperity which his efforts have secured to the people under his charge.

The remaining six Bands properly belonging to the Reserve are wanderers but it is not known that they have assumed a hostile attitude, or consorted with hostile hordes.

The *Osages* and associated Bands numbering 241, are situated near Fort Arbuckle, and are furnished with rations by the contractors Messrs Johnson and Grimes.

To conduct the arduous business of feeding this multitude, it has been found necessary to appoint several officers: to wit: a superintendent of Issues an Inspector of Refugee Camps and an Issuing Agent for each Depot. The first Superintends the enrollment of Indigents, controls the procuring of supplies and their distribution, and has the general immediate supervision of the entire process of subsisting the Indigent Indians.

The Inspector visits the several camps monthly or oftener if necessary, ascertains their condition, inquires into the wants of the occupants, and the manner in which these wants are supplied, and in general has the immediate care of the comfort and welfare of the Indigents and guardianship over the interests of the Government.

These officers are indispensable and their duties constant. In addition to their pay which should be liberal, they should be allowed mileage or travelling expenses, and as they belong to the Staff of the Commander of the District, might also be allowed quarters and fuel and commutation therefor. Whether or not they are allowed these payments has been a matter of doubt with the incumbents, and it is therefore mentioned.

The Issuing Agents attend to the details of receiving and issuing provisions. Their duties are arduous, and they deserve suitable recompense.

The duties required of the Superintendent of Issues are too exacting and diversified, and it is respectfully suggested that he be relieved of a portion of his burden, by the appointment of a *Supervisor* of *Rolls* whose attention should be exclusively devoted to procuring perfecting and certifying, the Rolls of Indigents, for the subsequent approval of the Superintendent of Issues.

Experience has also shown that the transportation for this service will ever be uncertain and ineffective, without a chief to arrange and control the whole. It is therefore recommended that a *Transportation Master* be appointed to manage all the trains and teams connected with this particular service.

A grave difficulty is presented in this service, by the frequent withdrawal of men detailed, or a failure on the part of commanders to furnish the men when detailed. By these measures trains are often idle, for want of teamsters and the operations in the workshop cease.

The deficiency in the number of employers, is inconveniently great, and it should be made up immediately, by the employment or detail of a sufficient number of reliable hands, whose services should be sure and of determined duration.

The order authorizing the payment of one half the amount due for hauling in provisions, has proven the sole inducement in the employment of teams for the subordinate depots, and if the General Order recently promulgated on this subject does not apply and prohibits here, the practice should be continued. In this way alone can any transportation be obtained.

I concur with the Supert. of Issues in the opinion, that for the ensuing two months, the absolute necessities of the Indigents will not require the issuing of more than half rations allowing the same to all adults and children. This amount of provisions supplied with regularity and certainty will satisfy the Indians better than the promise of full rations, and that promise not complied with, they must have what is promised them or they will loudly complain. By this means also will we be better enabled to accumulate supplies for subsequent months.

A schedule of pay and wages for all officers and employees in this department should be established on a liberal scale and definite provision made for the payment by the Indian Bureau.

Physicians for the Refugee camps being an indispensable concomitant of this service, and as none could be spared from their appropriate positions in the army of the District, it has been necessary to appoint a moderate number, who are disconnected with the Army. It is presumed that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, will appreciate this necessity, and make suitable provision for the compensation of the Physicians employed.

The contingent expenses of this department are necessarily considerable, but from the peculiar and novel character of the service, they cannot be anticipated and estimated for. A contingent fund much larger than required for pay, stationery, should be placed at the disposal of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

It is especially desirable that arrangements should be speedily made for procuring a supply of stationery.

Efforts have been made to establish schools in the different camps of the Refugee Indians, but they have hitherto met little encouragement.

The beneficial influence of schools among the Indians, has long been realized, and under propitious circumstances, these nurseries cannot be too extended or too generously fostered, but at the present time, and so long as these people shall be houseless and unsettled it is much doubted whether any attempt to establish schools, which will be of any appreciable advantage would be successful, however desirable the project may be.

The following is a list of Officers engaged in the Subsistence Department for Indigent Indians in this Superintendency.

L. C. Eliason Supert of Issues
J. S. Stewart Inspr of Refugee Camps
O. L. Graham Issuing Agent for Creeks
F. R. Young Issuing Agent for Creeks
Joe L. Martin Issuing Agent for Cherokees
W. Crump Issuing Agent for Cherokees
G. W. Gunter Issuing Agent for Cherokees
J. M. Adair Issuing Agent for Cherokees
J. C. Robinson Issuing Agent for Chickasaws
Basil Leflore Issuing Agent for Choctaws
J. P. Kingsbury Issuing Agent for Choctaws
Mitchell McCurtain Issuing Agent for Choctaws
Chas. F. Ricketts Issuing Agent for Seminoles
J. J. Sturm Issuing Agent for Reserves
Thos. Drennen Issuing Agent for Osages
A. C. Eliason Clerk of Superintendency

Recapitulation of number of Indians, subsisted by the Government.

Creeks	4823
Cherokees	2906
Chickasaws	785
Choctaws	4488
Seminoles	1015
Reserves	532
Osages	241
	14,790

Total
Fourteen Thousand
Seven Hundred
and Ninety

Sometime in May last the Northern Osages signified to the Confederate Indian tribes their desire to "make peace and live in friendship" with them, and having proposed a meeting, it was agreed that a Council should be held at "Chouteau Trading House" on Canadian, on the 20th July ult. at which, the five Confederated Nations, were to be represented, and the Northern Osages and other disaffected or unreconciled tribes. Arrangements were made for the protection and subsistence of the parties, when last heard from, the Council was in session, but its proceedings have not been communicated, to this office.

The following are the names of the Confederate States Agents in this Superintendency.

For the Creeks—Maj. J. G. Vore
For the Cherokees—Col. Crawford
For the Chickasaws—Brg. Gen. D. H. Cooper
For the Choctaws—Brg. Gen. D. H. Cooper
For the Seminoles—Revd. J. S. Murrow
For the Reserves—Capt. J. L. Harmon
For the Osages—Maj. A. J. Dorn

Of these, the first three are in the field and render only occasionally service, in their capacity as Agents.

The Agent for the Seminoles resides at Ft. Wachita [*sic*]. Were this Agent present with the people, whose interest he has in charge, he would perhaps have had less occasion to complain of his late Commissary of Issues and the Contractors for supplying the Indians of his Agency.

The Agent for the "Reserves" resides generally with his people, but this office is informed that his absence is of frequent occurrence and sometimes protracted. The condition of his Agency however indicates anything but negligence on the part of this officer.

The Agent for the Osages resides at Bonham, Texas, recent difficulties at the Osage camp might have been prevented by the presence of the Agent, and if it were not already obvious, this occurrence would serve to demonstrate the propriety of the law, requiring Agents to reside with or near the people of their charge.

Reference is made to the accompanying reports of the Supert Issues and Inspector of Camps, for more minute details of the Subsistence Department for the Indigent Indians.

Presuming that it will not be expected that I should enter upon a discussion of the peculiar and extraordinary considerations involved in the preservation and occupation of the Indian Territory, I only allude to them and close this report, by adding that the loyalty and fidelity of the Indians in this superintendency, is sufficently manifested by the fact, that nearly all the men of every tribe are in the service of the Confederate States, by the promptness and alacrity with which they discharge their duties, beyond as well as within the limits of the territory, and by their patience under privations, and forbearance under disappointed expectations.

/Signed/ R. W. Lee Col &
Asst Supert Indian Affairs
Ark. & Red River Supery[11]

P. S.
General August 22d 1864

Since closing the foregoing Report a communication has been received at this office, from the Confederate States Agent of the Treasury (Hon P. W. Gray[12]) in which the exemption of Indians in friendly relations with the Confederate Government from taxation of any kind is recognized.

Information is also given that the authorities of Texas, have been instructed in accordance with this decision. This will therefore relieve the Cherokees from the burden complained of, which is noticed at the commencement of this Report.

Intelligence has also since been received that the Council spoken of in this report was held at Cherokee Town, west of Ft Arbuckle, commencing its session on the 8th Inst. The Northern Osages and eight friendly tribes were represented. The record of the proceedings of the Council, show that their deliberations were characterized by great harmony and good feeling. The Northern Osages seem very desirous of establishing friendly relation with their Red Brethren of the South, and represent the Cherokees and Creeks, who are now associated with them in the ranks of our enemy, as being very much dissatisfied and discontented, in consequence of the promises of the Federal Government to them, not having been complied with. They as well as many other tribes have manifested a desire to meet their former associates, and become friendly.

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[11] Captain Roswell W. Lee (native of Massachusetts, graduate U.S. Military Academy July 1, 1829, enlisted in Confederate Army from Texas) had commanded "Lee's Light Artillery" in General D. H. Cooper's Indian Brigade. Captain Lee served as "Acting Assistant Adjutant General" in Cooper's command of the Indian Department, C.S.A., in the campaign against the Union Creeks under the leadership of the noted Opothleyahola in 1861, during which three battles saw the first bloodshed of the American Civil War in the Indian Territory. R. W. Lee returned to line of duty with his promotion to colonel, and assumed command of the Confederate troops at Fort Arbuckle in the spring of 1865.

[12] Hon. P. W. Gray was the Confederate Treasury agent in the Trans-Mississippi Department West.

A talk was sent to these several Tribes by the Council, and it is presumed from present indications, that at no very distant day, a large and interesting Council will be held, which will be productive of favorable results.

/Signed/ R. W. Lee
Asst Supert Ind Affairs

Official Copy
A. C. Eliason
Clerk Superindendency

CIVIL-WAR REFUGEES FROM INDIAN TERRITORY, IN THE NORTH, 1861-1864

By Dean Banks*

Civil war in the United States was a unique experience in division, for unlike most it was not a conflict between stratified social classes, classes intrinsically separate and usually antipathetic. America's internal struggle split almost every level of society. To symbolize the extent of such social devastation, the familiar theme of "brother against brother" has become standard, and numerous accounts are available to substantiate the tragic extremity. The history of Oklahoma, however, contains one story which illustrates such Civil-War inhumanity far more vividly than most. The moving drama concerns a helpless group of Indians caught on the western outskirts of the storm.

In Indian Territory, the area now comprising most of Oklahoma, the Civil War triggered a climax of old intra-tribal feuds which had long maintained splits within several of the Civilized Tribes. With extension of the North-South conflict westward and subsequent Confederate domination of the Territory, these hostile factions disagreed over the question of neutrality or alliance with the new government. When, in the summer of 1861, many tribes concluded treaties with the Confederacy, some groups tried to remain nonpartisan.

Unfriendly neutrals, however, were not tolerated in the new Southern domain. In December, 1861, they were driven mercilessly from their lands into Kansas, a Northern stronghold. There the exiles spent over two and one-half years, including three severe winters, of unbelievable privation while wards of a seemingly estranged Union government. These were the refugees from Indian Territory.

The flight to Kansas centered around alienated factions of the Creek Nation, the "Upper Creek" and "Lower Creek." Enmity existing between these groups erupted into relentless warfare after the conclusion of an alliance treaty with the South. Opothleyahola, chief spokesman for the Upper Creek since the 1820s, at first urged the treaty council to remain neutral in the

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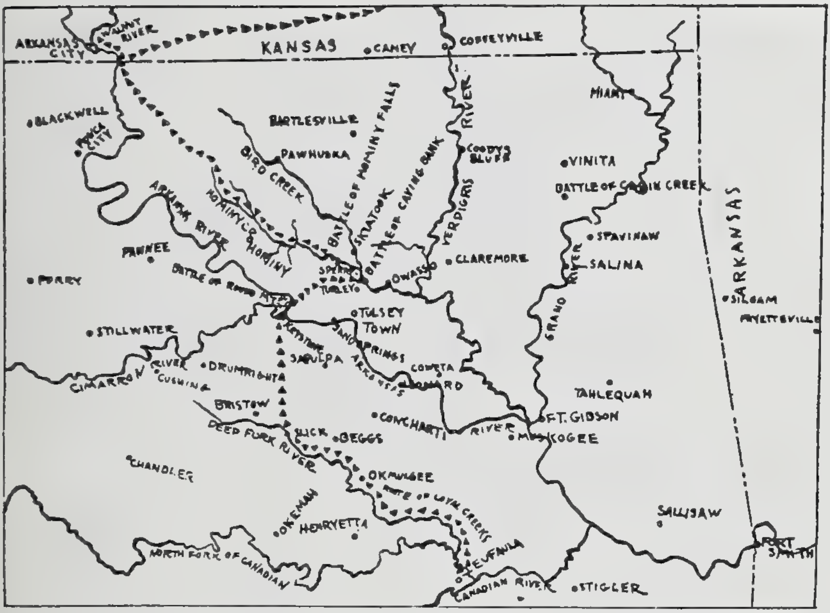
*Dean Banks' paper here is an excellent contribution to Oklahoma's Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War, done in his careful research and preparation of manuscript as a graduate student in the Seminar on the subject of the American Civil War in the Indian Territory (History 510 Seminar), under Professor LeRoy H. Fischer, well known author and historian, at Oklahoma State University, January, 1963.—Ed.


ARKANSAS CITY
WALNUT RIVER
KANSAS
CANEY
COFFEYVILLE
MIAMI
BLACKWELL
PONCA CITY
BARTLESVILLE
PAWHUSKA
BIRD CREEK
BATTLE OF HOMINY FALLS
SKIATOOK
BATTLE OF CAVING BANK
VERDIGRIS RIVER
COODYS BLUFF
VINITA
BATTLE OF CABIN CREEK
ARKANSAS
ARKANSAS RIVER
HOMINY CR
HOMINY
PAWNEE
PERRY
BATTLE OF ROUND MT.
SPERRY
TURLEY
OWASSO
CLAREMORE
SPAVINAW
SALINA
GRAND RIVER
SILOAM
FAYETTEVILLE
STILLWATER
TULSEY TOWN
KEYSTONE
SAND SPRINGS
SAPULPA
ARKANSAS
COWETA
CIMARRON RIVER
CUSHING
DRUMRIGHT
BRISTOW
CONCHARTI
RIVER
TAHLEQUAH
FT. GIBSON
MUSKOGEE
DEEP FORK RIVER
SLICK
BEGGS
CHANDLER
OKMULGEE
ROUTE OF LOYAL CREEKS
OKEMAH
HENRYETTA
SALLISAW
FORT SMITH
NORTH FORK OF CANADIAN
EUFAULA
CANADIAN RIVER
STIGLER

This map of Northeastern Oklahoma shows the route of the Loyal Creeks led by Apothleyahola from their place of congregation near Eufaula, northwest along the Deep Fork and thence north to Round Mountain, thence east to Caving Bank thence northwest again through Hominy Falls and into Kansas.

war.[1] However, its decision to ally with the Confederacy eventually forced the adamant old warrior into a positive stand. He had no choice left but loyalty to the Union. In early November, 1861, with a following of almost three thousand Upper Creeks and Seminoles, Opothleyahola at first sought refuge in distance. Taking care to assure adequate supplies for the approaching winter, the proud band, with wagons, cattle, and horses, moved north.[2]

The well-organized migration from Confederate Creek territory began slowly; but terminated in full rout. War could not be avoided, for the Commander of Confederate forces resolved either to compel Opothleyahola's submission "to the authorities of the [Creek] nation or drive him and his party from the country."[3] The pursuit began, and from November 19 to December 26, Southern Indian and white forces engaged the Loyal group in three battles. The Civil War in Indian Territory had begun. Each engagement added momentum to the flight and whittled away at supplies, until, in late afternoon on December 26, survivors were racing towards the Kansas border with only their ponies and the clothing they could wear.[4]

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[1] Opothleyahola was the accepted leader of the Upper Creeks; but, according to a statement by a Creek delegation after the war, he was not "a chief, counsellor or head-man in said tribe, and had no voice in the [treaty] council" (Annie Heloise Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians,* Vol. I: *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* [Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1915], p. 194). For background on the division of the Creek Nation, see John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Opothleyahola," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* IX (December, 1931, 441-42, 446, 450.

[2] Abel, *loc. cit.;* Meserve, *loc. cit.,* p. 446; Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border: 1854-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), pp. 220-21.

Winter had set in, and each mile seemed endless as the disordered mass, still tracked by Confederates, struggled against a bitter northwest blizzard. Unusually severe weather claimed many of the wounded and weak. "Quite a number of them froze to death on the route," wrote George A. Cutler, Indian Agent for the Creek, "and their bodies, with a shroud of snow, were left where they fell."[5] Finally, after a night and day of continuous flight, scattered remnants trudged across the northern border into Kansas, and refuge.

Union agents contacted the advance groups, and began channeling the refugee tide to uninhabited Indian lands on the Verdigris River to the east. The officials were astounded by the magnitude of their task. Dissenters from other tribes had joined the exodus, and wretched forms could be seen for miles, stumbling north to sanctuary.[6] Runners constantly approached agents to plead for wagons and clothing to take back to the thousands scattered over the frozen countryside, exhausted, starving, and without transportation to the main encampment.[7] Actually, it made little difference whether refugees were at the Verdigris or still scattered on the trails. Union authorities had no food or shelter for them.

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[3] U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter referred to as O.R.), Ser. I, Vol. VIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 5, Col. Douglas H. Cooper, Confederate Commander, Indian Department, 20 January 1862, to Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, Richmond, Va.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-14; *ibid.*, pp. 22-25, Col. James McIntosh, Commander, Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles, 1 January 1862, to General Samuel Cooper, Adjutant-General, Confederate States Army, Richmond, Va.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 10, 24; U. S. Interior Department, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 139, George A. Cutler, Creek Agent, 30 September 1862, to William G. Coffin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Leavenworth, Kansas.

[6] Annie Heloise Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians*, Vol. II: *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1918), p. 85.

[7] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 145, William G. Coffin, Superintendent Indian Affairs, 13 February 1862, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.; *ibid.*, pp. 151-52, Archibald B. Campbell, Surgeon, U. S. Army, 5 Feb. 1862, to Joseph B. Barnes, U.S. Army Medical Director, Leavenworth, Kansas.

Absolute need prevailed. An observer's statement that "they lost everything except what they had on their backs" was an oversight.[8] Many Indians had nothing on their backs. William G. Coffin, Southern Superintendent of Indian Affairs, best summarized the feeling of officials at the scene when he declared that "the destitution, misery, and suffering amongst them is beyond the power of any pen to portray; it must be seen to be realized." Hundreds were completely naked or scantly clothed, and as many more were without shoes.[9]

Deaths from exposure and starvation occurred frequently during the winter. Absence of shelter, wood, or cooking utensils left the refugee exposed to the weather and subsisting on raw horse meat.[10] The injured and sick were made as comfortable as possible. Beds of prairie grass provided some protection from the frozen ground, while bits of clothing and rags stretched between sticks helped turn back wind and snow. The Second Chief of the Creeks lay sick with fever under a blanket tied between poles, a blanket so inadequate that its edges hung a foot above the ground. But, in comparison with the rest, he had a comfortable haven.[11]

The tribes received no relief during the first few weeks. Some articles (thirty-five blankets, forty pairs of socks, and a few underclothes) were finally brought in on January 22 by Archibald B. Campbell, the first physician to arrive at the encampment. After handing out the items to the "nakedest of the naked," Campbell had to explain to hundreds of pitifully anxious faces pressing around his wagon that he had nothing for them. He could not describe his feeling as he met the patient, questioning stares, especially from those"seven, varying in age from three to fifteen years," who stood before him without "one thread upon their bodies."[12]

Health conditions among the refugees multiplied the effects of exposure. All suffered some degree of malnutrition, and most were afflicted with inflammatory diseases of the chest, throat, and eyes. Frozen toes were common throughout the camp, and nearly everyone suffered from feet which had been torn by ice or branches hidden in the snow.[13]

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 139, George A. Cutler to William G. Coffin, 30 September 1862.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 145, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 13 February 1862.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52, Archibald B. Campbell to Joseph B. Barnes, 5 February 1862; p. 156, George W. Collamore, Special Investigator, 21 April 1862, to William P. Dole.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 151, A. B. Campbell to J. B. Barnes, 5 February 1862.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Towards the end of January, 1862, the situation grew even worse. Over 4,500 Creek, Seminole, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Quapaw, Kickapoo, Negroes from various tribal regions, and a few Indians from other small tribes crowded along the Verdigris River, and hundreds were still arriving from the south. Like the initial groups, newcomers found no food, clothing, or shelter awaiting them. Campbell, on February 5, exclaimed that he could not understand why the "officers of the Indian Department" were not doing something. A few thousand Indians also wondered why their White Father was forsaking them.[14]

Other than the meager supplies handed out by Campbell on January 22, no relief reached the encampment until about the second week of February. This included a small supply of food, supposedly enough to last until February 15, and five wagon-loads of blankets, clothes, shoes, and socks, less than half enough to satisfy demands. When all items were distributed, dejected refugees still huddled around empty wagons.

The Indian and his horse were both at the mercy of the weather and the Union government. Several hundred dead ponies lay throughout the settlement, and of about 2,000 still alive, many would starve before spring grass arrived. Some corn was allocated for feed, but like the five wagon-loads of supplies, it was not nearly enough.[15]

With the ground frozen and few tools available, disposal of dead refugees required extreme effort from sickly, spiritless tribesmen. To undertake the removal of almost 1,500 dead horses was unthinkable. Realizing the conditions which would result from warmer weather, officials had no choice but to impose another journey on their reluctant wards.

The only favorable location was the wooded bottom land of the Neosho valley, thirty miles north of the Verdigris; but, although it would place the tribes closer to supply points, removal to that area could result in conflict with white settlers owning the land. Regardless of such possibilities, however, each day brought warmer weather and more contamination to the Verdigris. The trip was mandatory.[16]

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[14] A census taken in early 1862 revealed: 3,168 Creeks; 53 slaves of Creeks; 38 free Negro members of the Creek tribe; 777 Seminoles; 136 Quapaws; 50 Cherokees; 31 Chickasaws, and a few from other smaller tribes (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 13 February 1862.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53, Captain John W. Turner, Commissary of Subsistence, 11 February 1862, to William P. Dole; p. 136, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 15 October 1862; p. 139, George A. Cutler to William G. Coffin, 30 September 1862; p. 144, Peter P. Elder, Neosho Agent,

In early March, Kansas teamsters were employed to provide transportation, and once again the pathetic human mass started north. This time, over 7,500 moved in well-organized groups. Since personal belongings occupied little space, wagons were packed with children and the elderly. Men and women followed along behind their families as wagon trains progressed slowly over flat prairie land towards the Neosho valley and a more comfortable settlement. At last, food and shelter would be available.[17]

Tribal spirits increased as wagons arrived at the destination. Wood was in abundance, wood for warm fires and for cooking meat. For seven miles along the river, families settled down in anticipation of relief from hunger, sickness, and exposure.[18]

Hopes were immediately shattered. Supplies received during the next few weeks lacked both quantity and quality, and the wood along the river belonged to the white settlers and could not be used. Suffering and frustration finally exploded in outspoken indignation. Tribal leaders, again headed by Opothleyahola, complained bitterly about treatment at the hands of Indian agents, and sent letters of protest directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and President Lincoln. Results were immediate.[19]

In late March, the Department of Indian Affairs sent George W. Collamore, former Kansas military supply agent, to the Indian encampment "for the purpose of observation and giving information as to their actual condition and wants." His investigation established the validity of refugee protests. Astounded by extreme lack of shelter in the settlement, Collamore reported: "Such coverings as I saw were made in the rudest manner, being composed of pieces of cloth, old quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, etc., stretched upon sticks, and so limited were many of them in size that they were scarcely sufficient to cover the emaciated and dying forms beneath them."

Under one tattered canopy, he found the daughter of Opothleyahola "in the last stages of consumption." Possibly, some of

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12 September 1862, to William G. Coffin; pp. 145-46, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 13 February 1862.

[17] Meserve, *loc. cit.*, footnote 9, p. 451; Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (March, 1941), 68. These sources quote J. P. Hamilton, Sr., "Indian Refugees in Coffey County," *Le Roy* [Kansas] *Reporter*, August 14 and 21, 1931. The exact date of the removal is not certain, but judging from various dates on correspondence it was most likely in early March.

[18] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 156, George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, 21 April 1862.

[19] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War,* p. 87.

the rags used for shelters had been sacrificed by tribesmen, for many naked forms were still seen throughout the camp.[20]

Like shelter and clothing, food was scarce and of unbelievably poor quality. Bacon, a small amount of salt, and "about one pound of flour each per week" composed the Indians' diet. Nothing else was obtainable except by prescription of the attending physician. The bacon was described by refugees and Indian agents alike as "not fit for a dog to eat"; many became sick after eating it. Agents informed Collamore that the meat had been condemned at Fort Leavenworth: "a reliable person . . . a judge of the article . . . pronounced it suitable only for soap grease" before it was sent to the Neosho encampment.[21]

Bad food, malnutrition, and exposure aggravated health conditions, and frustrated attempts to treat diseases effectively. At first, patients added to the problem by resisting treatment; but their opposition, due to adherence to old superstitious healing rituals, slowly gave way and refugees became "solicitous for medical attendance."[22] The demand was soon overwhelming. "Consumption" and pneumonia cases mounted steadily, adding to an already stunning death toll. The Creeks alone lost two hundred and forty tribesmen during February and March of 1862.

Many survivors faced lives of permanent helplessness after frozen limbs were amputated. Collamore vividly recalled "a little Creek boy, about eight years old, with both feet taken off near the ankle," and "others lying upon the ground whose frosted limbs rendered them unable to move about." Most of the latter were beyond recovery.[23]

Though experiencing inhuman suffering and degradation, it seemed to the hapless Indian wayfarer that his hosts felt no sympathy. During the summer of 1862, rumors of impending removal from the Neosho passed through the encampment. White settlers were demanding that their lands be vacated, and Union officials wanted more efficient and inexpensive supply methods.

When the Sac and Fox tribe, twenty-five miles north of the

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[20] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* pp. 156-57, George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, 21 April 1862.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[22] U.S. House of Representatives, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863," *Executive Documents: First Session of the Thirty-eighth Congress,* 1863-64, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864 , 303, H. C. Ketcham, Attending Physician for the Refugee Indians, 15 September 1863, to A. V. Coffin, Medical Director for the Refugee Indians, Sac and Fox Agency, Kansas.

[23] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* pp. 156-57, George W. Collamore to William P. Dole, 21 April 1862.

Neosho valley, offered part of its reservation for refugee use, everyone was relieved but the refugees. Another journey was too much to expect. Again, Opothleyahola led the tribes in bitter opposition; but, eventually he was persuaded to agree on removal in the fall of 1862. The old leader had made his last notable decision, for soon after reaching the new location he died (1863).[24]

Arriving at the Sac and Fox reservation in October and November, the migrants established their last encampment in Kansas. This would be home until the return to Indian Territory. Winter was approaching, but surely adequate food and protection would be available now. The reservation was on the regular supply lines, and, too, tribal needs had diminished considerably. At least ten per cent of their original number died after reaching Kansas, and almost 1,500 men had joined the Union army. Now, there were less to feed, clothe, and shelter.[25]

Again the refugees experienced disappointment, for further demands were placed on the Indian Department by the recent arrival in southern Kansas of another large group of refugees from the Territory. This band of over 2,000 Cherokees was immediately removed to Neosho, Missouri, but Kansas officials were still responsible for its welfare. Largely due to this tremendous increase in refugee population, improvements in supplies came very slowly on the Sac and Fox reservation. Days were growing colder at a more rapid rate.[26]

Allowing no margin for lack of preparation, the winter of 1862-63 swept across Kansas, and was no less severe than the previous one. Again, there was widespread "suffering for clothing and blankets."[27] Condemned army tents had been distributed before winter, and were a little more useful than the condemned bacon provided during the Neosho stopover. Still, they were hardly adequate to shield against cold winter winds.[28] A more sufficient food supply was available, but poor quality continued to cause much illness, and often death.[29]

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[24] Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War,* pp. 35-36, 87-89; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 169, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 10 November 1862. Coffin states only that the Indians were moved to the Sac and Fox Reservation due to "scarcity of funds."

[25] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* pp. 136-37, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 15 October 1862.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 137; p. 169, Coffin to Dole, 10 November 1862; *Executive Documents,* pp. 297-98, J. Harlan, Cherokee Agent, 2 September 1863, to William G. Coffin; p. 294, William G. Coffin to William P. Dole, 24 September 1863.

[27] *Executive Documents,* p. 297, Harlan to Coffin, 2 September 1863; pp. 301-302, Isaac Coleman, Choctaw and Chickasaw Agent, 2 September 1863, to William G. Coffin.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 301, Coleman to Coffin; *Report of the Commissioner of*

Many Indians expressed indignation over the dire conditions. Their general attitude, actually a sort of perplexed resentment, was demonstrated very clearly by a Cherokee Refugee Committee in a letter to Superintendent Coffin:[30]

> We are well aware that the number of the refugees the general government has to provide for and maintain is large, and the expense great. But, sir, is all this to be counted with the lives of the Cherokee woman [sic] and children? We all know our great and magnanimous government makes no account of cost, that they [sic] may be just and fulfill a promise.

Pleas, however, brought little reform during the winter, or through the spring and summer of 1863. In September, Federal Agent Cutler reported that clothing issued ten months earlier, "part of a suit to each individual," was completely worn out. Many were almost entirely naked, and "all of them would have been had it not been for the very timely and material aid they received from their relatives and friends in the army." Indian soldiers were sending their pay to assure families and tribesmen some degree of comfort. With this relief and gradual increases in food allocations, the physical condition of the refugees began to improve. Fatalities among the Creeks during the summer of 1863 were less than one-half those in the same period of 1862.[31]

The most cogent summation of the ordeal of the past two years appears in a September, 1863 report by Archibald V. Coffin, Directing Physician for the refugees. His striking physical and psychological evaluation is a masterpiece of medical analysis. Concerning difficulties in effecting health and sanitation improvements among the Indians, Coffin pointed out:[32]

> Ancient superstitious traditions constituting very nearly their entire education [a rather extreme statement], driven from their cherished homes . . . , compelled to abandon their entire personal property and to take up their abode among strangers, and in a land not their own, surrounded by soulless, God-forsaken sharpers who eagerly embraced every opportunity to swindle and defraud them, and not receiving at once that protection from government which they deemed their due, it

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Indian Affairs, 1862, p. 139, George A. Cutler to William G. Coffin, 30 September 1862.

[29] *Executive Documents,* p. 301, Coleman to Coffin, 2 September 1863; p. 308, A. V. Coffin to William G. Coffin, 25 September 1863.

[30] The promise mentioned by the Cherokee Committee was previous Union guarantees of supplies (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 171, Cherokee Refugee Committee, 31 October 1862, to William G. Coffin.)

[31] *Executive Documents,* p. 299, George A. Cutler to William G. Coffin, 5 September 1863.

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 307, A. V. Coffin to William G. Coffin, 25 September 1863.

is not cause of surprise that they should shrink from, and view with a jealous eye, every effort to introduce among them social or sanitary regulations, though eventuating in their good.

Amid such mental conditions, especially with only four physicians to care for the refugees, it was "next to impossible to practically succeed" in improving health conditions during early months. After this barrier was overcome, others remained which could not be removed so easily.

Because of the "irregularity in the amount of nutriment contained in any given measure or weight of food supplied," gastric diseases prevailed. Allocated flour was made from damaged grain and had little food value. Therefore the Indian, used to "animal food [meat]," had to eat in great quantity to satisfy his hunger. Such gorging resulted in illness and often severe inflammation. Beef which was finally issued was so bony that "seven-day rations" lasted only three or four days, and the refugee starved the remaining time. When the next supplies were received, he would gorge himself, and a "severe, if not fatal, attack of gastritis" usually followed.

Pneumonia was the next most serious disease, and other ailments were common. Summing up his observations, Coffin concluded:[33]

> Deprived of comfortable houses, of their accustomed food, forced to use the same diet for months without change, compelled to take the earth for a bed, with but a miserable excuse for a roof above them, their social relations rudely broken up—in short, subject to a combination of mental and physical causes sufficient to crush an iron constitution, it is no cause of surprise . . . if we find them falling victims to maladies that otherwise would not be regarded.

In spite of nature and Union nurture, medical efforts succeeded, in establishing comparatively good health among the tribes before the winter of 1863-64. Then the old cycle was repeated. Clothing and blankets were worn out, and shabby tents, prime examples of army refuse, provided little shelter from freezing winds and snow. New clothing and blankets were not received for distribution until January 12, 1864. The natural result was extensive sickness and death. To irritate the almost unbearable situation, smallpox broke out among some tribes, and spread swiftly when initial vaccine proved faulty.[34] Like the others, the third winter in Kansas was long and disheartening. Then, as days grew warmer, spirits and bodies became stronger, until generally good health again prevailed.

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309, A. V. Coffin to William G. Coffin, 25 September 1863.

[34] U.S. Interior Department, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1864 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 307, A. V. Coffin to William G. Coffin, 25 August 1864.

Along with physical restoration, the spring of 1864 brought fresh rumors of removal, but this time the news evoked no protests. If the rumors were true, the refugees from Indian Territory were going home. Though conditions in their lands to the south were still uncertain, tribes unhesitantly prepared for a long awaited cavalcade across the Kansas border. There were no regrets about leaving this land of suffering and death.

Memories of the sojourn in Kansas would be concerned only with those left beneath the prairie soil along the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers and on the Sac and Fox reservation. Each year since the exodus in December, 1861, well over two hundred tribesmen had been buried in the three small areas. The toll was one of every eight in the last half of 1862, and although mortality decreased to one in seventeen during the following year, it climbed again to one in eleven after the winter of 1863-64.[35] Most casualties were women and children.[36]

After surviving that first tragic winter, few of the victims expected to die outside their tribal lands. An immediate return to the Territory was expected from the time the refugees settled on the Verdigris. Although suspicious and disappointed because of their treatment while wards of the government, hopeful Indians breathed "but one spirit of fidelity to the Union and a desire once more to be restored to their homes and friends and there sustained by the Federal Government to defend the cause they . . . espoused."[37]

As early as February, 1862, Indian officials had been instructed to enroll able-bodied refugees for military service in Indian Territory. Tribesmen responded enthusiastically, and then expressed intense disappointment when conflict between authorities halted the enlistment. Resolved to avenge their exile, they immediately held a general council and decided to undertake a southern expedition on "their own responsibility." This zeal was soon dampened by fresh reports of large Confederate garrisons around their tribal lands. Still leading activities at the time, Opothleyahola assured officials that his people, when provided with arms and necessary Union military support, were willing to fight their way back.[38]

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 309, A. V. Coffin to William G. Coffin, 25 August 1864.

[36] A census taken in late 1862 indicated *only 864 men among* 5,487 refugees. Over 1,500 had volunteered for military service by that time *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 137, William G. Coffin to Dole, 15 October 1862.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57, Collamore to Dole, 21 April 1862. It should be pointed out that the expectation of immediate return to the Territory prevented the planting of gardens which would have supplied considerable fresh vegetables, food badly needed by the refugees *Executive Documents*, p. 300, Cutler to William G. Coffin, 5 September 1863; p. 304 G. C. Snow, Seminole Agent, 4 September 1863, to William G. Coffin.

Military officers had aborted the first attempt to do so. In June, 1862, two regiments composed of refugee volunteers and Indians from other Kansas tribes penetrated the northeastern corner of the Territory and established temporary control over the area around Fort Gibson. Before long, leaders of the expedition began arguing command responsibilities, and a retreat to Kansas was ordered.[39]

Then in early 1863, when it appeared that the area around the fort was under permanent Union control, the Cherokee refugees at Neosho, Missouri were returned to their homes around Tahlequah, a few miles northeast of Fort Gibson. With promises of adequate protection against Confederates in the vicinity, they reinhabited their lands and immediately began planting crops. Memories of recent experiences compelled assurance of an abundant food supply for the next winter.

But Northern officials had either overestimated their own strength or underrated that of the South. Very conveniently, when crops were well started, Confederates overran the area, chasing Union forces into the fort. By late September, almost 7,000 loyal Cherokees had accumulated in the vicinity for protection against Southern raiders. With little food and shelter available, they had another hard winter.[40]

These previous disappointments faded, however, amid heartening rumors in the spring of 1864. This time, hopes were fulfilled, for the government, assured of control over the Fort Gibson area, ordered the return of the refugees to Indian Territory. The trip was completed in June by all but four tribes; smallpox detained the Seminoles, while transfer of Quapaws, Senecas, and Shawnees was delayed by strong guerrilla activity around their homes immediately across the Kansas line.

The Creek and other returning tribes were not all the way home either. Since Confederate forces still threatened tribal lands farther south, they had to settle temporarily in the shadow of the fort. But to those veterans of three long winters in Kansas, it did not matter. They were back, and this was the last stop before home. No longer were they refugees from Indian Territory.[41]

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[38] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862,* p. 157, Collamore to Dole, 21 April 1862; p. 137, William G. Coffin to Dole, 15 October 1862; *Executive Documents,* p. 299, Cutler to William G. Coffin, 5 September 1863.

[39] *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), pp. 484-85, Col. Frederick Salomon, Commander of the Indian Expedition, 20 July 1862, to Gen. James G. Blunt, Commanding Department of Kansas (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862* p. 137, William G. Coffin to Dole, 15 October 1862).

[40] *Executive Documents,* p. 294, William G. Coffin to Dole, 24 September 1863.

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[41] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864,* pp. 303-304, William G. Coffin to Dole, 24 September 1864.

THE CHEROKEE TOBACCO CASE

By Robert K. Heimann*

Tobacco, a tidewater product during the colonial era, surged west with America during the nineteenth century. The early 1800's saw the leaf used by Lewis and Clark and by Rocky Mountain traders as a medium of exchange. The same period saw it prized as a cash crop by farmers of the Mississippi Valley, and this led to the rise of large factories in Louisville and St. Louis. Tobacco-taking had been characteristic of Americans since colonial days. Now tobacco-making—either on the farm or in factories—became increasingly prominent as a form of private enterprise.[1]

During the 1860's business-minded citizens of the Indian nations (or so-called "Five Civilized Tribes") of the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, had an incentive to enter this growing, westering market. Tobacco was accepted as a medium of exchange within this region and across the lines in bordering country, especially in the late years of the American Civil War when Confederate money had greatly lowered in value. There was no general system of taxation of the citizens in any of the Indian nations in the production and sale of agricultural and manufactured products within their borders. To regain their own great losses in personal property as well as help their impoverished fellow citizens and their devastated country at the end of the Civil War some of the more aggressive Cherokees and Choctaws set up tobacco factories in their nations not far from the Arkansas line. They interpreted the new Treaties of 1866 with the Federal Government as allowing them to set up such factories as well as granting them exemption from the U.S. excise tax in the sale of their products beyond the borders of the Indian Territory. Their right to do this was denied by the U.S.

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[1] Heimann, *op. cit.*

Supreme Court in the climactic legal test of Indian treaty rights known as the *Cherokee Tobacco Case* of 1871.[2]

This test was precipitated by the 1868 venture of E. C. Boudinot and Stand Watie, two of the most prominent figures in the Cherokee Nation. Cherokees had achieved a high degree of civilization in Georgia before their removal to what is now Oklahoma in 1838. They were one of the few Indian tribes capable of launching a manufacturing enterprise. The Boudinot and Watie firm and others made sweetened plug tobacco—then the dominant form of leaf consumption—just inside the borders of the Cherokee Nation, adjacent to Arkansas (see map). As citizens of a separate "nation," they believed it their right to manufacture without paying U. S. taxes, and cited the Cherokee Treaty of 1866 to support their belief. But in 1871 the Supreme Court ruled that the 1868 Act of Congress levying the tobacco tax overrode the provisions of the Cherokee Treaty. This decision was seen as pivotal in the history of relations between red Americans and white. It erased any assumption that an American "nation" could be preserved within U.S. borders, isolated legally from the Federal government yet integrated commercially and otherwise with the advancing American society in the West.

The Cherokee Tobacco Case was a many-sided episode. It was bound up closely with the growing importance of tobacco commerce and, indeed, all commerce; with the growing importance of Federal excise taxes; and probably with the after-effects of the War Between the States. Its Cherokee protagonists furnished great drama. Elias Cornelius Boudinot, prime mover of the ill-fated enterprise, was a brilliant Cherokee delegate, a trained lawyer and shrewd promoter. His business associate and uncle, General Stand Watie, was the undisputed leader of the Southern Cherokees, and said to be touched with greatness. Among other distinctions Watie was the last general officer of the Confederacy to surrender to the U.S. Army officers at the close of the Civil War. Also affected was the question of squatters' rights *vs.* treaty rights and the ultimate transformation of Oklahoma from an "Indian Territory" into a state.

TOBACCO MOVES WEST

Much of the poignance of the Cherokee Tobacco Case derives from the fact that tobacco was a "gift of the red man," who tendered it to early white explorers as a peace offering. It was not long after the first English settlement—five years after the 1607 Jamestown landing—that the people in the settlement were growing a superior type of leaf. They tendered this more desirable leaf to the Indians, as payment for furs and as a peace offering when traversing Indian country. As an export and a medium of foreign exchange tobacco had great value, first for the American colonies and, during the Revolution and early 1800's, for the infant Republic of the United States.

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[2] U.S. Sup. Crt. Repts., 11 Wall, 616, "The Cherokee Tobacco."

With tobacco's value as a cash crop or barter crop in mind, settlers who cleared fields in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois and Tennessee lost no time in trying to grow it. Those who later reached Oregon and California made the same effort, and early newspapers of those territories carried occasional reports (or claims) of success. Leaf requirements of the Eighteenth Century were not stringent; in fact, chewing tobacco called for a rather coarse, rubbery leaf.

The Burley strain grown west of the Appalachians has little or no sugar content and a great absorptive capacity. This made it eminently suitable for sweetened plug, the "growth item" of the Mid-Eighteenth Century.

The hilly country of northwestern Arkansas adjacent to the Cherokee Nation, as chance would have it, was good tobacco land. Farmers in Benton County discovered this well before the American Civil War, and Arkansas tobacco production went from 148,000 pounds in 1840 to 219,000 in 1850 and 990,000 pounds in 1860. These amounts were not large in themselves, representing .06%, .11% and .22% of the total crop of the United States in the respective years. Nevertheless the increase was sufficient to place Arkansas as No. 16 in the list of tobacco-growing states by 1879. By that year, Benton County alone had 26.5% of Arkansas' tobacco acreage and grew 40% of the state's crop. It is interesting that in addition to the Red Burley grown in the northwestern pocket adjacent to the Cherokee Nation, between 5% and 8% of the crop was "Virginia Golden Leaf" cured with flues or charcoal fires.[3]

With a similar climate, neighboring Missouri had made the most of its tobacco land. By 1860 that state was growing more than 25,000,000 pounds of leaf a year, a respectable 6% of the total in the United States and about 25% of the trans-Appalachian crop. Most of Missouri's tobacco found a commercial market; the St. Louis plug factories accounted for nearly a fourth of the nation's chewing tobacco output shortly after the Civil War and would account for 35% before the century ended.

But despite its good land, and despite its evident tobacco-consciousness, northwest Arkansas had more potential than profit with respect to tobacco. The Census Report of 1880 noted that "not more than half of the crop was marketed"—the rest was used for home consumption The reasons: "There are no warehouses for the inspection and sale of tobacco in the district" and "There are no stemmeries in the district, but there are a few establishments where plug is made." Raw material for tobacco manufacturing was available; transportation and a ready market were not. Some years after Boudinot's venture a survey indicated an average price of 4.3 cents per pound for leaf tobacco selling in Benton County, as against an average cost of 2.7 cents. At the same time the cost of shipping a pound of tobacco to St. Louis was 2 cents!

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[3] J. B. Killibrew, "Report on the Culture and Curing of Tobacco in the United States, "*Tenth Census,* 1880, Vol. III.

So northwestern Arkansas of the post-bellum years was ready and willing for tobacco manufacture. This must have been appreciated by Cherokees on both sides of the line, who did much of their trading in Siloam Springs and in Cincinnati, Arkansas, just south of Benton County.

THE FEDERAL EXCISE TAX

Enactment of Federal tobacco taxes on July 1, 1862 marked the transition from home-raised, home-consumed leaf or "hillside navy" to the manufactured article. Widespread use of manufactured tobacco was presupposed by such a tax, whose original object was to raise money for the government's military operations. The machinery of tax collection had particular relevance to the Cherokee Case, for it was levied specifically on the manufacturer. A tax on leaf had been first proposed, but collection difficulties would have made this inpracticable. Factories were relatively few in number and their output could be more easily policed.

The 1862 excise on plug tobacco was 5 cents per pound. This was raised to 35 cents in 1864 and 40 cents in 1865.[4] In 1868 the tax was reduced to 32 cents per pound, still a very substantial portion of the selling price, then 75 cents and upward.[5] Manufactured tobacco, mostly chew, accounted for the major part of U.S. tobacco tax receipts—in the year ended June 30, 1868, $14.9 million out of $18.7 million. Since tobacco taxes represented a considerable portion of Federal revenue, any threat to their uniform collection had serious financial implications. Thus, Boudinot's factory operated only a few months after its opening in November, 1868 before Washington authorities instructed the Arkansas Marshal to seize it.

THE AFTERMATH OF APPOMATTOX

In most respects, the defeated Southern Cherokee were not greatly penalized as allies of the Confederacy. Slavery within the Cherokee Nation was abolished; the "Neutral Lands" in Kansas and the "Cherokee Outlet" in Indian Territory were opened to Indians of other tribes by the Treaty of 1866. But the Cherokee Nation was to remain autonomous, and this feature offered Boudinot an advantage in the form of a tax-free tobacco business.

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[4] J. R. Dodge, "Statistics of Manufactures of Tobacco and of its Commercial Distribution, Exportation and Prices," *ibid.*

[5] That this was indeed a heavy tax was suggested by later reductions, to 20 cents per pound in 1872 and 16 cents in 1879.

Terms of the 1866 treaty were importantly influenced by the war record of the so-called "Northern Cherokees," the John Ross faction of the tribe. These had never accepted the 1861 alliance with the Confederate States and eventually were organized within the Federal lines in Kansas, and on the side of the Union. It was the Ross faction which dominated post-bellum treaty negotiations.

Although it is not a matter of "official" record, one cannot ignore the probable attitude of United States government personnel toward non-payment of Federal taxes by recently-surrendered enemies—particularly taxes levied to support war operations, taxes which weighed heavily on Union manufacturers in New York, Louisville and St. Louis. It is difficult to imagine political instinct, let alone human nature, being stretched so far as to forgive payment of such a tax by defeated Southern Cherokees on the ground that they were also Indians. And it is equally difficult to suppose that the hostility born of war was not a factor in the seizure of Boudinot's plant and in the court decisions confirming it.

E. C. BOUDINOT

Principal figure in the Tobacco Case was Elias Cornelius Boudinot. In the perspective of one hundred years, his appears as a brilliant, unloved personality. Son of the famous Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, Elias Cornelius studied civil engineering in Manchester, Vermont and law in Arkansas, being admitted to the bar in 1856 at the age of twenty-one. In many ways Boudinot, fourth Cherokee by blood, might today be classed as a "professional Cherokee Indian." Well-educated and for the most part well-fixed in a middle class way, he spent the War Between the States in Richmond as delegate from the Cherokee Nation to the Confederate Congress. His repeated complaints by letter to General Stand Watie that he drew $230 a month and paid more than that for board read like oblique apologies for his non-belligerent status. Boudinot was acutely aware that his fellow tribesmen, displaced southward from the Tahlequah region to the Choctaw country on Red River, drew nothing a month and got whatever board they could scratch.

Some insight into Boudinot's personality is furnished by his letters to his uncle Stand Watie, military leader of the

Southern Cherokees and their principal chief during the war. Early in the war (October 1861) Cornelius wrote his uncle:[6]

> Tom Taylor . . . told me that you had promised to have him appointed Lt. Col. I hope there is some mistake about this for of all men I think him least deserving . . . . You told me in Tahlequah if I would go with you you would do a good part by me . . . . I venture to ask from you either the Lt. Col. or Major's place. I do not wish the post of Adjutant or any other than one of the two I have named . . . .
>
> John Ross and you are rivals, he has appointed his nephew Lt. Col. . . . perhaps my appointment would give dissatisfaction to some . . . but you can't please all . . . . You have it in your power now to put me in a position where I can do honor to myself and to you. Will you not give it to me? Send your answer . . . .

To this letter Cornelius added a postscript, "Destroy this as soon as you have read it" which his uncle omitted to do.

Boudinot did get a major's commission but soon left military service for the post of delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond. His letters to Watie mention repeated attempts to secure a loan of $100,000 to provide for Cherokee refugees forced to evacuate northeastern Oklahoma. By the time this was done, however, Confederate money was worth little.

In a letter from Richmond in January, 1864, Boudinot mentioned to Watie a plot to replace him as delegate for the Cherokees, adding that "Everything is extravagently high here. My board costs me $300 per month, while I get $230 pay, so you see I am not making a pile being congressman, board at the principal hotels $20 per day . . . . "

The following April Cornelius wrote his uncle that the $100,000 had started for the Nation in February on the person of Commander Scott, and postscripted his letter: "I pay $350 per month for board and received $230 per month salary—So see I am making money."

On May 7, 1864 Boudinot wrote:

> I have the pleasure at last to announce definitely your promotion to the rank of Brig. Genl. Your appt. was made yesterday . . . . there is no mistake about it this time . . . . It will now be necessary to choose a staff for your brigade . . . . You should be particularly careful in the selection of an adjutant . . . . You should in my opinion select some young man who has served as a Lt. or Capt. of infantry . . . . Mr. Scott will soon be in the Indian Country with money for you. . . .

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[6] The Watie and Boudinot letters quoted in this article are from Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers,* through the courtesy of the University of Oklahoma Press, Dr. Savoie Lottinville, Director, Norman; and from manuscripts in the Division of Manuscripts, The University of Oklahoma, the Head of the Division, Dr. A. M. Gibson.

A few weeks later Cornelius wrote to his brother, W. P. Boudinot: "I was glad to get your letter, but think it hardly becomes you to chide me for not writing when you have been so negligent yourself . . . I procured the appt. of Uncle Stand as Brig. Genl.; but could have got his promotion two months earlier if you had kept me posted."

Cornelius ended the letter by reminding Walter that "I pay $450 for board per month—my washing and contingencies run the figure over 500 a month without indulgence in whiskey. Board at hotel 30 dollars per day for regular boarders."

Writing from Bonham, Texas in October, 1864, Cornelius told his uncle (referring to the recent Confederate victory at Cabin Creek:

> The whole country is alive with the glorious news of your success. I shall take care that due credit is given you across the big river. I send you a hastily written address to the Cherokees . . . . Please have my address read to the Cherokees, on dress parade or at some time when they can be got together.

Boudinot retreated from Richmond on March 18, 1865. From Shreveport in May he advised his uncle:[7]

> I got a bill through Congress requiring Genl Smith to turn over to the Cherokee . . . . cotton . . . . I suggested to Genl Smith an arrangement by which the cotton could be taken out of Red River and thus save time and expense, but he anticipates a movement of the enemy up the river soon, which would render such a scheme impracticable. If you see fit to intrust the matter with me I must not be trammeled by any superior authority, but must be allowed to carry out my own plans without dictation . . . .

The war over, Boudinot continued writing his uncle: "I have been doing all that I could and am still working for what I believe to be the best interest of the Southern Cherokees and all other Southern Indians. I have already expended $600 on my own account for which I ask and expect no return."

Boudinot's keen eye saw a good chance to make some money in a tobacco factory as the war closed and the 1866 Cherokee Treaty was concluded. His Richmond sojourn had revealed to his active perception the profit potentialities in tobacco-making (then almost synonymous with plug manufacture). It was a fact of war-time Richmond that no man of commerce did so well as the owner of a supply of leaf tobacco. One of the Confederacy's financial pillars was James Thomas, Jr., a prominent and prudent plug man who had laid in a large store of leaf just before Sumter. Thomas did so well that he equipped a full battery of artillery at his own expense. Richmond at that time was the proud capital of the tobacco world as well as the Confederacy; with Danville, Petersburg and Lynchburg, it had refined the hand-arts of the early country plug factories or "stemmeries" to something approaching mass production.

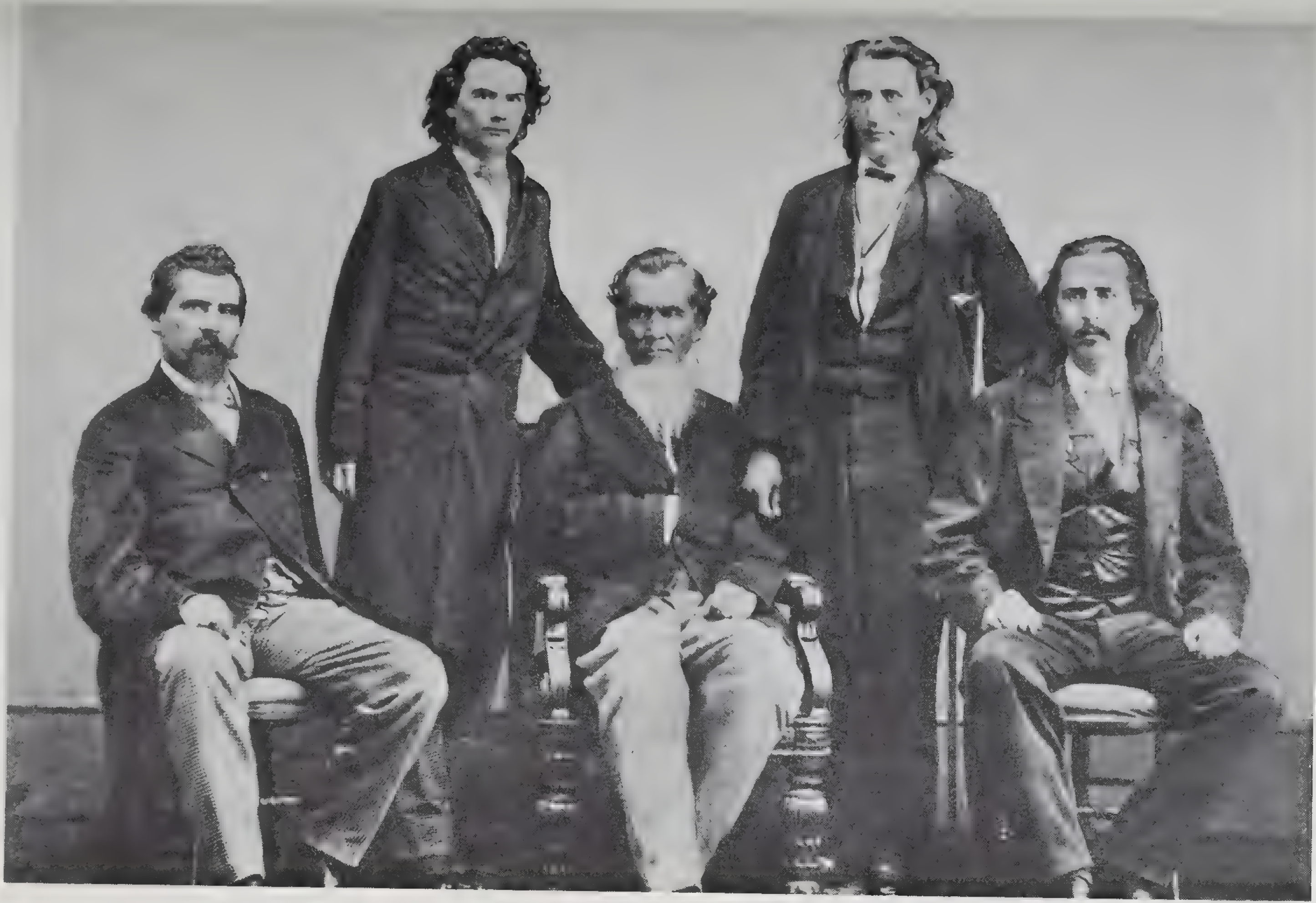
A second aspect of the developing plug industry which doubtless caught Boudinot's attention was the rise of western Burley tobacco as the basis of saleable quid. Even before the War Between the States "Missouri manufactured" in one-pound slabs was a standard form of currency west of the Mississippi River. Accounts of fur trading in the 1830's frequently mention exchanges of "a plug for a plew," the latter being the term for a beaver pelt.

Tobacco manufacture as it evolved in the four Virginia cities during the thirty years before the firing on Fort Sumter was based on the naturally sweet tobacco grown in that state. Their product was called "flat goods" to distinguish it from the Burley plug; the latter was called "navy goods" to connote inferiority. But the sales gains achieved by the Burley product caused more than one Richmond tobaccoman to swallow his pride in pure Virginia leaf in the interest of increased business. Thomas' own nephew, R. A. Patterson, "imported" Burley from the West and used it openly in his principal product, the Richmond-made Lucky Strike chewing tobacco. Others were less frank, receiving their brown Burley leaf in unmarked boxes and covering it in the finished product with a wrapper of bright yellow Virginia.

Other aspects of the tobacco business must have made their impression on Boudinot's mind during his years in Richmond as Cherokee delegate. While Confederate currency was being debased in value, tobacco assumed its customary wartime status as a medium of exchange; Southern soldiers, for example, used flat goods to barter for coffee. As the battle for Richmond neared its climax, plans were formulated to burn the city's stocks of leaf tobacco to deny them to the Union forces. (It was the execution of these plans which led to the burning of Richmond, April 3, 1865.) As an official delegate to the Confederate government, Boudinot must have been aware of these plans and of the strategic value of the tobacco itself.

Boudinot returned east late in 1865, this time to Washington for treaty negotiations. Later he claimed to have been responsible for the provision in the Cherokee Treaty of 1866 exempting tobacco making in the Cherokee Nation from internal revenue taxes. This is doubtful, since the Southern Cherokees had little to say about the treaty provisions, tried to get a separate treaty distinguishing them from the Northern Cherokees and finally had to accept the terms agreed to by the Ross faction.

Boudinot may have consulted with Treasury Department officials to get an opinion on tax-free manufacture in the Chero-



(Smithsonian Institution, Bur. Amer. Ethnol.)

Delegation of the Southern Cherokees during the negotiations at Washington, D.C., of the Cherokee Treaty in 1866. Standing (left to right): Saladin Watie (son of Stand Watie) and Elias C. Boudinot; seated (left to right) John Rollin Ridge, Richard Fields and William Penn Adair.

kee Nation, which was not geographically within any revenue collection district.

An early hint of Boudinot's inspiration is suggested by a letter from Maysville to his uncle Stand Watie, dated June, 1867:

> Dear Uncle,
>
> I wish to purchase what remains of your old mill. Polson wants to get at something and thinks he can do something with the mill.
>
> Neither he nor I have any money. Have a few hundred. I have, and which will be needed in repairs; if you can part with it, make any arrangements with Polson you like. He can tell you the condition of the machinery, etc. . . . .

A year later, the sawmill furnished lumber to build the tobacco factory. Shortly after this, Boudinot discussed his tobacco project with Stand Watie, who furnished part of the capital and also lent his name. In January, 1868, the younger man wrote:

> My Dear Uncle,
>
> I was so glad to hear from you and know that the arrangements concerning my tobacco business were satisfactory to you. I believe we will be able to make a handsome thing of it this year, and so better and better every year. I calculate all expenses will be paid up in the spring and then we will have clear sailing. . . .
>
> I am hard pushed for means for the delegation has not provided for me. Sometimes I get in excessive bad humor, when I think that notwithstanding all the hard work I have done, and am doing, for the Cherokees, they wish to throw me overboard. . . .
>
> But dear Uncle, keep my affairs straight at home and we will make money. . . .
>
> Affly,
> Cornelius

GENERAL STAND WATIE

One of a race which produced many memorable leaders, and especially warrior leaders, Stand Watie left to history an image of strength and integrity. Though his romantic wartime cavalary raids in defense of Indian Territory have attracted most attention, he was a respected leader of his people while still in his twenties. With Elias Boudinot, father of Elias Cornelius Boudinot, and Major Ridge, Watie led the group of Eastern Cherokees who negotiated with the U. S. for the removal of their people to Indian Territory from the Georgia-Tennessee homeland. The Treaty of New Echota (1835) was followed in 1838 by the noted "Trail of Tears" journey to Indian Territory. A year later Major Ridge (Watie's uncle), John Ridge (Watie's cousin) and Elias Boudinot (Watie's brother) were murdered, presumably by Cherokees who felt removal and the New Echota Treaty betrayed the tribe's best interests.[7] These murders left

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[7] Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians,* Chapter VI, "The Emigration from Georgia. Cost Detachment. Resolutions of Protest.

Stand Watie at thirty-three the leader of his faction, called the Treaty Party as distinct from the Anti-treaty group led by John Ross. For seven years Watie himself was a hunted man in and around Fort Gibson, but contributed his part to the rebuilding of the Cherokee Nation in the West. Although the factional hatred generated by removal never entirely abated, the Cherokees made progress in re-establishing their farms, mills, newspapers and government in northeastern Indian Territory to replace what they had abandoned in Georgia. When war began in 1861, Principal Chief John Ross remained neutral in the great conflict between the North and the South. With the Confederate victories over the Federal forces near the borders of the Indian Territory, Ross finally abandoned his neutral stand, and like the other Indian nations signed a Cherokee Treaty with the Confederate States government in October, 1861. Pro-southern in his leanings long before the outbreak of the War, Stand Watie was elected Colonel of the Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment organized in the preceding July. When the Federal forces returned and invaded the Indian Territory in the winter of 1862-63, Chief Ross was arrested at Tahlequah by Federal Army officers and taken north where he was placed on parole, making his home and headquarters in Philadelphia until the end of the War. Thus Chief Ross repudiated his alliance with the Confederate States. Many of his party in the Nation also went over to the Union side, and were enlisted in the Indian Home Guard Regiment in the Federal Army.

Watie remained the commander of the Cherokee Confederate armed forces in the field, and was elected chief of the Southern Cherokees, most of whom were soon routed from their homes in their country by the invading Federal Army to live out the War as best they could in the Choctaw Nation along Red River and in Texas. During his military campaigns Watie was not only concerned with his command but with his people as refugees to the south existing away from their homes in poverty. They looked to him for relief of every kind—for food, for clothing, for farm animals, even for help in finding slaves for breaking out new land and operating farms. Watie and his Cherokee forces fought well in a losing cause. Their notable success came at the Battle of Cabin Creek in September, 1864, under the command of General Watie when they with General Gano's Texas

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Political Differences. Civil War Averted." (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 103-119. (Starr here reviews the differences that arose between the Western Cherokees and Eastern Cherokees [newly arrived immigrants under Chief Ross] meeting at Takattoka Council Ground near the Illinois River in June, 1839, and the subsequent assassination of Major Ridge, his son John Ridge and his nephew Elias Boudinot, each in a different part of the Nation, on the morning of June 22, 1839.)—Ed.

Cavalry penetrated the Union-held part of the Indian Territory to capture a Federal commissary train of 500 wagons with 1800 horses and mules. Watie used the supplies to refit his ragged troops but would not take anything for himself nor his own family. Knowing Mrs. Watie and their children in Texas were desperate for subsistence, Watie's soldiers sent a wagonload of food and clothes to her. General Watie's integrity shines from his letters [8] and from his record.

A businessman, William Levy, wrote him for a permit to sell cotton in Mexico for specie, "the surplus of which, after the deduction of the Capital invested, to be invested in articles needed by the Indians and delivered to them . . . . Let me hear from you soon, and whatever it may be, is a business matter between us alone . . . . " Watie steadfastly refused to countenance profiteering of this kind.

Published correspondence shows that the General was interested in tobacco even during the war. In June, 1864, Sarah Watie wrote to her campaigning husband from Rusk County, Texas ". . . there is tobacco here at 30 dollars a pound." Again in October: ". . . I am so tired of this world I can't write . . . . I have not a dime of money . . . . I thought I would sow wheat first. If I can make any rise of tobacco I will send them but I can't do any thing for the want of money . . . ." Perhaps he had suggested a crop as a means to subsistence.

The end of the war brought Watie his greatest distinction as a soldier. Lee surrendered in Virginia April 12, 1865; Johnston in North Carolina April 26; Kirby Smith in the Trans-Mississippi Department May 26. Watie did not give up until June 23, and was the last Confederate general officer—possibly the last officer—to lay down his arms. He made the long journey to Washington for new treaty talks. Among the delegation were his son Saladin and his nephew, Elias Cornelius Boudinot. The treaty, which covered both Northern and Southern Cherokees, was signed in July 1866.

Watie did not remain through the entire negotiation, returning in May of 1866. He was a poor man, his home and farm destroyed, his slaves gone. Three weeks after the final surrender a member of his command had written.

> I have the honor to inform you, that I am still in the land of the living . . . . I do hope you will succeed in doing something for the Southern Cherokees for some of them are in great need . . . . I see several fellows of your command with more mules than the Law allows them . . . . I would like to call on them for about two mules with your permission. . . .

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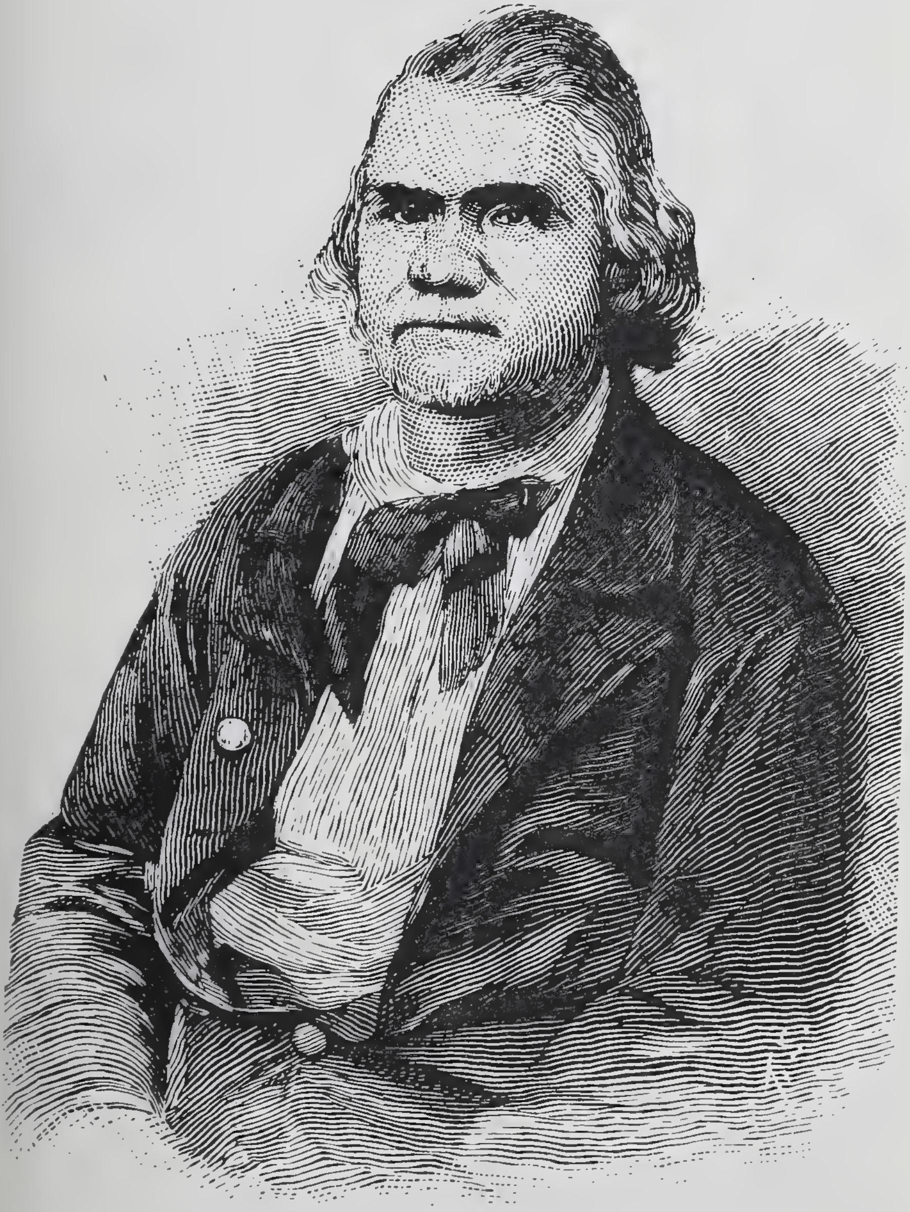
[8] Dale and Litton, *op. cit.*



(Print from Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 1887)

BRIGADIER-GENERAL STAND WATIE, INDIAN BRIGADE, C.S.A.

This plea was one of many. W. P. Boudinot (brother of Elias C.) wrote from Webbers Falls asking the General's help in securing the return of a borrowed horse: "No law business yet." Restoration of farms was the order of the day for the entire Nation, including Watie himself.

For Stand Watie the tobacco venture was something of a last, almost a desperate, fling. Four years of wartime raids—"scouts" as he called them—left him campaign-weary and older than his sixty years, with a family to be resettled after the refugee years in Texas and three teenage children to be educated. His only grown son, Saladin, captain in the First Cherokee Mounted Rifles and a member of the 1866 treaty delegation, had barely established a new home and farm when he died in 1868.

In September of that year J. W. Washbourne wrote to the General: ". . . Polson says you want some tobacco. There is none now at the Factory, being (all) sold or sent off. But in a few days there will be plenty and I will try and have some for you."

At about the same time the old General reminded Washbourne that: ". . . You promised to have some tobacco for me in a few days send word when I can get it if I had it I could hire work for it."

Tobacco for Watie was needed not for personal comfort but as currency.

In November 1868 Cornelius wrote from the new factory at "Boudiville, Cherokee Nation":

> . . . As soon as the expenses of removing the new machinery to this point and putting it up are paid under the present arrangement, and the expenses of constructing the buildings and arrears I have yet to pay, you will receive an equal share of the profits with myself. A part of the machinery, 4 loads, arrived yesterday and is now unloading; the balance, some 10 loads, will be here early next month and be up for business; the cost of transportation will be something like $1,500. The cost of the new buildings with the arrears yet to be paid by me will amount to about 3,500. By the time you make your arrangements to come to your old place or at least by the middle of February these expenses will be paid, in other words your profits in the concern will commence the very day mine does. In the mean time if any delay should occur, you can draw for as much tobacco as you need, for you are a partner of mine, and the firm is known as and all manufactured tobacco, bills, etc. etc. will be marked and branded etc. etc.—*"Boudinot & Watie."* We shall need a great many hands and must not be embarrassed by any change in the permit system or law which will embarass us.
>
> . . . tell me . . . whether you are perfectly satisfied with our arrangement. . . .
>
> Your aff. nephew
> E. C. Boudinot

Watie apparently had great hopes for the tobacco venture. In January 1869, his wife Sarah wrote to their son Watica, then at Cane Hill College, Arkansas: "I hope after this that it will not be such a trouble to get money. Your father has a good business now his income will be sufficient to support his family in good style and send his children to school too . . . ."

THE BUSINESS AT BOUDIVILLE

Boudinot's enterprise (Watie was a more or less silent partner) began in earnest early in 1868 with a deal with Hannibal manufacturers to remove to Indian Territory west of Maysville, and west of the Cherokee boundary line. By November, the tobacco works consisted of several buildings with a Post Office address of Boudiville.

It is interesting that Boudinot was alert not only to the growth item of the day, Burley plug, but to the emerging importance of brand names. His product bore the name of *Boudinot & Watie* plug, recognizing the potential commercial value of the Boudinot name (made famous by his father's career as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, and his much-discussed assassination in 1839). Equally if not more renowned was the name of Watie, heroic leader of the Confederate Cherokee brigade.

There were at least three other factories along the line. One factory south of the Arkansas River in the Choctaw Nation bore the name of Tandy Walker, former Governor of the Choctaws (1857-59) and Colonel of the Second Indian Brigade (1864), C.S.A., although this business was operated by a Fort Smith firm, Bostic & Ryan. A second was the William A. Musgrove plant near present Stilwell, and a third the J. R. Simmons factory near Maysville, Arkansas, both the latter factory sites west of the state line in the Cherokee Nation. Tobacco products were carried across the line into Arkansas, Western Missouri and North Texas, and with these the manufacturers of New York, Louisville and St. Louis could not compete.[9] The economics were simple.[10] At the time, the average cost of making a pound of plug was 43 cents (of which 12.8 cents was cost of leaf). With a 32-cent tax, this meant that plug sold for a minimum of about 75 cents per pound and above that figure as an average. Omission of the 32-cent tax permitted Boudinot to sell at 50 or 60 cents per pound and still turn a good profit, even if his manufacturing costs had been above average. (It is doubtful if they were, since leaf was certainly cheaper in Benton County, Arkansas than in more populous areas, and the same was probably true of factory labor.)

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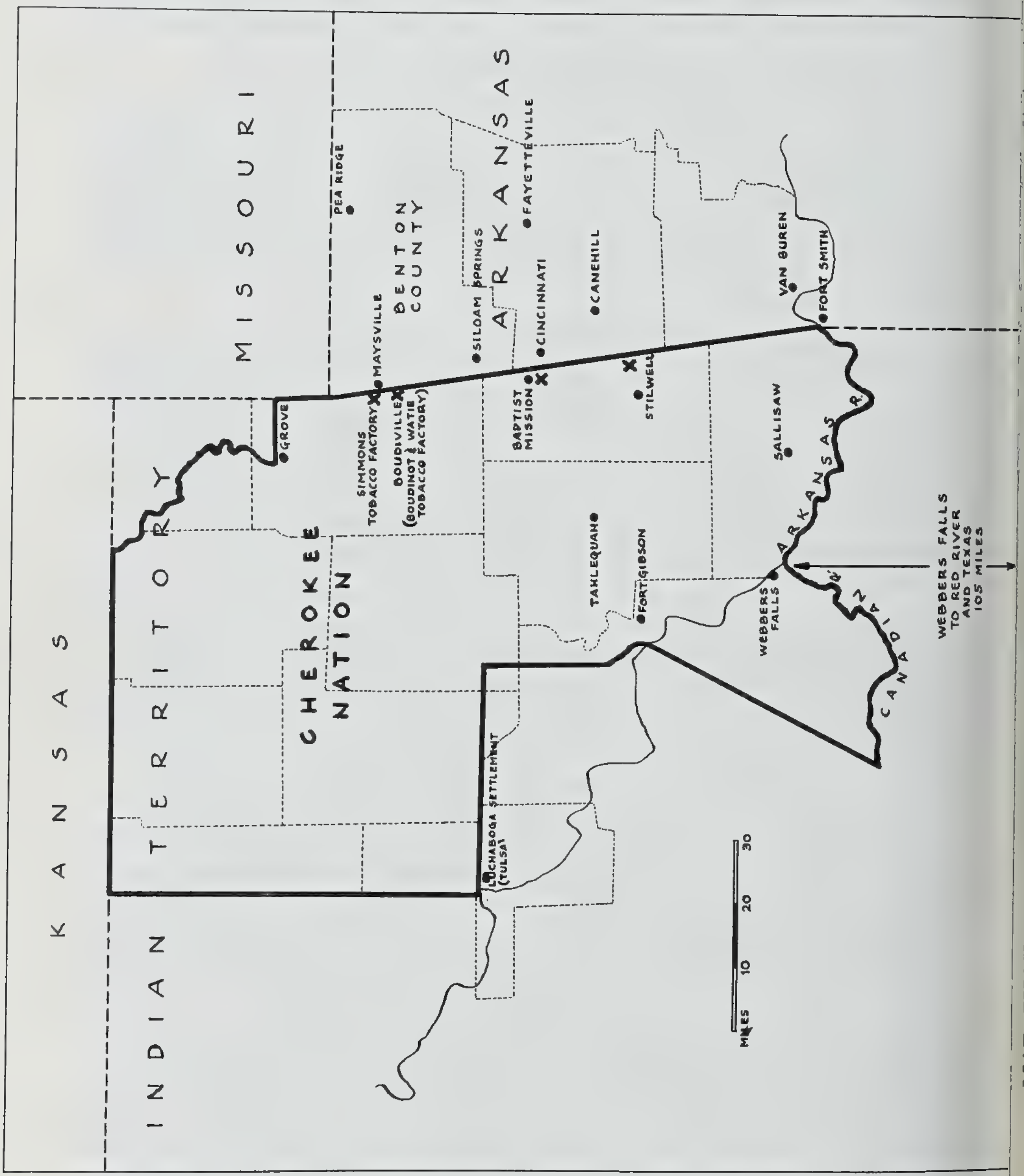
[9] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1942).

[10] J. R. Dodge, *op. cit.*


KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
INDIAN TERRITORY
CHEROKEE NATION
BENTON COUNTY
PEA RIDGE
MAYSVILLE
SILOAM SPRINGS
FAYETTEVILLE
CINCINNATI
CANEHILL
VAN BUREN
FORT SMITH
GROVE
SIMMONS TOBACCO FACTORY
BOUDIVILLE (BOUDINOT & WATIE TOBACCO FACTORY)
BAPTIST MISSION
STILWELL
SALLISAW
TAHLEQUAH
FORT GIBSON
WEBBERS FALLS
WEBBERS FALLS TO RED RIVER AND TEXAS 105 MILES
ARKANSAS R.
CANADIAN R.
LOCHABOGA SETTLEMENT (TULSA)
MILES 10 20 30

MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF FOUR TOBACCO FACTORIES WEST OF THE

Though unremembered by the nation at large, the Cherokee tobacco enterprises were still recalled in the northeastern corner of Oklahoma as recently as the 1930's. Oscar Cannon, a Georgia-born Cherokee who moved to Oklahoma at the age of three, said in 1937:[11]

> When the Cannon family first came to Cherokee Nation there were a printing press, a wagon factory and a tobacco factory at the Baptist mission operated by a man named William Musgrove. I think the printing press was operated by a man named John Jones, a preacher, but the wagon and tobacco factories were operated by said Musgrove. . . Siloam Springs was the largest town in this part of the country but most of the trading was done at Cincinnati [Arkansas].

Musgrove's was one of the four tobacco plants just inside the Cherokee line seized by the U.S. for non-payment of Federal excise taxes. Business enterprises of any kind west of the line were virtually non-existent at the time, adding vividness to the memory of Boudinot's plug plant.

Colonel B. Lynch of Tulsa recalled that merchandise for the Lynch store in Maysville, Arkansas was hauled in wagons from Sedalia, Mo., a distance of 225 miles. These goods were sold to Indians and settlers as far west as Locha-poka settlement, now Tulsa: "Just west of Maysville and across the state line was a tobacco factory and since it was in Indian Territory it was not compelled to pay revenue to the government."[12]

In his "Life and Times of Jeff Thompson Parks . . . " Dr. T. L. Ballenger recorded this recollection by the prominent Cherokee judge (1862-1951):[13]

> In his boyhood days J. T. visited the tobacco factory built on Wet Prairie in the Indian Territory about four miles south of Maysville by Stand Watie and Colonel Elias Cornelius Boudinot. He saw them making plugs of tobacco here. They also had a deer park. Boudinot and Watie put up this factory with the intention of selling their product without having to pay the regular United States revenue but the Federal courts construed the law otherwise and they found it a losing proposition and were soon forced to close the factory. However, the old building remained there for a number of years.

Additional light on the importance of the business is shed by Shorey Ross, a descendant of the noted Ross family, an early-day Cherokee school teacher and writer in his late years of many interesting sketches on the history of the Cherokees, in one of his recollections:[14]

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[11] Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, "Indian and Pioneer History," Vol. LXV, p. 13.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 335, 336, 337.

[13] T. L. Ballenger, "Life and Times of Jeff Thompson Parks. . . ," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX (Ref., O.H.S., *Cumulative Index*, 1961).

[14] Shorey Ross, "Tobacco Factory," in "Indian and Pioneer History, "*loc. cit.*, Vol. XCVIII, pp. 351-54.—Ed.

> Merchants in Indian Territory and elsewhere engaged in selling the tobacco produced at this factory and a satisfactory business was being realized by the proprietor, when U.S. officers visited and confiscated the plant, because of non-compliance with internal revenue laws of the government . . . . excellent grades of tobacco had been produced at the Boudinot factory and the various merchants who had engaged in selling the product were greatly disappointed because of the confiscation and closing. . . . . Upon confiscation . . . . those who had considered extensive growing of the tobacco plant, so that the factory might be supplied, turned their attention to other products.

Prospects seemed good to Boudinot. Writing from Fayetteville on August 15, 1869, when he made the first move toward buying out his uncle's share in the business:

> I visited my tobacco establishment the other day and found things in a prosperous condition. Owing however to the unprecedented rains in the Winter and Spring and the amount of my liabilities, exclusion of the machinery and buildings, I find I shall not get out of debt so soon as I expected."
>
> I shall go to Ft. Smith this week and return next. After I get back I shall give my personal supervision to my affairs at the factory, in the meantime I think we can agree upon some combination to make money which will suit you better than an interest in the factory in the future. I think we should lose no time after the hot season in securing claims in the nation along the line of the R. R. which *will* be built.
>
> I am glad to hear from Peny that you have a prospect of a good cotton crop. I hope your profits will relieve you of all your embarrassments.
>
> The delegation treated me very badly, as you may have heard. Love to Aunt Sarah and all the family.
>
> *Always,*
>
> Your aff. nephew
> E. C. Boudinot

Seizure of all four factories was effected in 1869 by the U.S. Marshal for the Western District of Arkansas, on orders from Washington. Capacity of the plants was said to be 5,000-10,000 pounds of manufactured product daily. This is either greatly exaggerated or reflects great expectations from the omission of taxpayments: Missouri, with a leaf crop ten times larger, had an estimated output of about 20,000 pounds a day at that time. From Boudinot, the Marshal seized a hydraulic press, pumps, scales, molds, 4,500 pounds of leaf tobacco, sugar, licorice and grape juice. The nature of this inventory makes it clear that the principal product was "navy goods"—sweetened Burley plug tobacco similar to the famous "Missouri Manufactured."

Confiscation of Boudinot's assets was followed by criminal charges against him.[15] A revealing sidelight on this was supplied later by Judge J. H. Huckleberry, U. S. Commissioner in Probate for the Northern District, Indian Territory. He recalled as one source of litigation,

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[15] After these charges were dropped in 1872, Boudinot filed for damages of $98,050 covering his lost assets, including an alleged 40,000

> . . . the manufacture of tobacco, especially in Indian Territory People claimed they had a right to manufacture tobacco without paying revenue on it. Half a dozen or more tobacco factories started up. When they refused to pay the revenue, the tobacco and factory were seized and condemned to be sold.
>
> The case went to the Supreme Court and was sustained on a divided opinion, and the owners of the factory were indicted under the Revenue Law and after the civil cases were decided against them and on instruction of Inspector MacDonald, a nolle-prosequi was entered in all cases except one, that of Elias Boudinot.
>
> I wrote to the attorney general for authority to dismiss that case, but he declined to authorize me to do so. There had been a personal difference between Inspector MacDonald and Boudinot and the former used his influence to have the latter prosecuted.

In a frantic letter E. C. Boudinot wrote to his uncle from Washington in March, 1870:

> Dear uncle—
>
> Henderson writes me that you have drawn on me in his name for $250. I am surprised at this.
>
> I am in a death struggle; have pawned my watch & rings and now want you to send me the $30 I let you have at Tahlequah if you have not already disposed of it. I am in a terrible strait; all my business affairs are broken up of course; when I get over this trouble, we can make a combination which will be mutually advantageous. I have written Nathan to send me $25 I let him have at Tahlequah. I have just $10 left; have borrowed $200 and my watch is to redeem: for God's sake help me out! If you can spare the money send it to me; I can't honor any drafts on me.
>
> I am crushed to the Earth. The delegation looks on with delight. By God I will be avenged!
>
> Yours,
> E. C. Boudinot

Boudinot lost little time in making a federal case out of his lost venture. On October 3, 1870 he wrote his uncle:

> I hurried down to see you, had you come on to Creek agency could have met you yesterday.
>
> I shall be at the factory this week for a few days, shall go from there to Van Buren to get something ready for my trial in Nov. unless I can get a continuance of my case until the Supreme court decides the law. I shall be convicted I fear. Clem Vann now is willing to help. The council should pass a resolution setting out its information to the nation of the case and close with a request to the N. L. courts that

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pounds of manufactured plug. Factory and machinery valued at $16,700 had been returned to him. In 1883 the Court of Claims finally awarded him $3,000—a sum which, according to Foreman, was considered a defeat for the plaintiff.

the criminal side of its case be not tried until the law is decided by Supreme Court. That with what I can do will force a continuation.

Don't fail to meet me at factory.

Yours
E. C. Boudinot

The Cherokee National Council was persuaded in December, 1870 to authorize counsel to represent the Boudinot & Watie firm, Albert Pike [16] and Senator Robert W. Johnson being engaged at a cost of $1,500.

THE 1871 DECISION

The Supreme Court issued its decision against the Cherokee on May 1, 1871.[17] On March 25, before the high court heard final arguments in the case, the *Cherokee Advocate* of Tahlequah carried this intimation of doom:

> Col. Adair, of our delegation, writes on the 23rd of March, that on the 21st inst. the Boudinot tobacco case, one of the first importance to our whole people, was heard by the Supreme Court of the United States, and ably argued by attorneys on both sides. The case was postponed two weeks to give Senator Carpenter, one of the attorneys for the Nation, who was sick at the time, an opportunity to do his part in the contest.
>
> In this case the main question is the validity and worth of the Cherokee Treaty of '66. If the 10th Article, which allows Cherokees to manufacture within our national bounds under certain conditions, is not valid to prevent intrusion and interference when those conditions are complied with, the whole treaty is a cypher—the Cherokee Nation ditto. If the appeal be decided, and decided in our favor, two very important points will be settled to our advantage. First, that our Treaties with the United States are living instruments and not mere paper.
>
> Second, that in all parallel cases of a violation of rights derived from these treaties, citizens will know how and where to go for a remedy.

As the writer of this editorial implied, there was more to the Case than the right to *manufacture* tobacco taxfree.[18] It is possible this right might never have been challenged if tobacco made by Boudinot-Watie and their counterparts had not found its way across the line in competition with manufacturers obliged to include federal tax in their prices to the trade. (Federal excises were not then and are not now levied on tobacco manufactured in U.S. for sale abroad.) But this distinction between manufacture and sale was not made in the pages of the *Advocate.*[19]

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[16] Pike, as Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Confederacy, had persuaded John Ross nine years before to ally the Cherokees with the South. Later as General Pike he was Watie's commander.

[17] U.S. Su. Crt. Repts., 11 Wall, 616, "The Cherokee Tobacco."

[18] Probably Walter P. Boudinot, brother of Elias C.

The underlying issue, as in most Indian-white disputes, was land use. During the post-bellum years the *Advocate's* pages expressed much alarm about the problem of white squatters in Oklahoma, the "home for the Indians." This problem turned into a controversy over territorializing the region. On March 18, 1871, the *Advocate* noted on page 1 that "Every attempt to territorialize us is an attempt to break down the treaty barriers which keep the speculators and railroad land-grabbers off of our possessions." The editor went on to quote Thomas H. Benton, the famous Missouri Senator:

> With the Indians, it was a question of extermination, the time only the debatable point. They were daily wasting under contact with the whites, and had before their eyes, the eventual but certain fate of the hundreds of tribes found by the early colonists on the Roanoke, the James River, the Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, the Connecticut, the Merrimac, the Kennebec and the Penobscott. The removal saved the Southern tribes from that fate; and in giving them new and unmolested homes beyond the verge of the white man's settlement, in a country temperate in climate, fertile in soil, adapted to agriculture and to pasturage, with an outlet for hunting, abounding with salt water and salt springs, it left them to work out in peace, the problem of Indian civilization.

As a statement of the Cherokee position, the Senator's rhetoric was something of an over-simplification. While westering whites were invading Indian preserves in defiance of treaty provisions, the Cherokee tobacco factories were invading adjacent commercial markets to the east under conditions which probably would be characterized today as "unfair trade practice." Had this continued, the laws of supply and demand could, in time, have forced a concentration of the nation's tobacco manufacturing industry within the borders of Indian Territory as a means of escaping Federal excises.

The practical impossibility of a "double standard" as to Federal taxes was not lost on the high court:

> . . . Revenue is indispensable to meet the public necessities. Is it unreasonable that this small portion of it shall rest upon these Indians? The frauds that might otherwise be perpetrated there by others, under the guise of Indian names and simulated Indian ownership, is also a consideration not to be overlocked . . . Crowds, it is believed, would be lured thither by the prospect of illicit gain . . . .

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[19] Boudinot himself made the distinction, alleging in court that the revenue laws were complied with as to all tobacco sold or offered for sale outside of said Indian country, "if any such there were." However, nothing appears on the record about the resale of such tobacco by wholesalers or retailers outside Indian Territory. Furthermore, it is doubtful if an operation as ambitious as Boudinot's could hope to make money on the sale of plug only to the then-indigent residents of Indian Territory.

It is interesting that E. C. Boudinot himself, spearhead of the commercial "eastering," did not favor a rigorous segregation of his Nation's lands from westering white civilization. He declared, for example, for the granting of railroad rights of way through Oklahoma. And during the "Boomer" agitation of 1875, he made a speech inviting outsiders to settle in the Indian Territory.[20] His position in this was consistent with the hope that economic integration of Indian and white would benefit the former as much as the latter. But it was inconsistent with his position that Cherokee tobacco manufacture should enjoy competitive advantage based on treaty exemption from U. S. tax.

For a time it appeared that this was not merely an inconsistency but a crime.[21] On May 10, 1871 he again appealed to his Uncle Stand for help:

> The Supreme Court has decided the tobacco case against me. It is the death knell of the Nations. I am totally ruined if you do not run for the council; for God's sake do not delay to declare yourself a candidate from Canadian dist, the retaining fee—$1,500 to Pike and Johnson, $2,500 to Key, $500 to James Wilcot, and $500 for printing right to be paid by the Nation.
>
> I must be in Van Buren by next Monday early if they require it, to stand my trial as a criminal.
>
> Write to me a line at Van Buren telling me that you have given notice you are a candidate, I shall then feel easy.
>
> Aff.
> Your nephew
> Cornelius

The broader significance of the high court's language was immediately apparent to the Cherokee Nation. The Grand Council of June, 1871 issued a memorial warning that the decision:

> . . . imperils, we fear, all our rights . . . Our treaties are now dependent wholly upon the forbearance of the government for we are powerless to enforce their fulfillment . . . . We ask that your laws upon the subject of Revenue which gave rise to the case under consideration be made to conform to the rights guaranteed to the Cherokee Nation by the 10th Article of their Treaty, concluded August, 1866 with the U.S.

A month later the *Cherokee Advocate* editorialized: "The Indians regard this decision as a confession by the Government that they have been deceived and mocked . . . ." The Supreme

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[20] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1941).

[21] In February of the following year, proceedings against Boudinot were dismissed in accordance with a resolution passed by the Senate.

Court said "In all our geographical treatises [not treaties], history and laws the Indian Territory is considered a part of the U.S."

SQUATTER'S RIGHTS

The Tobacco Case decision had immediate consequences for the Indian Territory itself. Under the protection of the 1835 treaty, U. S. troops had been called in by the Cherokees in 1857 to rid the 800,000 acres of "Neutral Lands" in Kansas of unauthorized squatters. But events soon indicated the situation had changed.

On October 21, 1871 the *Advocate* inveighed against the "town of intruders" in the northwest Cherokee country. Led by one Ennis, this settlement (Ennisville) was described as "one of a series of fatal proofs we shall have of the weakness of the hold we have as a nation upon our country."

In this connection the *Advocate* commented on a speech made by Mr. Laughlin in Kansas in defense of squatting upon Indian lands. Laughlin noted that it was "decided by the Supreme Court that the Congress . . . has power to abrogate any treaty with the Indians, and that the revenue laws are of higher authority than Indian treaties. The decision also says that the Cherokee Nation is a part of the territory of the U.S. and subject to be dealt with as the Congress may see proper."

To this quotation the *Advocate* replied bitterly:

> Whether [the decision] authorizes squatters to settle on vacant Indian lands or not, there is no question but that *according to it* Congress may legally authorize them to stay after they have squatted.
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> Did Ennis & Co. ask the owner of the Cherokee country if they could settle? No indeed. They snap their sovereign fingers at the owner in this case. Why? Because the decision in the Tobacco Case declares Indian lands held in common to be a part of the U.S. the same as any other territory. They have a right to occupy vacant lands in any other territory uncovered by a private title, and they argue that they have a right to occupy vacant lands in this.

The full sequel to the decision—disappearance of the Indian "nations" as territories and their replacement by the State of Oklahoma—required decades to complete. A piquant footnote to the change was recorded on March 1, 1876 when the "*Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation" changed its masthead to read "*The Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory". The Nation had ceased to exist as an independent land entity and was now part of a territory. Later came the land runs of 1889, 1892, 1893 and 1895, and in 1906 the *Advocate* ceased publication. Oklahoma's admission to the Union as a state came in 1907.

To all intents, however, these events were foreordained on May 1, 1871 when the Supreme Court ruled that "the Act of Congress must prevail as if the Treaty were not an element to be considered." A final echo of the case itself appeared in the Advocate's columns of September 30, 1871, when a new advertiser appeared: "Jacob Yeager, Manufacturer of Tobacco, Maysville, Arkansas, is now ready to accommodate customers with all kinds of best tobacco at the lowest prices for cash."

Yeager's advertisements continued for many months, but neither he nor any other Arkansan was to become a major factor in the tobacco industry.

The same issue of the *Cherokee Advocate* in 1871 carried a brief notice of the death of Stand Watie, "on the 10th inst., at his farm on Honey Creek." It is strange that the General's passing should have been marked in the pages of the *Advocate* itself by no more than a paragraph quoted from the *Fort Smith Herald*. Left in the transplanted paragraph was one short, enigmatic concession to Watie's years of leadership: ". . . . . General Watie was no ordinary man."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ATTENTION!

Membership Dues

After January 1, 1964, Annual dues in the Oklahoma Historical Society will become $5.00 and Life Memberships $100.00. Present dues of $3.00 Annual and $50.00 Life will be accepted until the first day of January, 1964.

The "Kentucky Rifle" of Robert M. Jones, Choctaw Delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia

A fine "Kentucky Rifle" has been presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Harry S. Love, Jr., the great-great-grandson of Robert M. Jones of the Choctaw Nation, best known as "Colonel" Jones, owner of the rifle, in pre-Civil War days. Colonel Jones was the ardent leader of the Choctaws in their alliance with the Confederate States, and signed the Choctaw-Chickasaw Confederate treaty on July 10, 1861 at North Fork Town Creek Nation, negotiated with Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike. One of the first companies of Choctaws for military duty in the Confederate Army of the Indian Territory was outfitted by Colonel Jones who furnished the horses, guns and other equipment, this company later organized as a part of the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mouted Riflemen, under the command of Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A. An accident in early years left Colonel Jones blindness in one eye which disabled him for military service during the War. Instead, he was elected by the Choctaw Council and served as Choctaw delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia where he had a leading part in shaping legislation affecting the Indian Territory included in the Trans-Mississippi Department, Confederate Army. At the end of the War, Robert M. Jones, a man of outstanding ability, experience and presence was one of the older members of the Choctaw delegation to Washington where the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1866 was written, signed and approved by the U.S. Congress and the President, a remarkable document that furthered the development and growth of the Indian Territory that became the State of Oklahoma in 1907.

This "Kentucky Rifle" was a prized possession of Robert M. Jones. A big "boy" among his some 500 Negro slaves walked along carrying this heavy gun for the Colonel on his hunting trips and in tramping over his plantation lands (5 plantations in all) along Red River in the Choctaw Country before the War. This Negro slave "boy" lived to be over 112 years old, and many a time before his death a number of years ago down in the Red River country used to tell the story of how he carried this fine rifle for Colonel Jones.

Robert McDonald Jones born in 1808 was of Choctaw descent, his father a well known citizen of Tuscumbia, Alabama, his mother a McDonald (of Choctaw-Scot descent). Through his Choctaw lineage, he belonged to Chief Mosholatubbee's District (Northeast) in the old Choctaw country in Mississippi. Left an orphan as a lad, his guardian sent Robert M. Jones to the Choctaw Academy at Blue Springs in Scott County, Kentucky, where he graduated in 1830. His certificate of graduation signed by the Reverend Thomas Henderson, Principal of the Academy, and Richard M. Johnson who had promoted the founding of this national Indian school, and was later U.S. Senator from Kentucky and Vice President of the United States under Martin Van Buren, is one of the original documents in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Colonel Jones was the wealthiest planter in the Choctaw Nation, if not the whole Southwest, for in addition to his five plantations along Red River in the Nation, he was owner of a sugar plantation in Louisiana, a trading store at Doaksville and two steamboats on Red River that carried his cotton crops to New Orleans. One of these boats was the "Robert M. Jones," and the other, the "Frances Jones" named for his daughter, the only child (who reached maturity) of Colonel Jones and his second wife, Susan Colbert Jones. Frances was educated in the best schools of her day for young ladies before the War, and married (first) Robert Love of an old Philadelphia, Pennsylvania family. Their grandson, Harry S. Love, Sr., before his death about a year ago made a special request of his son, Harry S. Love, Jr., a teacher living in Wichita, Kansas, to bring the "Kentucky Rifle" that belonged to his great-great-grandfather, Colonel Robert M. Jones, to Miss Wright in the Oklahoma Historical Society that the gun might be presented with its history as a gift to the Society.

The writer here (M.H.W.) recalls the memorable visit with the Love family (descendants of Robert M. Jones) living at Idabel, McCurtain County, Oklahoma, many years ago when she first saw this rare, old rifle. She has the glossy print photos taken soon after this visit, among the many notes in her personal files that have been collected on the life of Colonel Jones, which she has planned to present as a biography of this noted Choctaw. New photographs of the rifle have been made to accompany and illustrate this historical relic in this brief sketch.

This "Kentucky Rifle" is remarkable and handsome, about 56 inches in length, the upper part of the stock of polished hardwood carved on one side in a raised rosette and leaf design surrounded by designs in silver inlay among them Masonic emblems. Robert M. Jones was a member of the Doaksville Lodge in the Choctaw Nation (1854). There are inlaid silver designs of an Indian bow and arrow and a center silver plaque engraved with the U.S. eagle with arrows in his claws, besides three small balls of ivory inlay. The upper part of the stock on the righthand side has several designs of inlaid silver: a harp, a "patch box" with lid at center, a heart and a diamond. Other parts of the wooden stock have silver inlays of fish, and the hammer of the gun is like a dolphin.

A more detailed, technical description of Colonel Robert M. Jones's rifle follows here, kindly contributed in a letter to the writer, by Mr. Jordon Reaves of Oklahoma City, an authority on Ordnance materials and the owner of a very fine gun collection—a museum display of early guns and Civil War relics:

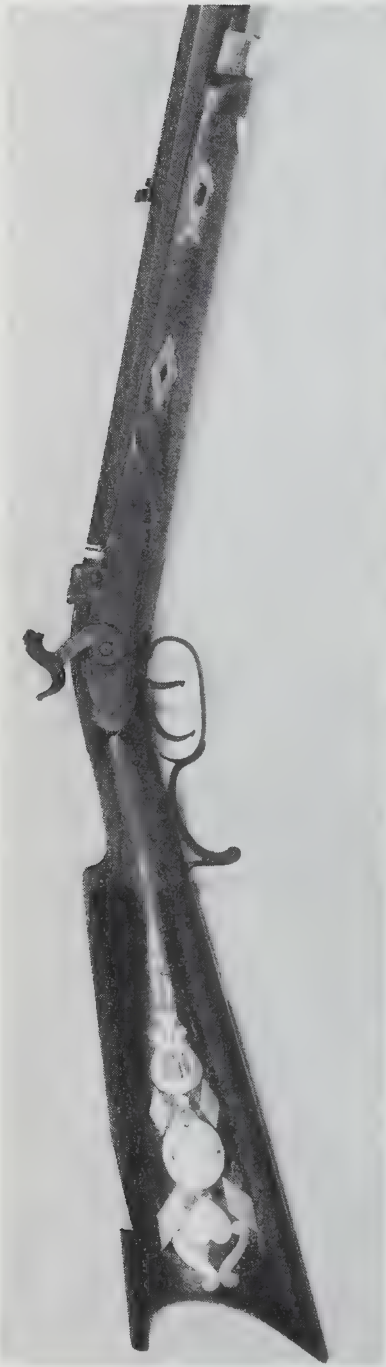
(M.H.W.)

Here is a brief report on the Robert M. Jones Kentucky rifle which you sent to me for research. I called this gun a "Kentucky rifle" although it was probably made in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania area by German gunsmiths.

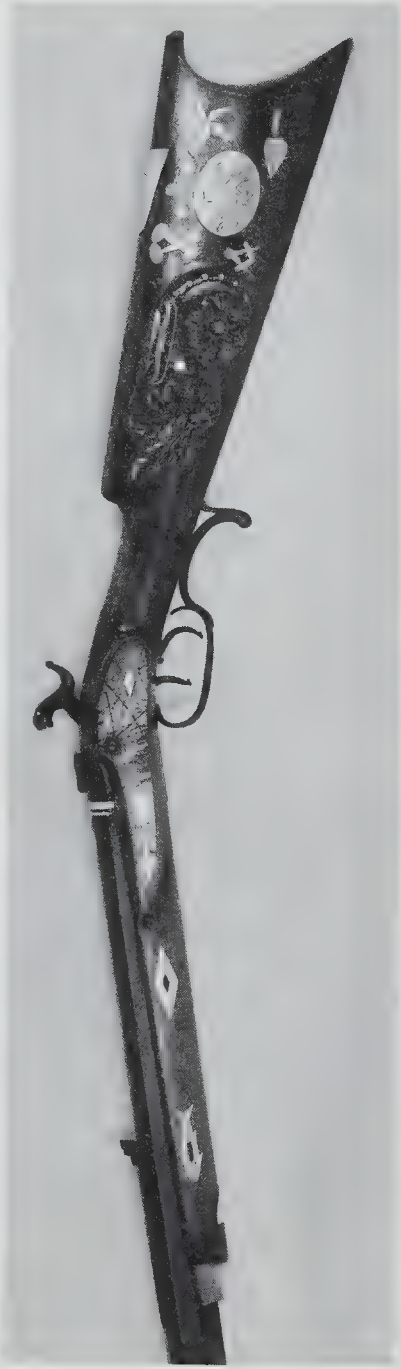
I disassembled this beautiful rifle, but I could find no maker's name nor a date, and so the origin of this piece is pure conjecture. It could have been made in St. Louis, Missouri as many of this type rifle were made there by such fine gun makers as Dimmick and Hawkins. The very heavy octagon barrel of 41" length would indicate that it might be a St. Louis made gun, but the beautifully carved stock looks more like the work of a Pennsylvania gunsmith.

It was originally a flintlock, made probably in 1825 or 1830, but was later modernized to a percussion when that type ignition system became popular in the 1850's. The barrel is of 45 caliber, rifled with seven lands in a left hand twist. It shows beautiful workmanship, and the rifling has a tighter twist than normal for this type of gun. The rear sight is an adjustable type, which was very rare indeed in the era before the Civil War, and the front sight is of the knife blade type and, incidentally, made of German silver. The barrel has two bands of inlaid pure gold just in front of the breech block, and the percussion hammer is shaped like a dolphin fish with eyes of gold. The lock is the double-set trigger type, which makes this gun definitely a sharp shooter's rifle.

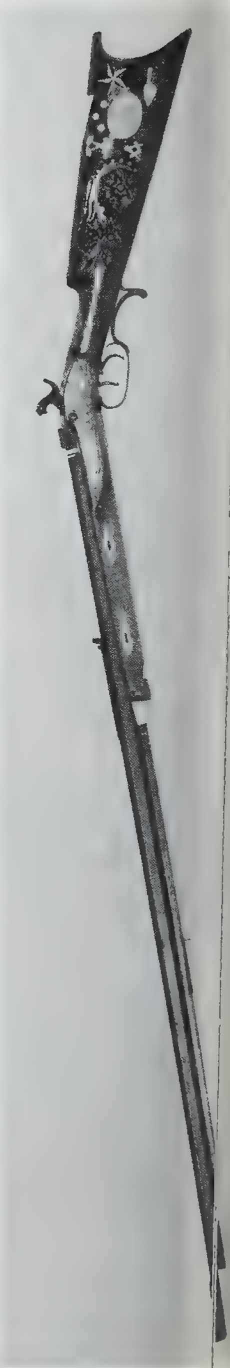
The gun is stocked in beautiful burled walnut with the forestock extending only 13" past the trigger guard with a cap of pure sterling silver. The raised cheek piece is beautifully carved with inlays of sterling silver. These inlays are symbolic; and if I interpret them correctly, Colonel Jones must have been quite a boy. Some of the symbols are of the Masonic and other lodges, while others indicate his love of card playing and music. The symbolic fishes and arrows also indicate that he loved to hunt and fish. As is customary on all Kentucky type rifles, there is a small sterling silver cap box inletted into the stock on the right hand side.



Close up view of the right hand side of the stock showing inlaid silver designs and the small "patch box" at center.



Close up view of the left hand side of the stock showing the carved rosette in the wood and the inlaid silver designs.



Full length phot graph of the "Kentucky Rifle" belonging to Colon Robert M. Jones of th Choctaw Nation.

It is regrettable that the ramrod has been lost, but given a little time to get the proper materials, I shall be glad to reconstruct one which will restore the original appearance of this beautiful rifle. The ramrod was no doubt of hickory 3/8" in diameter, 42" in length, and capped with a gold or sterling silver tulip head.

This beautiful and historical weapon belongs to posterity, and future generations are indeed fortunate that the gun came into the possession of someone such as yourself who can preserve its identity with history, rather than it falling into the hands of a private gun collector where its identity would be lost forever.

(Signed)
Jordan B. Reaves

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUMS WITH MORE THAN 17,000 RELICS

A leaflet that gives information and lists a few of the relics, artifacts and exhibits besides listing the departments and field activities of the Oklahoma Historical Society is handed out to visitors at the Information Desk in the front entrance to the Historical Building, leading off with the statement: "Telling the Story of Oklahoma with more than 17,000 Artifacts." This leaflet presents the following information about the two Civil War Memorial rooms, the 4 large galleries on the Third Floor, displays in the main corridors and basement and the beginnings of the oil field exhibit on the East Grounds marked by an "authentic oil well derrick":[1]

FIRST FLOOR:

- Registration and sales desk (*Miss Nancy Crawford,* Receptionist)
- Great Seal of Oklahoma from National Capitol Building
- Diorama of newly founded Oklahoma City, 1889

SECOND FLOOR:

- Union Room (*Miss Katherine Ringland, Curator*)
  - Lincoln's chair
- Confederate Room (*Mrs. Helen Gorman, Curator*)
  - Flag that was never surrendered
- Alcove Varying Exhibits

THIRD FLOOR:

(Main Museum)—Enter at south where sign says "Museum".

- Prehistoric Oklahoma—4 displays
- High Plains Culture
- Ozark Cave Culture
- Spiro Mound—9 displays
- Miller Painting—"Cavalcade"
- First White Men in Oklahoma
  - Route of Coronado (Spanish)
- Ferdinandina (French)

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[1] Names of the Society's present staff members in the various departments have been added here editorially in parentheses, in each instance.—Ed.

Five Civilized Tribes

General Stand Watie's trunk
Chickasaw Regimental Flag, 1815
Trail of Tears wagon wheel
Seminole execution tree
Boggy Depot post office boxes

Plains Indians

Original Cheyenne tepee
Apache skin painting
Osage shield
Kiowa child's dress
War bonnets of various tribes
Cradle boards

White Settlement and Development

Uniform of Capt. Hamilton—killed at Battle of the Washita, 1868
Equipment used by Oklahoma cowboy 1886
Boomer colony sign, 1888
Wagon used in Runs of 1889 and 1893
Sod plow that was used to plow virgin prairie of Oklahoma 1891
Powder magazine from Battleship Maine
William H. Murray chair in which he sat while President of Oklahoma Constitutional Convention
Dress worn by Mrs. Charles N. Haskell when her husband was inaugurated first Governor of Oklahoma, 1907
World's first parking meter
"Surrey with the Fringe on Top" sat in by Rodgers and Hammerstein during parade for the musical, "Oklahoma!"
Helm from the Battleship Oklahoma, sunk at Pearl Harbor
Rug presented to state of Oklahoma by Japanese Government, during Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial, 1957

Portrait Gallery

Portraits of prominent Oklahomans
Ladies' fans display
Silver service from Battleship Oklahoma

BASEMENT CORRIDOR:

Choctaw salt kettle
Early-day newspaper presses
Guthrie's first fire-fighting equipment
Spanish-American War gatling gun
Old-time automobile
Rare stagecoach that traveled New England roads and Western trails

OIL FIELD EXHIBIT: (East Grounds)

Authentic oil well derrick
Oil field boiler wagon
Fish-tail drill bit

DEPARTMENTS

FIRST FLOOR:

Research Library—27,000 volumes—(*Mrs. Dorothy Williams, Librarian,* and *Mrs. Manon T. Atkins, Assistant Librarian*)
Newspaper Library—30,000,000 pages (*Mrs. Louise Cook, Librarian*)

SECOND FLOOR:

Administrative Offices: Administrative Secretary, *Mr. Elmer Fraker,* (*Mrs. La Jeanne McIntyre, Chief Clerk* and *Miss Manon T. Atkins, Office Secretary*)

Editorial Office—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* quarterly magazine (*Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor*)

THIRD FLOOR:

Curators' Offices (*Mr. Bill Dale, Mrs. C. E. Cook* and *Mr. Ed Peck*)

BASEMENT FLOOR:

Indian Archives—3,000,000 documents (*Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist*)

Microfilm Department—1,000,000 pages yearly (*Mrs. Mary Lee Garrett, Mr. Nealy Tilly, Mr. Ed. Haworth*)

(Building Custodians—*Dow Jenkins, Bill Hall* and *Charles Hobbs*)

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to any interested person. Inquire at Reception desk or Administrative Office, should you desire to become a member.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

145 Roadside Markers
35 On-site Markers
Wyandot Monument, Ottawa County
Fort Cobb Monument, Caddo County
Big Pasture Monument, Tillman County
Restoration of old Fort Washita, Bryan County
Restoration of oldest Oklahoma house, Choctaw County

Maintenance and care:

Rose Hill site, Choctaw County
Part of old Fort Gibson, Muskogee County
Confederate Cemetery, Atoka County
Boggy Depot Cemetery, Atoka County
Cowboy Hill, Kay County
Old Union Mission site, Mayes County
Garland, Cemetery, McCurtain County
Worcester Cemetery, Cherokee County

THE OLD ORDNANCE RIFLE ON THE GROUNDS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROVES TO BE A RELIC OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The following description and historical data by James C. Hazlett, M.D., 7 Echo Point, Wheeling, West Virginia, whose hobby is Civil War Ordnance supplies, are from a letter addressed to President George H. Shirk, Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Hazlett's notes here are very interesting for what has been generally looked upon as a mere "front" exhibit on the grounds of the Society now proves to be a three inch Ordnance rifle, *actually No. 651* manufactured by the Phoenix Iron Company of Pennsylvania in 1863, a fine relic of the American Civil War period. Dr. Hazlett gives the history of this rare Ordnance rifle as follows:

Many thanks for your kind reply to my letter concerning the 3″ rifle in the possession of the Historical Society.

In return, I believe I can give you some information about the piece which might interest you.

This is the 3″ Ordinance rifle, sometimes wrongly called the Rodman gun, simply because it looks superficially like the bigger Rodman siege pieces. Rodman had no more to do with the design or manufacture than I did. These are the product of the Phoenix Iron Co., still in existence as the Phoenix Steel Co., a subsidiary of the Barium Steel Corp. in Phoenixville, Penna. near Philadelphia. I have visited their machine shop, and have seen the lathe, still in use (for special jobs) which was used to turn more than 900 of these guns during the Civil War.

They are the patented invention of John Griffen, Superintendent of the Foundry, and are made of *wrought* iron, not cast iron. The prototype was tested by the Ordnance Dept. at Fortress Monroe in 1854, and exceeded all expectations. It was finally burst (after more than 500 proof charges) with the incredible charge of 7 pounds of powder and 13 solid shot! You can imagine the reaction, even in those red tape bound days before the War.

The method of manufacture is interesting, and unusual for those days. A mandrel of wrought iron rods was welded together and rounded. Around this were wrapped three layers of strips of boiler plate (wrought iron) in short strips, each layer being placed on at a different angle than the previous one. This was hammered and welded into a solid mass, the trunnions were cast on, and the mandrel was then bored out, and the piece rifled. Not one of these guns ever burst during service during the War.

The first 111 of these 3″ Ordinance rifles were ordered from the Phoenix Iron Co. in July 1861, and were delivered in November of that year. Your piece was one of the last ones made during 1863. I have catalogued nearly 200 of these fine guns, and No. 676 is the last one for 1863.

When Fremont was in charge of the Western Dept. in St. Louis, as you probably know, the assumption was that he was given a free hand to order anything he wanted. He ordered a battery of 6 of these rifles from the Singer-Nimick Co. of Pittsburgh, Penna. According to the contract, these 6 were made of cast steel. These were the only ones which were made by anyone except the Phoenix Iron Co. By the way, the mark of the left trunnion face actually reads:—
"Patented Dec. 9, 1862"

While I have no proof of it, it was probably the Fremont guns which prompted Phoenix to patent their product. I have discovered two of the Singer-Nimick pieces surviving on the battlefield at Chickamauga.

One of my secondary hobbies is to try and trace a particular gun back to its original battery. In this I have been singularly unsuccessful, records are very incomplete regarding this aspect of the War, and of all the pieces in my catalogue, no more than two dozen can be so traced. There is no doubt at all that this gun, No. 651 saw service, however.

Regarding the other marks on the muzzle face, they more or less explain themselves. The P.I.Co. are the Company initials, No. 651 is the Government number, 1863, the date of casting, and T.T.S.L. are the initials of the Ordnance Inspector, a rather well known C-W

Ordnance Officer with the peculiar cognomen of Theodore Thadeus Sobieski Laidley, which is a mixture if I ever heard one.

I am very much interested in the "N.J." marked on the top of the tube. All others which I have seen are marked with the letters "U.S." on top of the tube near the trunnions, in rather large letters. This N.J. could only mean that the piece was made for a New Jersey Militia battery, still under Government Contract. Such cases are fairly common early in the War, with other types of field guns. I have found James rifles marked "Conn," 10-pound Parrotts marked "Penna" and "SNY" (State of New York), and 12 and 24 pdr howitzers marked "Ohio" and "Conn."

As you probably know, there were three types of field carriages used at the beginning of the Civil War, one for the 6-pdr field gun and the 12-pdr field howitzer, one for the 24-pdr field howitzer and one for the model 1841, 12-pdr field gun and the 32-pdr field howitzer—each of which was larger and heavier than the preceding. The 3″ rifle as well as the 10-pound Parrott and the James rifle were mounted on the first of these, which was actually too light for a rifled piece, and there were many broken trails recorded as a result.

There should also be a weight marked on the muzzle face of your piece, at the location of 5 o'clock. It would be my guess that it is "816 lbs." Of all the field guns used during the War, these are the most consistent as regards weight. A few of them in 1861 and 1862 varied from 813 to 823 lbs., if I am not mistaken in 1863 and 64, only one or two of them were *not* 816. (I have more than 500 Napoleon guns catalogued, and they vary from 1183 to 1350 lbs.!!).

I have seen several of these 3" rifles which were converted to breech loaders several years after the War. This was accomplished in the following manner. The bore was simply bored out clear through the breech area, and a sliding breech block was inserted into another opening made in the right side of the breech area several inches from the breech. In this respect, it was like the English Armstrong gun. These converted 3″ rifles were mounted on a ridiculous tripod cast steel mount, with (so far as I can determine) absolutely no provisions for recoil, and as such, were not a true field gun, but a stationary piece.

To go back to the original 3" muzzle loading rifle, as used during the C-W, these were favorites with Cavalry or mounted batteries, because of their light weight and easy handling. They fired Shenkl, Hotchkiss or Parrott shells, sometimes canister (which would be most ineffective—the same theory as rifling a shotgun—the individual bullets would spin away from the target by centrifugal force), never solid shot.

An interesting comment is made by Sherman's Ordnance Chief following the War to the effect that it was found that the Parrott rifles were more accurate when firing Parrott shells, and the 3" rifles likewise when firing the Hotchkiss shell rather than vice versa. Originally, the Parrott 10-pound rifle was made with a bore diameter of 2.9", but in 1863 they were changed to 3" so they could fire the same size projectile as the 3" rifle. Another interesting comment was made after the battle of Gettysburg by Lieut. Fountaine, in Jones Confederate Artillery, to the effect that some idiot in Richmond had supplied his 2.9" Parrotts with 3" ammunition. After a few rounds, when the guns had become hot, the shells jammed in the guns. The wonder to me is that they could have fired them at all, or that none of his pieces exploded. Both of the above references can be found in the appropriate volumes of the *Official Records* (Union and Confederate Armies).

This just about covers the 3″ rifle . . . .

(Signed) James C. Hazlett

CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION OF INDIAN TERRITORY CIVIL WAR BATTLES IN SUMMER, 1963

BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS, JULY 17, 1863

Exactly 100 years ago after the Battle of Honey Springs, a commemorative program of this major battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory was held on the site. Some early records call this the "Battle of Elk Creek." The site of the battle field extends south from present Oktaha, Muskogee County, about three miles and across the north line of present McIntosh County, the heaviest part of the battle taking place in the brush and timber along Elk Creek and ending at Honey Springs, McIntosh County. A century ago this part of Elk Creek and Honey Springs were at the eastern edge of the Creek Nation, a short distance west of the southwest boundary of the Cherokee Nation.

Participants and sponsors of the commemorative program on July 17, 1963 included officials of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission of which Dr. Henry B. Bass of Enid is Chairman; President George H. Shirk and officers of the Oklahoma Historical Society; members of the 65th Troop Carrier Squadron at Davis Field, Boy Scouts of America, the Checotah Chamber of Commerce, McIntosh County, and residents of the City of Muskogee and of Oktaha, Muskogee County.

The time of day—10:00 a.m.—that the battle of 100 years ago began, this year's commemoration opened on Wednesday, July 17, 1963, with a large crowd present at the stone marker for the "Battle of Honey Springs" erected some years ago by the Oklahoma Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, and located in the cemetery at the north edge of Oktaha. The President of the Oklahoma Division, U.D.C., Mrs. Jasper Smith of Vinita paid a brief and fitting tribute to those who fell on this field of the Civil War battle, both Confederate and Union soldiers, as a memorial wreath was placed at the foot of the stone marker. Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, of the History Department in Oklahoma State University, addressed the visiting crowd with a concise description of the battle itself tracing on a large map of the field the position of the Union lines as they moved south across the prairie toward the front lines of the Confederates and their encampment on Elk Creek.

The Federal forces under the command of Major General James G. Blunt consisted of more than 3,000 well equipped cavalry and infantry with twelve pieces of artillery. Some 6,000 Confederate troops under the command of Brig.-General Douglas H. Cooper with inferior Ordnance supplies and equipment — powder that had dissolved to a paste during a rain in the morning before the fight began—, and Captain R. W. Lee's light battery on the Texas Road north of Elk Creek faced the heavy Union forces. The Confederates were forced to fall back for a last stand at Honey Springs and final retreat from the field. This was the major battle of the American Civil War in the Indian Territory, comparable in some phases of the fighting though on a small scale to the great battle on the field at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania earlier the same month of 1863.

The results of the battle of Honey Springs were bitter for the people of the Indian Territory with the Federal Army garrisoned at Fort Blunt (formerly Fort Gibson), with hot skirmishing between Federal and Confederate forces, raiding and devastation of the whole country north of the Arkansas particularly in the old Cherokee Nation. Indian families who had gone north at the beginning of the War within the Union lines came back from Kansas in a starving condition to eke out an existence for another two years near their old homes in the region of Fort Gibson and the Union forces.

When the description of the Battle of Honey Springs and its history during the commemorative program ended, a group from the visiting crowd stepped forward in front of the speaker's stand made up of descendants of those (Indian, White or Negro) troops who had fought in either the Confederate or the Union armies at the Battle of Honey Springs, all respected citizens of Oklahoma—some well known throughout the state—closing as they stood in line the commemoration of a great event in the history of Trans-Mississippi region during the Civil War.

Battle of Perryville in the Choctaw Nation
August 26, 1863

The Battle of Perryville south of the Canadian River in the Choctaw Nation was a follow-up attack after the Battle of Honey Springs made by General Blunt's Union troops against the Confederate forces under the command of Brig.-General William Steele. Perryville was an important village where some Confederate commissary supplies had been stored on the Texas Road. The location of this site is marked by an Oklahoma Historical Marker erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society about 5 miles southwest of the City of McAlester on U.S. Highway 69-75. An old well, traces of the one-time Texas Road and a log cabin replica of a stage-coach stand is about all that is seen marking the battle field of the southernmost heavy skirmish of the Civil War of 100 years ago.

A ceremony commemorating the "Battle of Perryville" was held on August 25, 1963, Sunday afternoon, since August 26 this year came on Monday, a difficult time for those interested to leave their offices and business to attend the program. Incidentally, the fighting at Perryville began at night on August 25, 1863, and ended early the next day, August 26. The Union forces burned the Confederate supplies and most of the buildings at Perryville when the Confederate troops were forced into retreat. President George H. Shirk of the Oklahoma Historical Society pointed out in his address on the Battle of Perryville that this engagement was the only time in the history of the Civil War in the Indian Territory where the commanding officers of the Union and Confederate armies, respectively Major General James G. Blunt and Brig.-General William Steele, commanding the forces of the Indian Territory, were personally facing one another on the field of battle. If General Steele's Confederate reinforcements on the march north and nearing Perryville had reached this field by August 25, the outcome of this battle and the whole history of the Civil War in this Trans-Mississippi Department, C.S.A., would have been far different.

The Commemoration Ceremony at the site of old Perryville on the traces of the Texas Road was sponsored by the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, B. Frank Belvin, President; Oklahoma Historical Society, George H. Shirk, President and Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary; Perryville Centennial Committee, Ben P. Choate, Chairman; and McAlester Chamber of Commerce, J. E. Bob Wright, Manager. A crowd gathered from over eastern Oklahoma for the program and introductions were made by State Senator Gene Stipe of McAlester, Pittsburg County.

Among those who appeared on the program other than the principal address by the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society were the Reverend Aaron W. Hancock; Mr. Ben Choate (whose grandfather's family home had been at Perryville in the late 1870's); Chief Wm. "Dode" McIntosh, of the Creek Nation; Governor B. D. Maytubby of the Chickasaws; Chief J. Harry Belvin of the Choctaws; Miss Muriel H. Wright of the Oklahoma Historical Society who spoke on "Colonel" Robert M. Jones, wealthy planter of the Choctaws, and his part as a Confederate leader in the Civil War and his nation in the Indian Territory. His fine "Kentucky Rifle" was on exhibit (a historical relic described elsewhere in this issue of *The Chronicles*).

The program on August 25 was held by the kind permission of Mr. W. H. Johnson, on the shaded front lawn of the modern home on his land at the site of Perryville.

There was a moment of silent prayer at the close of the program in memory of Mr. J. Brooks Wright, a member of the Perryville Centennial Committee, who had passed away in McAlester on August 5, 1963. He was the youngest son and last living child (aged 86 years) of Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation 1866-1870, whose old gun (Enfield rifle?) of Civil War days was on exhibit, said to have been carried by Allen Wright on the battle field of Perryville with the Choctaw troops of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Regiment, C.S.A.

The Oklahoma National Honor Guard, under Captain Gene Heathcock fired a 21-gun salute which concluded the centennial commemoration of the Battle of Perryville.

(M.H.W.)

1963 SUMMER ACTIVITIES AND STAFF CHANGES IN THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective during the summer of 1963: George W. Pilcher of the University of Illinois became assistant professor; Douglas D. Hale, Jr. of the University of North Carolina became assistant professor; Eugene J. Hellstern of the University of Oklahoma became part-time instructor; Bernard L. Muehlbauer, temporary instructor, became park historian at Yorktown National Military Park; LeRoy H. Fischer, professor, received the $5,000 literary award of the Loyal Legion of the United States for his "Lincoln's Gadfly Adam Gurowski," judged the best book-length manuscript on the Civil War; David Donald, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, accepted the 1963 Summer Lectureship in History and spoke on the political process and the coming of the Civil War; Alfred Levin, Professor, served as director of the Junior Seminar on Russian Civilization, sponsored by the History Department and the Development Foundation; Robert K. Sakai, professor of history at the University of Nebraska, and John B. Cornell, professor of anthropology at the University of Texas, were visiting lecturers in the Summer Program on Asia, and spoke on problems in modern Japan; Sidney D. Brown, associate professor, served as chairman of the Summer Program on Asia, sponsored by the History Department, in cooperation with the Asia Society, the Japan Society, and the Asia Foundation.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Dorothy Williams, Librarian from July 1, 1962 to July 1, 1963:

Abbott, Jacob. *Aboriginal America.* New York: Sheldon & Company, 1860. 288 pp.

Abbott, Jacob. *King Philip.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1900. 410 pp.

Aborigines Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings. *Some account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends Towards the Indian Tribes . . . .* London: Edward Marsh, 1844. 247 p.

Adams, Robert M. *Archaeological Investigations . . . Jefferson County, Missouri,* St. Louis: Academy of Science, 1941.

Adams Greater Oklahoma City Street Guide. Oklahoma City: Adams Map Co., 1962. 67 pp.

Allanson, Winona. *Indian Moons.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing Co., 1927. 63 pp.

Allen, Garner. *A History of the McAlester Democrat,* McAlester: McAlester Democrat, 1951. 62 p.

Alter, J. Cecil. *Jim Bridger.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 358 pp.

American Antiquarian Society. *Proceedings.* Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1963. 494 pp. Volume 72.

American Heritage History of Flight. New York: American Heritage, 1962. 416 pp.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Son of the Gamblin' Man. By Mari Sandoz. (Clarkson N. Potter, New York, 1960. Pp. 333. $5.00).

At the intersection of the 100th meridian and the North Platte River in Nebraska, lies the little town of Cozad. This town's beginning was the fullfillment of a dream by John Jackson Cozad, the finest faro player in America. It was his dream to found a town where there would be no gambling.

This new novel, by an author of many excellent books about the west, is based upon the lives of John Cozad and his son Robert Henri. Henri became one of America's more important painters and teachers. It is the story of classic American struggles, of the gambler's attempt to build a clean town, of the pioneers fighting drought, fire and grasshoppers to survive, and of the homesteaders against the cattlemen and the open range against fences.

Soldier and Brave. Indian and Military Affairs in the Trans-Mississippi West, including a Guide to Historical Sites and Landmarks. By the National Park Service with an introduction by Ray Allen Billington. (Harper & Row, New York, 1963. Pp. 279. $6.50).

Informative, enlightening and entertaining would best describe this volume (#12) of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Excellent maps and photographs, along with a good running commentary, gives the reader a clear, concise picture of the Indian and white man conflicts of the trans-Mississippi west.

The first part of the book is devoted to the historical background of the Military and Indian affairs. From Minnesota to Texas and Arizona, from Kansas and Oklahoma to California and the Pacific Northwest, the history of this vast section is written largely in raids, massacres, ambushes and pitched battles.

This background provides a compact, authoritative narrative of the turbulent relations between Indian and whiteman during the nineteenth century. As the two cultures met head-on, the result was often tragic and violent.

Part two deals with locations and descriptions of sites that played important parts in forming the history of the west. Students of history, archaeologists, students of Western Americana or ordinary sight-seers will find this an excellent guide book.

The National Park Service has eight sites under their jurisdiction that are listed as National Monuments or Sites. None of these are in Oklahoma. There are twenty-one sites that are eligible for the Registry of National Historic Landmarks. Of these, four are listed in Oklahoma; Cherokee National Capitol, Creek National Capitol, Fort Gibson and Fort Sill. It is puzzling as to why the survey did not include the Choctaw National Capitol near Tuskahoma. All three National Capitol Buildings, still standing, are equally important.

There are a great number of sites that were considered on the survey and are listed by states. Fifteen sites in Oklahoma were given due consideration; among them are schools, forts, missions, reservations and battlefields.

The listings of these many sites furnishes the reader with a wealth of information about their dates, location, ownership, present condition, how to get to them and what to look for. The result, combined with the historical narrative of Part One, is a fascinating and important contribution to the knowledge and appreciation of our Western heritage.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JULY 25, 1963

At 10:00 a.m. on July 25, 1963, President George H. Shirk convened the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the Board Room of the Historical Building. President Shirk began the meeting by passing around the miscellaneous material that had accumulated over the past quarter.

The roll was called by the Administrative Secretary, Elmer L. Fraker. Those present were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk, President.

Those not in attendance were: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mrs. Frank Korn, and Mr. Fisher Muldrow.

Miss Seger moved that those who had asked to be excused have their request granted. The motion, seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, was adopted.

The Administrative Secretary then made his report on the membership and gifts for the quarter. He reported that there were two new Life Members, and fifty new Annual Members. He also reported there had been a number of gifts to the museum and library. Dr. Harbour moved that the applications for membership and gifts be accepted. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which was unanimously approved.

Mr. Fraker then reported on the balances in accounts of the appropriated funds at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1963. He added that progress is being made in the sale of merchandise at the reception desk.

An exhibit of agricultural implements that is being planned for this year's State Fair was described by Mr. Fraker. He said that a request had been made to use three items in this display that are properties of the Oklahoma Historical Society. They are an old sod plow, a wheat cradle, and a reaper. He said they would be properly guarded; that they would be marked as properties of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and that none of these items was now on display in the museum. It was requested by Mr. Fraker that the Society loan these items for display at the 1963 State Fair.

Dr. Harbour moved that the Administrative Secretary be granted the authorization to loan these properties for the duration of the Fair for display purposes. This motion was seconded by Mr. Bass, and passed when voted upon.

The Treasurer's report was made by Mrs. Bowman which showed that the Society's special funds were solvent.

Mr. Shirk stated that the increased tempo of the Treasurer's report reflected the expanded business of the Oklahoma Historical Society and that the increase due to gifts on projects such as Fort Washita and Fort McCulloch were indications of the growing prestige of the Society.

The membership over the past three years, reported President Shirk, has been going down, and there was some discussion as to the reason for this. Mrs. McIntyre, Chief Clerk, offered a possible explanation. She said that there had been a three-month lapse when changes from one type of mailing to another had been made necessary. This would indicate that only a small decrease in membership had taken place.

There was then some discussion as to how to improve membership. Mr. Fraker suggested that each Board member get mailing lists from the various civic clubs that each belongs to and circulate membership information. He further suggested that Life Memberships be made by a form of "by invitation" arrangement, with the use of appropriate invitation cards. Mr. Jones suggested that contact with members of other historical societies in Oklahoma might provide lists of prospective members.

Mr. Shirk requested Judge Johnson to report on the dedication ceremonies at the John Ross home in Rossville, Georgia. Judge Johnson had attended these ceremonies, which took place on May 29, 1963, as the representative of W. W. Keeler, Chief of the Cherokees and of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A report on the ceremonies held at Honey Springs on July 17, 1963, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Civil War battle that took place there was made by Mr. Mountcastle. Mr. Bass was the principal speaker at the banquet the night before the Honey Springs ceremonies. Mr. Shirk said that it had really been a fine ceremony and that three members of the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society had attended.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that Phil Harris, Warren Ray, Miss Nettie Wheeler and John Lewis Stone be commended by the Oklahoma Historical Society for their work in arranging the Honey Springs ceremonies. Mr. Bass seconded the motion, which was passed by the Board.

In his remarks relative to the activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial, Mr. Bass said the culminating ceremony should be at Doaksville on June 23, 1965, since this was where the Confederate forces in Oklahoma, under the command of General Stand Watie, surrendered. He suggested that if possible, the annual Tour in 1965 be set later than usual, so that those on the Tour could attend the ceremonies at Doaksville.

Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer was commended by Mr. Bass on the fine book he had written on a phase of the Civil War period. He said that Dr. Fischer had been a speaker at the commemorative ceremonies of the Civil War Centennial at Gettysburg, and was the principal speaker at the national ceremonies at Vicksburg.

It was moved by Miss Seger and seconded by Mr. Bass that Dr. Fischer and Dr. Homer Knight be formally commended for their work in Oklahoma history. The motion was passed.

Mr. Jones lauded the work of Mr. Shirk on his "One Hundred Years Ago in Indian Territory" column, and suggested that it be carried on after June 23, 1965. He said he thought that it should be continued, thus bringing before the people of Oklahoma a fine background of their state's history.

Dr. Morrison spoke briefly on the restoration work being done at Fort Washita. He mentioned among other additions, three flag poles that had been set up along the road leading into Fort Washita. The middle and tallest one is to fly an 1842 American flag with 26 stars, and the others will be an Oklahoma state flag, and a Confederate flag.

In commenting on the 1963 annual Tour, Mr. Miller said that this year's Tour had been a good one, and expressed the hope that the Tour could be enlarged next year. He suggested that next year's Tour go to the northeast section of Oklahoma.

Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer of the History Department of Oklahoma State University was then introduced to the Board of Directors by Mr. Shirk who invited him to visit the session.

The report for the Microfilm Committee was made by Mr. Phillips, who stated that it is hoped that about one million pages of newspapers will be microfilmed this year. He said that some microfilming is being done for the National Archives on a contractual basis.

Mr. Shirk asked for the report of the Legislative Committee, and added that he could not commend the members of this committee too highly for their work in obtaining an increase in appropriations for the next biennium for the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Fraker outlined the actual amounts of the increases in appropriated funds, and added that a copy of the detailed amounts would be available for each member of the Board at the close of the meeting.

Chairman of the Legislative Committee, Mr. McBride, reported on the methods by which the Legislative Committee presented the Oklahoma Historical Society's case to the members of the Legislature. He stated that the names of the members of the Legislature had appeared in the last issue of the Chronicles; that they have complimentary memberships in the Oklahoma Historical Society for the duration of their term of office; and that they had each been asked for a personal biographical sketch for the records of the Society.

The President announced new committee appointments for the next biennium. They are as follows: Executive Committee — Joe McBride, R. G. Miller; Newspaper Archives Committee — H. Milt Phillips, Chairman, Lou Allard, Mrs. George Bowman, R. G. Miller, Genevieve Seger; Publications Committee — Joe McBride, Chairman, Lou Allard, B. B. Chapman, Joe Curtis, E. E. Dale, H. Milt Phillips, Elmer L. Fraker; House and Grounds Committee — Henry B. Bass, Chairman, Q. B. Boydstun, Richard H. Cloyd, W. D. Finney, and R. G. Miller. Mr. Shirk announced that there would be no changes made in the Library Committee, and the Historic Sites Committee.

The President opened a discussion on the dues for the Oklahoma Historical Society. He observed that many feel that the dues of $3.00 annually are too low and should be raised. A motion made by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Bass that a dues study committee be appointed was adopted. The president named to this committee Fisher Muldrow, Chairman; Joe McBride; W. D. Finney; Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour; and Genevieve Seger.

President Shirk then brought up the matter of the vacancy on the Board of Directors left by the death of Thomas J. Harrison. He asked the members their pleasure regarding the filling of his unexpired term. It was moved by Mr. Allard and seconded by Mr. Phillips that a committee of three be appointed to collect nominations for the vacancy, and to report on these nominations at the next Board meeting. The motion passed. Mr. Shirk appointed Mr. Allard Chairman of this committee, with Mr. Curtis and Mr. Finney as members.

Mr. Allard said that he would like to have all Board members contacted for their nominations. The names would be submitted through Mr. Fraker and his office would check them for eligibility; and then be sent on to the committee for consideration and reporting at the next meeting of the Board.

Dr. Morrison presented the Certificate of Commendation to Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, who accepted with thanks.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, adjournment was had at 12:10 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED — JULY, 1963

LIBRARY

1. *The Kerr Dam Site — Don G. Wyckoff*
   Donor: Don G. Wyckoff, Norman
2. *Family History: Jacobson, Pollard, Wilmarth, Nightser, Mattax, Raynor* — J. Larry Jacobson
   Family History: Huffman, Forgey Wakefield — J. Larry Jacobson
   Donor: J. Larry Jacobson, Midwest City
3. Census Microfilm: 1840 Pennsylvania, Beaver-Bucks Counties
   Donor: Mrs. Warren Park, Chandler
4. *Genealogical and Biographical Notes on the Tarbell-Tarble Family*
   Donor: Betty Lee Tarble Turner, Marshall, Illinois
5. "Will Rogers — A Unique Man" — John Naylor
   Donor: John Naylor, Bethany
6. "Indianapolis Has an Oklahoma Namesake" — Wayne Guthrie
   Donor: Wayne Guthrie, Indianapolis, Indiana
7. "Cherokee Basketmaking" — Ann Hall
   Donor: Mrs. Arnold Hall, Marthasville, Missouri
8. *Mayflower Index* — 2 Volumes
   Donor: Oklahoma Society of Mayflower Descendants, Tulsa
9. *History of the First Presbyterian Church in Talihina, Oklahoma 1889-1963*
   Donor: R. L. Mabson, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
10. "Adversity" — Gerald M. Van Dyke
    Donor: Gerald M. Van Dyke, Cordell
11. *Oklahoma Poetry*, Summer 1963
    Donor: Leslie A. McRill, Oklahoma City
12. *Red Clay and Rattlesnake Springs* — James Franklin Corn
    Donor: James Franklin Corn, Cleveland, Tennessee
13. *Route of the Oregon Trail in Idaho*
    Donor: Idaho Historical Society, Boise, Idaho
14. *Appleton's Fifth School Reader*
    Donor: Mrs. Ollie Kerr Bentley, Oklahoma City
15. *The Oklahoma Economy* — John J. Klein
    Donor: A. J. Haswell, Oklahoma City
16. *Notable Southern Families* — Volume 5 — The Crockett Family — Zella Armstrong
    Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM

PICTURES:

Mrs. Emma Lutz, grand-daughter of Quanah Parker
Donor: George Broome, Amarillo, Texas

Oil Painting "The Run of 1889" by Charles McBarron
Donor: American Oil Company

Graduating Class at Pawnee Indian School
Pawnee City, Oklahoma Territory
Pawnee Indian School
Band at Pawnee Indian School
Run of 1893, "The Start"
Run of 1893
Edgar Wind
Donor: Janice R. White, Hennessey, Oklahoma

First Baptist Church at Chickasha, built 1894
Citizens Bank, Chickasha, 1902
Leland Hotel, Chickasha, 1898
Chickasha Street Scene, 1906
Chickasha School Building, built 1893
Steel Suspension Bridge over Washita River, 1898
Donor: I. W. Munn, Chickasha, Oklahoma

Governor Henry Bellmon and Robert L. Springer at presentation of "The Run of 1889".
D. C. Frost and George Shirk at joint meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society
Donor: George Shirk

Historical Tour 1963 at Mount Scott
Donor: Hugh Corwin

Wolf School, 1907
Donor: George Shirk

Printing Press
Donor: Wayne E. Morrison, Clymer, New York

Navajoe Mountain
Donor: Hugh Corbin

Mrs. Olive Laux cutting 41st anniversary of the Women's Relief Corps
Donor: Mrs. Elie Macarty, Oklahoma City

Two photographs of the Joint Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Press Association
Elmer Fraker
Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM

EXHIBITS:

Gavel, used by Post number one, G.A.R.
Ritual of the G.A.R.
Services of the G.A.R.
Anniversary Plate, Women's Relief Corps
Donor: Mrs. Elie Macarty, Oklahoma City

Collection of Buttons and Badges
Donors: Mr. and Mrs. Morris Lowenstein, Oklahoma City,

Typewriter, Remington, 1904 model
Donor: Leland Booth, Oklahoma City

Section of airplane fuselage
Donor: Ethan A. Walker, M. D., Oklahoma City

Fragments of glass & china from site of old Fort Coffee
Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Duval, Mrs. Almyra M.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
French, Mrs. Katherine Baird	Ardmore, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Alder, Vera	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Alexander, Miss Willie F.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Antrim, Miss Bertha M.	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Autrey, Miss Ruth Marie	High Ridge, Missouri
Barber, Mrs. Vival	Woodward, Oklahoma
Calvert, Mrs. Maude R.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Carlile, R. B., Sr.	Sallisaw, Oklahoma
Carter, Carl H.	Pawhuska, Oklahoma
Chappelle, Richard C.	Calumet City, Illinois
Clark, Mrs. Alice R.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Clark, Clyde J.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Clark, Darryl W.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Cleek, Earl	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Curtis, Mrs. Clara	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Duke, Mrs. Belle	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Duke, Mrs. Ray	Purcell, Oklahoma
Evans, Bill J.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Fogarty, Lorraine S.	Guthrie, Oklahoma
Goode, Ralph E.	Los Angeles, California
Greathouse, Mrs. Jack	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Hall, Mrs. Margaret Ann Glass	Marthasville, Missouri
Hamm, William B. P.	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Holloway, Mrs. Bertha B.	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Housewright, Mrs. E. A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Jones, Buddy O.	Mountain View, Oklahoma
Jones, Stephen	Norman, Oklahoma
Kennedy, Richard C.	Vinita Oklahoma
Kerr, Mrs. Emma	Geary, Oklahoma
Mires, Raymond N.	Artesia, California
Nazare, Mrs. Olga G.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Nelson, Donald G.	Norman, Oklahoma
Ogle, James F.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Palmer, Sam	Okemah, Oklahoma
Peigh, Mrs. Mary A.	Bessemer, Alabama
Pyle, Mrs. Elizabeth S.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Rader, Mrs. L. E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Rhodes, Violette	Bixby, Oklahoma
Ross, Mrs. Aileen B.	San Francisco, California
Settle, William	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Slater, Russell	Wright City, Oklahoma
Shi, W. B.	Stratford, Oklahoma
Slemmer, Harry	Watonga, Oklahoma
Snyder, C. H.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Stevenson, James F.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Turner, Maxine	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Wails, Charles E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Wimberly, Harrington	Duncan, Oklahoma
Winterfeldt, Herman	Stigler, Oklahoma
Wylie, Miss Palmer	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Zellers, Miss Thelma	Guymon, Oklahoma

Just Off The Press

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Winter, 1963 - 1964

Volume XLI Number 4

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Cover: The front cover scene shows the campaign for Oklahoma statehood—the 46th State—from an old photograph taken at Guymon in the Panhandle in 1907. The scene relates to the article, "Life in the Territories" in this number of *The Chronicles,* showing F. M. Hover standing in the front far right, near the banner.

"THE HOUR OF REMEMBRANCE," OKLAHOMA MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, 1963

*By H. Milt Phillips**

Today we meet here to honor those who have made outstanding contributions to our great State of Oklahoma. The Oklahoma Memorial Association makes a splendid contribution to our State through your dedicated efforts to keep alive the rich traditions, the cultural heritage, of our Oklahoma. You reward with generous recognition, individual effort of our citizens who contribute to our economic, professional and cultural growth as the years roll by.

We pay specific tribute today to the late U. S. Senator, Robert S. Kerr; General Patrick Hurley; John Porter; and Mrs. Virgil Browne.

The late Senator Robert S. Kerr: Oklahoma lost a native son whose "Land, Wood, and Water" program will live for centuries. Senator Kerr's contribution to Oklahoma's veterans, state government, and to the nation is one of the most distinguished of any native son.

General Patrick J. Hurley proved to the world that an Oklahoma boy could come from the coal mines of this state and rise to the highest position in government. The driving force which Pat Hurley demonstrated all his life has contributed to the "image" of Oklahoma throughout the nation and to the world. Oklahoma lost a devoted son when Patrick Hurley passed to his reward.

John Porter was one of those Oklahomans whose contribution to the economic welfare was over and above most of those in his profession. A newsman and an astute businessman,

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* Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Vice President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, is well known as the member of its Board of Directors who has led and actively sponsored the establishment of the Microfilm Department in the work of the Historical Society, with the former Newspaper Department successfully re-organized and with 1,000,000 pages of old and current state newspapers microfilmed annually. Mr. Phillips is also well known in the Oklahoma business and publishing field as editor and publisher of *The Seminole Producer* at Seminole. *The Chronicles* here presents his address in "The Hour of Remembrance" program of the Oklahoma Memorial Association given in the Historical Building at 11:00 a.m., Friday, November 15, 1963. This is an annual program of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, in which tribute is paid to those members of the Association who have passed on during the year, as a part of the Association's commemoration of Oklahoma's Statehood Day on November 16 (or convenient day nearest November 16), each year.—Ed.

John Porter was ever ready to contribute his abilities and talents to his community and to his fellow Oklahomans. We have a better economy and a better state because John Porter labored and served here.

Mrs. Virgil Browne, that distinguished mother, homemaker, and civic leader contributed to the culture of Oklahoma as perhaps no other individual has contributed. She, her family, and her loyal friends made so many contributions because of her inspiration and leadership, that it would be impossible to enumerate all of them here today.

We also honor those many fine Oklahomans who belonged to this state by choice—who came here to better utilize their talents and abilities and to reap for themselves the benefits which their individual effort could provide in a new frontier state.

Many of the outstanding among those citizens have their names permanently inscribed upon that distinguished Honor Roll you provide, Oklahoma's Hall of Fame.[1] We know there are many who also served—who also contributed—whose names we never knew nor will ever know. We honor them, too, in this brief Memorial Service today.

This week it has been my privilege to attend here in our Capital City two state-wide meetings. Both of those meetings had as their primary objectives the development and improvement of Oklahoma's commerce and industry. Their concern was our economic growth and well-being.

The men and women from all sections of Oklahoma attending those meetings were dedicated in their efforts to build a bigger and a better economy for Oklahoma. Certainly we can agree those objectives are laudable. Their efforts give you and me the assurance our children and grandchildren will enjoy a better Oklahoma over the years ahead.

---

[1] The Oklahoma Memorial Association held its annual "Hall of Fame Banquet" at the Sheraton-Oklahoma Hotel in Oklahoma City, Friday evening, November 15, 1963 when the following well known citizens were honorees and inducted formally with ritualistic program into "Oklahoma's Hall of Fame": Major Gordon Cooper, Astronaut, Shawnee; Hon. W. P. Atkinson, Builder, Midwest City; Dr. Herschel H. Hobbs, Pastor First Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Charles B. ("Bud") Wilkinson, Oklahoma University football coach; Judge Orel Busby, President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, Ada; Dr. Ben G. Henneke, President of the University of Tulsa, Tulsa. The first "Oklahoma Hall of Fame Banquet" was held in 1928 commemorating Statehood Day, November 16, by the Oklahoma Memorial Association organized by Mrs. Anna B. Korn on September 27, 1927. The "Hall of Fame Banquet" has been held annually under the leadership of Mrs. Korn, and this event with the "Hour of Remembrance Program" held in the morning of the same day together makes an outstanding commemoration in Oklahoma.—Ed.

Today, you and I come together on an entirely different mission. We are here to honor the Memory of men and women who have contributed over and above the call of duty in the development of our Oklahoma. The contributions of those we honor today were not solely in the fields of economic development, although that was important to a growing and developing state.

The contributions which were made by the men and women we honor here today were in the fields of literature, the arts, in the Humanities—in the cultural well-being of a great state. Down through the centuries of history it has been the humanities which have left that indelible mark upon any nation, upon any people. Not alone, of course, but predominantly, the cultural attainments have ranked as the most important features of any civilization history records. That is why we here today recognize the many accomplishments of the specific individuals and the larger group whose names we do not know—the accomplishments of building a sound economy, as well as the accomplishments in the cultural fields.

May we, for just a moment, make a comparison which we believe is significant today. We would speak of events with which all of us are more or less familiar. Week by week and month by month we are reminded of the progress being made by dictator nations. The progress of nations living under the iron fist of communism gives much of the free world concern.

It is here we would begin the comparisons. The progress of which we read so much in the dictator nations, is in the fields of technology, of science, and, yes, in space. Much of that progress we must admit is related directly to war and the military.

In accomplishing the many successes in technological fields, the Russians, for instance, have developed a successful system of education. This Russian educational system we have heard so much about is devoted entirely to the technical, the economic—almost none of it to the Humanities.

We hear many people say, we must attempt to match the Russian educational system. Many citizens of the free world are alarmed at the progress being made by the dictatorships in the fields of technical education. The dictators who keep their people enslaved behind an iron curtain are straining every muscle to build greater war machines—bigger space vehicles—become more proficient as astronauts.

Just a few days ago I had the privilege of hearing a distinguished educator—an economist—a Doctor on the faculty of one of our great Universities in Oklahoma. He said the Soviet

Union is making tremendous progress in the fields of technology. But the Russian rulers fear for their people to study the Humanities. They want the people of the Soviet Union to know nothing of the culture, the economic well-being, the living standards of free people of the world.

The Soviet Union and its satellite nations want their people to know nothing of the culture of other nations of the world. They want the people of the enslaved nations to know nothing of the Bible. And therein lies the Achilles Heel of the dictator nations, this distinguished educator believes.

What do these things I have recounted here have to do with our assemblying here today? It has this, I believe—and I hope you agree—that today we honor those whose contributions were far beyond the economic betterment—the material improvement, the military accomplishment. We honor here today men and women who knew the culture of their own people and the culture of other people of the world. We honor men and women who knew and appreciated the freedom and the dignity of the individual.

So, I presume upon your time to make this comparison because it gives greater stature to those whom we honor and to their accomplishments and their talents and their abilities.

We honor those who have made contributions in the professions, in the field of literature, in all of those vast fields we call the Humanities. And we honor those who have made, and helped to preserve, the history of this great State of Oklahoma.

Those we honor were the leaders in developing the economy, the professions and the culture of this state. For this we must be forever grateful. We must impart to those who come after us a deep appreciation for all the things these men and women have done for us—the heritage they left us.

We must instill in our children and in our grandchildren an appreciation for those intangibles as well as the tangibles which have made Oklahoma a fine state, a proud state, a happy state.

Unlike the dictator nations, we pay tribute to those who made contributions to our spiritual welfare. And unlike the Soviet Union we honor those who make contributions which serve the individual, the family and not alone the state.

These are the things on which my thoughts dwell this day because here another day shall come and another shall stand where I stand now, and others will sit where you sit now. They, too, will pay tribute to those who have made a great Oklahoma.

And among those who will be honored on that tomorrow will be those whom we honor in the flesh tonight—those whom we honor who are out over our state and their names are unknown to us here—but we honor them because of the contributions they have made to the citizenry and to the free institutions of a great state.

To each of those who stood where I stand now and to each of those who sat where you sit now, to all who have paid tribute and who have honored their fellow men and women for accomplishments in all the fields of human worth, human endeavor, let us this day pay tribute and humbly express an appreciation for the heritage they have left us.

To each of those who gave unselfishly yesterday, and are honored here today, we must credit with much of the accomplishments and achievements of tomorrow.

To those who have answered the "Final Call" and stand by our Master's side, may we say humbly and gratefully, "Thank you for that wonderful yesterday, which gives us this today, and holds our hopes for an even greater tomorrow." May the souls of all rest in Peace, filled with the knowledge that we who are yet here remember and appreciate them and what they did, and today hold them in Reverence and Appreciation.

LUCIA LOOMIS FERGUSON
(Mrs. Walter Ferguson)
1886 - 1962

By Hope Holway

"I was born in a town that no longer exists, in an era that no longer exists . . . .

"My father was the community doctor. During my growing years I rode with him in an old-fashioned buggy on his visits to the sick. He treated rich and poor, Indians, Negroes, and whites with equal devotion . . . My education was sketchy. It came mostly from reading the classics, the only books that were thought to be worth buying by yesterday's parents.

"In time I enrolled at Oklahoma University and fell in love with the handsomest boy on the campus — after our marriage we settled down to publishing a weekly newspaper in a little Oklahoma town . . . .
"This column was born on the little Cherokee Republican. Since 1923 it has been written at home for the Scripps-Howard newspapers . . . ."
—Lucia Loomis Ferguson.

This, in her own words, is Lucia Ferguson's comment on her childhood. A volume will soon appear with a collection of her "best" writings, culled from over 10,000 such pieces written as "The Woman's View" for the Scripps-Howard newspapers during over thirty years of steady and untiring labor. Besides "The Woman's View" she also wrote the "Lucia Loomis" column, answering the hundreds of letters which came to her from confused and mixed-up souls.

When she speaks of the "town that no longer exists," she means "New Boggy Depot" in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, "the sweetest, most serene village outside of a book" as she remembered it.[1] Her father, Enos Osborne Loomis, from

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[1] "New Boggy Depot" post office was established on March 22, 1872 with Joseph J. Phillips as Postmaster, at a site near the new Folsom bridge on Clear Boggy River, in present Atoka County. This site is about two miles south of "Old Boggy Depot" where the post office had been established on November 5, 1849, with William R. Guy as Postmaster. "Old Boggy Depot" is famous in Oklahoma History and is now a State Park. This had been the capital of the Choctaw Nation before the Civil War, right on the Texas Road and the Butterfield Overland Mail Route (U. S. transcontinental) to San Francisco (1858-1861). The well known Capt. George B. Hester (of the C.S.A. in the War) moved his store from Old Boggy Depot and became postmaster at New Boggy in 1883 and established a cotton gin there. In about 1889, Dr. Enos O. Loomis brought his family including his little daughter, Lucia, and set up the practice of medicine at New Boggy Depot. He later made his home and practice at Wapanucka, present Johnston County. With the death of Captain Hester about 1898, the village of New Boggy began to go down, and has now disappeared, the land included in a farm and cattle pasture area, yet the name of Boggy Depot is still seen on some state maps of Atoka County.—Ed.

LUCIA LOOMIS FERGUSON

Indiana, was the beloved doctor, not only for the village but for the whole countryside, and it was here her first memories began. When still a little girl, she carried a book to read in the buggy while her father saw his patients.

She speaks of her education as being "sketchy." As a child she attended the neighborhood subscription school, and went through Barnes's History of the United States and McGuffey's Fifth Reader some six to eight times in the short-term schools when itinerant teachers came her way. When in her early teens she spent a year in a convent boarding school in Denison, Texas, then two years at Hardin College in Mexico, Missouri, and finished off with two years at the University of Oklahoma at Norman, where she fell in love with Walter Ferguson, son of Governor Thompson B. Ferguson of Oklahoma Territory, and married him.

As far as studies went, her chief interest was music, although she also studied pharmacy with some vague idea of running her father's drug store on graduation. In her teens she was teaching music in Wapanucka, then the Loomis home, and would ride "on the cars" down to Coalgate to teach a class. And after marriage she taught music to a class in Cherokee, in present Alfalfa County. This interest in music continued all her life and she supported substantially Tulsa's Symphony and Chamber Music organizations, and to the "Rare Bach" boys she was a constant and appreciative listener as they practiced in her living-room.

The twenty-year-old bride traveled from Wapanucka to Watonga for her honeymoon journey, with Father and Mother Ferguson taking the trip in the railroad cars with the young couple. Walter was twenty-one and had already broken into the newspaper game by University campus writing and was doing "string-writing" for the Shawnee and the Guthrie newspapers. Very soon he bought into the weekly *Cherokee Republican*, and its output soon became highly respected by the newspaper profession of the State.

Attention outside the state was attracted when the Fergusons adopted the pattern of taking opposite sides editorially on the burning questions of the day. A particularly hot fight was on woman suffrage, Walter "agin," Lucia "for." Their readers worried for fear the marriage was going on the rocks, but it was all good fun for the young editors. They were doing very well with a Sunday magazine when World War I broke out, and life in this country was changed.

Lucia not only wrote editorials (with her life-long one-finger typing method) but she kept the books, read proof, collected payments due for the ads which she had solicited, and handled the subscription lists, perhaps stopping to run home and nurse the baby if it were not present in the office in a clothes basket. Ruth was probably the one in the basket, for Benton was investigating the world by himself then and Tom was not yet born.

These three children survive her. Benton is the head of an active Tulsa advertising firm and a grandfather; Ruth is Mrs. William Deal of Tulsa, mother of three boys; Tom is Dr. T. B. Ferguson of a Tampa, Florida, clinic, and his three children make the seven grandchildren of Mrs. Walter Ferguson. Even though she was great-grandmother, one never thought of "age" in connection with her; she was timeless.

Walter Ferguson was elected to the State Senate in 1916, and after his term he became public relations officer for the First National Bank of Oklahoma City and the family moved to the capital city. Here Lucia began to write for *The Oklahoma News* under Walter's college chum, George B. Parker. This was the beginning of her writing for the Scripps-Howard newspapers which continued the rest of her life. In 1928, the family moved to Tulsa when Walter went with the Exchange National Bank of that city, and the home on South Elwood became a center of hospitable welcome to all sorts of occasions and interests.

Walter's early death in 1936 was deep grief to this family, but Lucia went on as she always had, giving of herself to whatever causes she felt to be worthwhile, and most of the forward-looking organizations in Tulsa have had her help and counsel. During these Tulsa years she served as President of the Y.W.C.A. Board; she helped the organization of Planned Parenthood make a start; served as an Urban League Board member in its first years; on the Little Theater and Town Hall Boards and on the Board of Directors of the Thomas Gilcrease Institute. For years, she "taught" a lively adult Sunday School class at the Unitarian Church, never missing a Sunday morning. She was a member of the "American Christian Palestine Committee" of forty persons who visited Israel and near East in the 1950's. She was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1935.

One of her finest qualities was her loyalty, not only to family and friends, but to those organizations that she had helped grow. She was a charter member of her social sorority, Kappa Alpha Theta, founded in her college days and she always kept warm the bonds with those former friends. Her two sisters, Mrs. Ada Barry and Mrs. Glen Leslie of Tulsa, deeply miss her unfailing interest and encouragement.

Those of us to whom she was such a rare friend can add much more to these few words about this great woman in Oklahoma. Lucia Ferguson's sense of humor almost never failed;

her laughter was always ready. She had the rare ability to disagree violently with another's opinions without argument ever becoming personal. Friendship could last and be warm through even religion and politics. Her tolerant mind was matched by her understanding heart. Oklahoma has lost one of its finest citizens.

LIFE IN THE TERRITORIES

By Leola Lehman[*]

My father, Francis M. Hover, was born at Linlithco, New York, June 21, 1869, on what remained of a land grant to his family from the Dutch Government. When his parents sold and moved to Philmont, New York, to better educate their children, my father was dissatisfied. As soon as he was old enough he left and roved the frontier until he met Mother in the Boston Mountains in Arkansas. Then he enrolled in the medical college of Louisville University, Louisville, Kentucky.

My mother, Isola B. Stephens, was born in Waleska, Georgia, December 11, 1879. Because of unsettled postwar conditions, her family moved to Texas about 1884. A year later they went on up the Mississippi River to Arkansas and settled near Clinton, in the Boston Mountains. Her father was a cabinet maker. My father dropped out of medical school before finishing but was given a two year permit to practice. He and Mother were married and lived in Scotland, Arkansas the first year where their first child, Frank, Jr., was born. Then, they decided to go to Oklahoma Territory to make a start.

Mother's Memories of the Next Two Years

My husband, Frank, went to Oklahoma Territory ahead of me to find a place to locate. It was in May, 1901, when the letter I expected from him came. He had located at Henderson, Oklahoma Territory, and would meet me and the baby at Shawnee. He was waiting for us with a wagon. It took over half a day to drive on to Henderson which was in what is now McClain County. It was several miles south of Purcell, where we went to shop.

Henderson

There were five houses in this town at that time. Mr. Hamilton owned a general store and cotton gin. The postoffice was in his store, and his brother was postmaster. Mr. Davis owned a blacksmith shop. Our drugstore was on the front of a lot, and we lived in a one room house on the back of the lot. A smallpox epidemic broke out in and around Henderson. Frank rode day and night to see the sick. We had our house moved up

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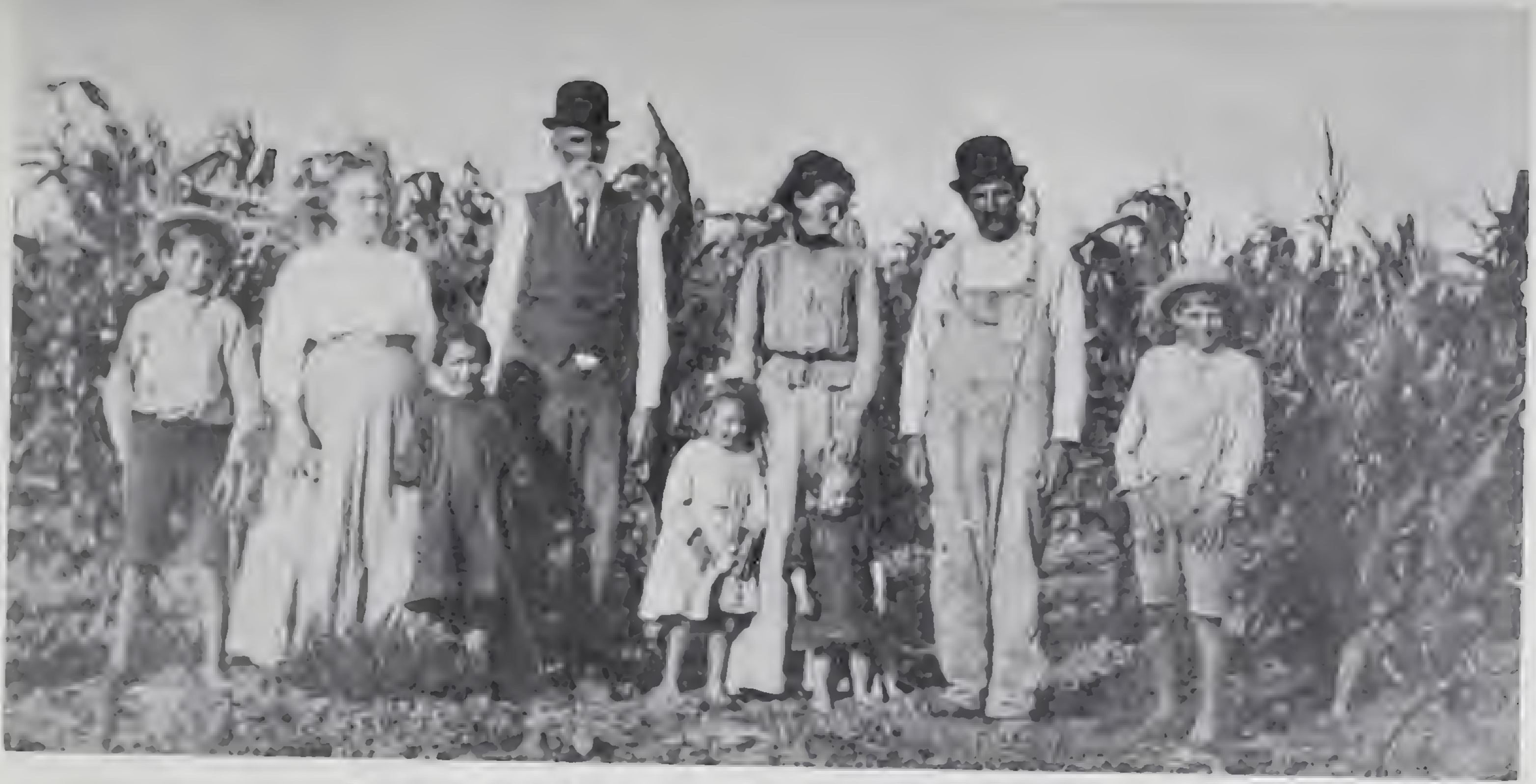
[*] Leola Lehman (Mrs. M. P.) of Lawton is a growing and active writer of articles and fiction relating to Oklahoma and the West, member of Oklahoma City Branch, National League of American Pen Women. She is a native Oklahoman, and tells of life in the Territories before statehood from the reminiscences of her mother, Mrs. F. M. Hover.—Ed.



THE HOVER FAMILY ON THEIR FARM IN THE PANHANDLE
Elderly couple to left: Visiting grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Hover of New York. Couple to right, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Hover of Oklahoma Territory. The F. M. Hover children standing left to right: Frank, Lela, Leola, Mildred and Fred. Photo about 1905

against the back of the drugstore so that I could take care of this and do my work, too, while Frank was out on calls. We had patent medicines, and the medicines Frank mixed for his patients. He always took his saddle pockets of medicine with him and usually left what he wanted the patient to have when he made his call but sometimes he did not have everything he needed with him.

When the time came for crops to be planted almost everybody was either in bed with smallpox or still too weak to work. Not much was raised around Henderson that year and men could not pay their bills—including their doctor bills. We were almost flat broke when fall came so we decided to leave. Although we knew very little about the rest of the Territory and the adjoining Indian Territory to the east, we wanted to stay in this country. We decided to just hitch up and start out. When we found a place we liked we would stop.

It was early in October when we started. The first town on the road ahead was Fentriss, Indian Territory, in the Creek Nation. The road was fairly good but we drove for miles at a time without seeing a house. This country was the Creek Nation and the Indians did not build their houses close to a road. The first night we stayed at a wagonyard. We slept in the wagon but I cooked our breakfast on the fireplace in the wagonyard building the next morning. We were out of Oklahoma Territory by then and in Indian Territory. I saw an Indian for the first time that day.

Fentriss

In the middle of the afternoon next day we pulled into the little town of Fentriss. Fentriss was about ten miles southeast of where Okemah is today and would be in Okfuskee County. Larger than Henderson, Fentriss had a blacksmith shop, a little grocery store, Fink's general store with a post office in back and several little unpainted houses scattered about in a hit and miss way. Frank stopped at a vacant lot near Fink's store. He went in to see if there was a doctor in town.

There was no doctor but what interested Frank most was what he heard about the crops that could be raised on the virgin river bottom farms that could be leased from the Indians. I was afraid to go live on a lease among the Indians but agreed to go if he could locate a farm. Frank looked for a place for us to live, and found a one-room vacant house just across from Fink's store. Frank found the owner and tried to rent but the man wanted to sell. We bought it for twenty dollars. The house had a door in one end and a little square window in the other. The door lock was a latchstring that we pulled in at night.

Next morning, when Frank went over to Fink's for some groceries. Mr. Fink hired him to go to Wetumka to haul some supplies. Wetumka was the closest town then. A little later when the railroad built through this part of the Creek Nation, Okemah sprang up almost overnight. It was a tent town at first but grew fast. It was closer to Fentriss than Wetumka.

I was afraid to stay alone while Frank was away so he arranged for a widow, Mrs. Alred to stay with me. She came but told me so many scary stories that she became afraid and left. I pushed our trunks against the door and did not sleep much. Frontier life had little appeal to me just then.

Fentriss was a rough little town. Cowboys came in every payday and got drunk. Then they rode up and down the road shooting up in the air. I was always afraid they would forget to point their guns up but they never did. They herded stock on leased Indian land.

The Indians came in to do their trading. If there was only one horse in the family the man rode it, and his wife walked and carried their baby. If there was another child too small to turn loose, she led it. If they owned two horses one would be hitched to a small wagon and the woman and children rode in it while the man rode the other horse.

Living On A Lease

Frank located a lease and we started out for the new location early one morning. The road was rough, just a narrow aisle where the trees had been cut. Finally we reached our cabin. It was not much. A one room log cabin with a door in one end and a window in the other, the kind the Indians always built. I was afraid. When I was a child I had heard people who had lived through Indian raids tell about them and how women and children were kidnapped and never heard of again.

My first experience with an Indian in our new home helped some. I was out hanging up some clothes when a flutter of movement caught my eye. I looked. It was an Indian woman at the side of the house. She was standing there absolutely motionless, as though she had been there a long time. I was so frightened that I could not move. She smiled and came toward me.

"I came to see you. I thought you might be lonesome," she said.

I was so frightened that I was shaking but I invited her in. She was Sally McKillip and during the year we lived there I learned to like and respect her as one of the best women I have ever known. A full blood Creek Indian, Sally had gone to Indian school and spoke English as well as I did. After we knew one another better she told me about herself. Her mother had died when she was about two years old and, following Indian custom, her father gave her away. He gave her to an aunt and uncle. The uncle overworked her but her father did not take her back even though he remarried. Indians never took their children back once they gave them away. When Sally was about eighteen Joe McKillip wanted to marry her. He was older than she was and she went to her father and asked him what to do. He advised her to marry Joe. They were married and it was a happy marriage. Joe was mostly white and good to her. At that time Indian women liked to marry white men because they were more considerate.

One day I told Sally not to stand around outside and wait for me to discover her. "You scare me, Sally," I told her. "Why do you do that?"

"I'm afraid of white people," she said. But after that she came up to the door and knocked when she came to visit.

The idea that she might be as afraid of me as I had been of her was a strange thought until I learned why. Sally's grandmother came to Oklahoma in the 1836 Indian removal. Sally told me how packs of wolves and whole flocks of buzzards followed them because so many of their people died and they were not permitted to stop long enough to bury them. They could only wrap the bodies and pull tree limbs over them for temporary protection. I thought it was no wonder Sally was afraid of white people. She had heard as many terrifying stories about them as I had heard about the Indians.

Other Indian women came to see me. Most of them could not speak English but knew that I was lonesome so they came anyway. They, too, stood around the corner until I found them. Several usually came at once and they would smile at me and talk among themselves in their own language. One girl, Mahalie, who was about my age, often came and stayed for hours at a time and the only word I ever heard her say that I recognized was 'hegee' which meant tobacco. She helped with whatever work I was doing.

Sometimes the women came to borrow and since they could not tell me what they wanted they brought the empty box — like a soda box. We managed to make ourselves understood surprisingly well. Indian women furnished their houses the same as the white women. Many of them had sewing machines which they had learned to use at Indian school. Most of the Indians who spoke English did not allow their children to learn the Indian language. They felt that it was best for them to speak

English at all times. Many of the older people pretended not to speak English. Sally said that she had done so because she was afraid. After she joined the church she stopped that, feeling that it was wrong.

Indians were good neighbors. When Frank was away and our horses got away, the Indian men rounded them up and brought them home. They always seemed to know when Frank was away overnight. The only time an Indian ever tried to trick me in any way was over a fancy, silver trimmed saddle Frank had won at a raffle. One day when I was alone an Indian man came and said that he wanted the saddle. He said that Frank had said that he could have it but I did not believe him and did not let him have it. He was not mad. He was one of the neighbors who helped bring the horses back when they got out and the next time he was there he behaved as though nothing had happened and so did I.

Our next child was born soon after that. All the Indian women came to see him. They passed him around and touched his face and smiled. He was the first white baby many of them had ever seen up close. Indians loved children.

One day I remarked to Sally that all Indian children were strong.

"Yes," she said. "All the weak ones die."

She told me about a young Indian mother she had known. The girl's baby was not well and she took him to a doctor. He told her that she did not keep him warm enough and to keep a flannel shirt on him all the time. One day when Sally was there she washed the shirt and put it back on the baby wet. Sally told her she would kill the baby.

"The doctor said for him to wear one all the time and I have only one," the young mother said.

This was only one instance of the lack of understanding between Indians and whites when each was trying to understand the other.

Both the men and women owned property, land, cattle and grain. They kept their incomes separate and each paid his or her own bills, like doctor bills, but if their child became ill each paid half the bill. They usually paid in grain and they always paid.

When we left the lease I was glad to be back among my own people but had learned to like the Indians. I was no longer afraid and understood that many of their ways that seemed strange to me were caused by fear of white people.

NABISCO

It was the first of March, 1903 when we left Okemah, then in the Creek Nation, and moved out to Nabisco, in the Panhandle of Oklahoma. We moved in a covered wagon. Frank, my husband, had gone out and filed on a 160 acre homestead and then he came back for me and our two small boys. We shipped most of our bedding and linens and took everything else in the wagon.

At Cantonment we met another couple by the name of West in a covered wagon. They were going to Nabisco, and joined us on the rest of the trip.

We had to ford the rivers but since it was winter the water was low and we had no trouble. We bought bacon, bread and what canned goods were available in the towns that we passed. We stopped at farm houses to buy milk and eggs. At night we stayed at wagonyards when we could and cooked on the fireplaces. When we camped beside the road we cooked on campfires.

We drove out of timbered country and had to learn to use cowchips for cooking and not be squeamish about it. That was all there was to use for fuel. There were no houses in that part of the country, only dugouts and half-dugouts. Some women had put up lace curtains but some windows were bare. All of the dugouts had piles of cowchips almost as high as a house close at hand.

We were exactly thirty days making the trip. When we reached Nabisco we found that it consisted of a store owned by Mr. Jasper Stark. The post office was in his store and that was how Nabisco got its name. It was about a block from one corner of our homestead. We were acquainted with Mr. Stark's brother and he let us set our cots up in his store and sleep there until Frank made our dugout.

OUR HOMESTEAD FARM

Frank made a high peaked roof on our dugout and set in a little window so that we would have light. He put a little building over the steps so that we would not have a slanting door to push up each time we went outside and that was important in that windy country.

We swung a little platform from the ceiling and kept medicines, water, bedding and clothing up there. We had a monkey stove, a packing box covered with oilcloth that doubled as storage space and table, two chairs and three folding cots. I folded the cots during the day and leaned them against the wall. The stove had a stovepipe oven and I baked lightbread. At times I sold bread to neighbors since most of them did not have an oven and ate pancakes three times a day.

The second year we were there Frank built a large half-dugout. We lined the walls with gunnysacks and pasted newspapers over that. I made three clothes closets by hanging floursack curtains. We nailed apple boxes to the walls for cupboards and the sod was so hard the nails held as if they were nailed into wood.

The only houses in that part of the Panhandle then were the ranch houses. There was the Babcock Ranch, the Steele Ranch and the Courtney Ranch. They left and moved west a few years later. The ranchers were friendly and most of us hauled our water from their places when we first moved in. Water was scarce. When we went visiting we always took a bucket of water along. Frank made a sled and hauled our water in a barrel for home use. One man did not have horses so he fastened wheels on a barrel and hitched his two boys to it to haul water.

As soon as Frank finished our dugout that first year he broke out about thirty acres of the land and planted broomcorn, milo maize and a garden. Then he took the team and went to Kansas for the harvest. Most of the men around there went up for harvest the first few years. Some wives stayed at home, some went with their husbands to cook for harvest hands and some went back to their old homes to visit with their people. When the homesteaders who left for the summer came back some of them found that their roofs had been stolen. The roof was the only part that cost anything.

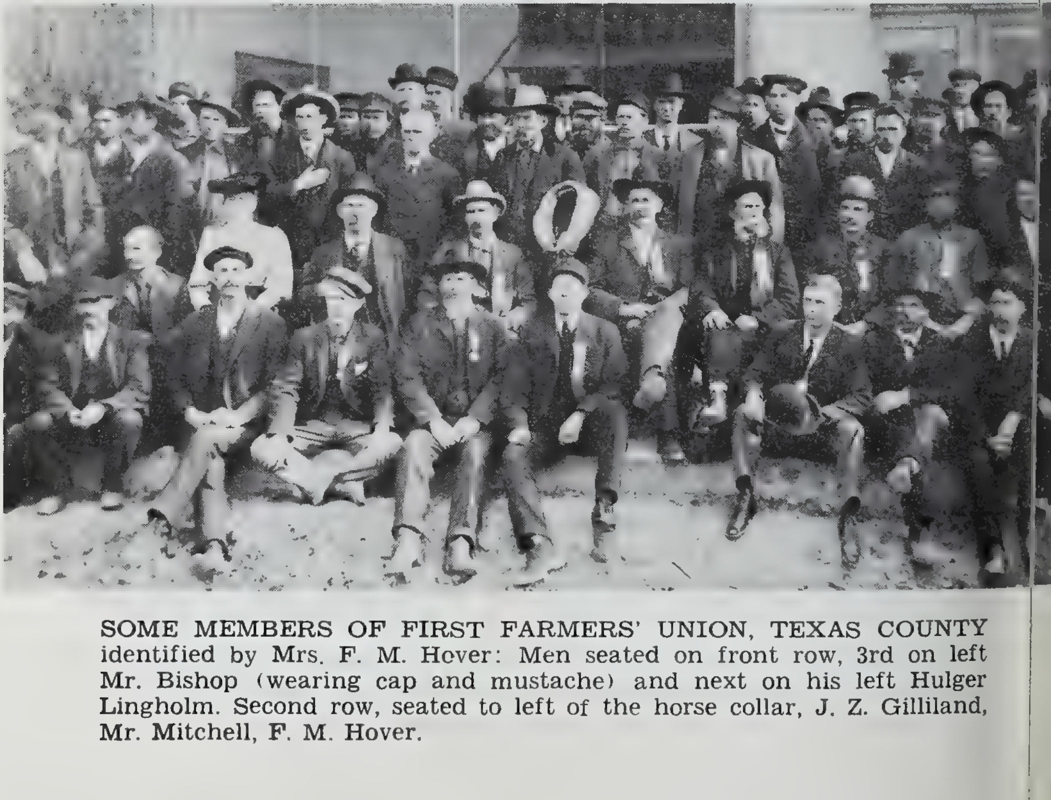
Frank brought a windmill back from Kansas and that took care of our water problem. I had used the boys' wagon to haul water to our house while Frank was away. Four gallon syrup buckets and the smallest boy just fit in the wagon. The crops had made while Frank was away and he harvested them.

None of us had much and that made it easy not to be dissatisfied. Most of us were young and about the same age and we enjoyed getting together for box suppers and ice-cream socials. After the Farmers Union was organized they had a three day picnic at Tyrone every summer. Tyrone was about a half day's ride northwest of Nabisco.

At the picnic there was a contest to see who was the best looking couple. The couple that won was given free lodging at the hotel. Prizes were given for the largest family and for those who had been there longest. Everyone enjoyed the picnics and there was never any quarreling or bad feeling to spoil them.

People were friendly and helped one another. Once a fire was started by some broomcorn seed that had been set afire. The owner thought the fire had gone out but when the wind

FIRST GRADE OF THE GUYMON SCHOOL, 1909.
Mrs. Beach, Teacher, standing left.



SOME MEMBERS OF FIRST FARMERS' UNION, TEXAS COUNTY identified by Mrs. F. M. Hover: Men seated on front row, 3rd on left Mr. Bishop (wearing cap and mustache) and next on his left Hulger Lingholm. Second row, seated to left of the horse collar, J. Z. Gilliland, Mr. Mitchell, F. M. Hover.

came up it set fire to the grass. Tom Hake, who lived near us was away from home and the neighbors knew it. The fire went toward his place. I looked out and saw men in wagons coming from all directions. They ploughed a wide firebreak around Tom's house, and it did not burn.

Getting fresh food was a problem. Everything in that line was too expensive except cranberries. We used lots of them every winter. We raised pumpkins and used them for pies and pumpkin butter.

The second year we were there the oat seed Frank bought had wild mustard seed mixed in. We used the tender mustard leaves for greens, and all of our neighbors came over for some.

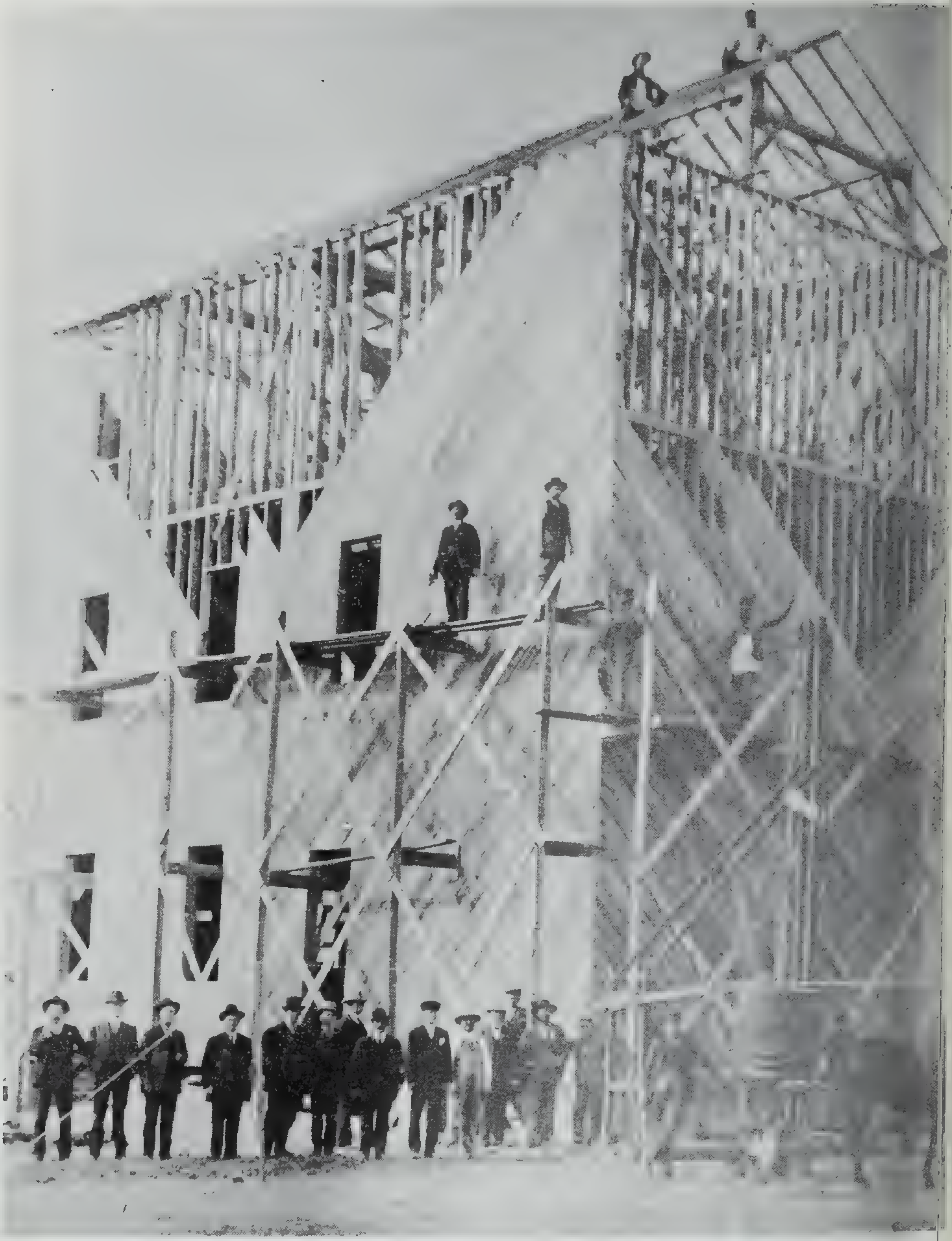
The wind was strong and was always blowing water tanks and wash tubs away. Whenever we found a tub or a tank, we took it to Stark's store and knew the owner would be there sooner or later to pick it up. All of us who subscribed to newspapers and magazines left them at the store when we were through with them for others who wanted to read them. Papers were literally read to pieces.

The first year we were there the only school was a subscription school, with Miss Oma Stark as teacher. Our first public school was in a dugout. We had pie suppers and ice cream socials to raise the money to have it built and then the teacher was paid by the Territory. Once during the school term we had a heavy rainstorm. When the teacher and children went to school the next day they found a foot of water over the floor. Groundhogs had tunnelled through the walls and let the water in. There was no school for several days while the mud floor dried.

Marketing became a problem to the farmers. Buyers began to pay so little for broomcorn, the cash crop, that farmers could not raise it. They only paid $15 to $25 a ton. Men from Texas came up and organized the first Farmers Union in Texas County. That was in 1904 or 1905, and I believe it was 1905.

The Union contacted a buyer from Wichita and told him that he could have the entire crop of the members for $50 a ton for good broomcorn and $35 a ton if it was moulded. He accepted the offer. Frank was chosen to go with him to grade the corn. The farmers were careful and most of their crop sold for $50. That made the Farmers' Union strong.

Many farmers began to raise wheat and cotton. Grain buyers came down and put up an elevator and paid 35c to 50c a bushel for wheat. The Farmers Union decided to build their own mill. Guymon offered to contribute $2,000 if the Union



NEW FLOUR MILL BUILT BY THE FARMERS' UNION AT GUYMON
(Photo taken on Statehood Day, November 16, 1907)

would build there, and it was decided to do so. Frank was chosen to raise the money, buy the building materials and then manage the mill.

The lumber was bought at Eureka Springs. Money was scarce. For a while it was a question if enough could be collected. It was a big responsibility because there was a time limit to the Guymon offer. The mill was finished just in time and Guymon paid the $2,000 and there was no more worry.

With Frank managing the mill and in Guymon all of the time we decided to sell out and move there. We had lived on our homestead for five years.

NOTES ON COLONEL ELIAS C. BOUDINOT

By Muriel H. Wright

Elias Cornelius Boudinot, brilliant and talented attorney of the Cherokee Nation, emerged from the period of the American Civil War as one of the two most widely known Cherokees among the loyal supporters in their Nation, of the recent Southern Confederate States. He was a nephew of the noted Stand Watie who had served actively in the field with the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory throughout the War, the only American Indian commissioned Brigadier General in the Confederate States Army (May 10, 1864), and the last of the general officers of the Confederate Army to lay down arms and surrender, June 25, 1865.

Watie and his young nephew were closely associated through family ties, personal interests and Cherokee affairs throughout the War. The First Cherokee Mounted Rifle Regiment was organized at Fort Wayne (in present Delaware County), July 12, 1861, with Stand Watie as Colonel and Elias C. Boudinot as Major, on the side of the Southern states in the War. This was some three months before Chief John Ross, who had held to neutrality in the conflict between the North and the South, signed the Treaty on October 7, 1861, at Park Hill aligning the Cherokee Nation with the Confederate States. Watie's Mounted Rifle Regiment now became a part of the Indian Command of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate States Army. Major Boudinot served with Watie's forces in the autumn of 1861, and was at the Battle of Chustenahlah on December 27, 1861 that saw the defeat and rout of the Union Creeks who fled in a winter storm to Kansas where they were refugees within the Union Lines. This military campaign brought the first battles and bloodshed in the Indian Territory between the Confederate forces and the Union Creek Indians and their allies led by the noted Creek counsellor and orator, Opothleyahola. The defeat of the Union Creeks in December, 1861, brought hopeless division among the people of the Creek, Cherokee and Seminole nations in their alignment between the Federal and the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory to the end of the War.

The division between the Confederate and the Union Cherokees had started at the beginning of the Civil War in the States, the division lines generally following those of the tribal feud that had arisen after the signing of the Treaty of New Echota, Georgia in 1835, providing the removal of the Cherokees to the Indian Territory. Here the government of the Cherokee Nation

West had been established in present Northeastern Oklahoma by the Western Cherokees who owned this region — some 7,000,000 acres under patent from the United States, besides 9,000,000 acres of the old "Hunting Outlet" country to the west under an "occupancy title"—through the Treaty of 1828 made with the chiefs and leaders of a large group of Cherokees who had lived in Arkansas for many years. The Treaty of 1828 made the provision that all the Cherokees should settle in the new western country.

The leading signers of the New Echota Treaty in Georgia (1835) with the U.S. Commissioners were Major Ridge and his son, John, and his two nephews, Elias Boudinot (father of Elias C.) and Stand Watie. They were able, honest and highly regarded men in their Nation whose best judgment led them to sign the Treaty at New Echota for the welfare of their people who were existing under duress of Georgia State officials and a horde on the Cherokee borders, among whom were many ruffians of the frontier pushing with their guns and blades for the right to rush into the Cherokee lands in Georgia where gold had recently been discovered. The Treaty of 1835 was proclaimed through Congressional action and approved by President Jackson, and the removal of the Cherokees from their old home lands enforced by the U. S. military during the winter of 1838-1839. Chief John Ross and a large majority of the Cherokees in Georgia had stood adamant in their opposition to the provisions of the Treaty of New Echota.

Soon after Chief Ross and his followers arrived in the Indian Territory, a convention was called for all factions among the tribesmen to meet and settle their differences to plan for their government and homes in the new country. Anger and passion broke up the meeting for many in attendance were bitter over the difficulties and losses during the recent removal west, and minds of others rankled in all attempts to settle tribal government matters.

On the morning of June 22, 1839, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were assassinated in different parts of the country about the same hour of the day. Stand Watie was also marked for death but was warned by a friend and escaped. From that time, he became the leader of the "Ridge" or "Treaty" group, settled and made his home in the Cherokee Nation, lived honestly yet dangerously the rest of his life for the feud among the people flamed up from time to time through the years during which many Cherokees were killed or left the country. None of the assassins of 1839 were apprehended though they were supposedly among the followers of Ross.

Chief Ross by sheer force of character and his own native ability and political acumen succeeded in organizing a convention attended by the three chiefs of the Western Cherokees and other leaders in the Nation that established the Cherokee Nation under a constitution written and adopted at Tahlequah on September 6, 1839. He was continuously elected as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation term after term, and was still serving in this position at the time of his death in Washington in 1866. He had left the Cherokee country and its Confederate alliance in 1863, sojourning in Philadelphia and Washington until the end of the War. During the negotiations for a new treaty with the Federal Government in 1866, he fought off any division of the Cherokee people and their country, the new treaty as finally signed and approved recognizing all the Cherokees under one government as the *Cherokee Nation* which continued under its own constitution, laws and elected officials until the close of the Indian governments in 1906 preparatory for Oklahoma statehood.

During the years since the Removal and on through the Civil War, Stand Watie—a man of great personal magnetism—was the leader of the old southern "Treaty Party" that included such families as the Bells, the Adairs and other well known Cherokees. They generally were the progressive group in the Nation, owning Negro slaves, opening up farms, raising cattle, and working for the development of the country through business and enterprise. Such was the heritage of the life of Elias C. Boudinot in the Cherokee Nation.

He was born near Rome, Georgia, in 1835, the son of Elias and Harriet (née Gold — a prominent Connecticut family) Boudinot. Mrs. Boudinot died not long after the birth of Elias C. Boudinot.

The father's original Cherokee name was Galigina ("Buck") Watie who adopted the name "Elias Boudinot" while attending the Cornwall Mission School in Connecticut, this name that of the founder and benefactor of the Mission, Elias Boudinot, the noted leader and statesman of New Jersey. After the assassination of the father—Elias Boudinot of the Cherokee Nation, Stand Watie saw to it that his brother's children, including the young son, Elias C., were taken to New England by Mrs. Boudinot (the second wife, née Delight Sargent), where they grew up and were educated. Elias C. entered college planning to be a civil engineer but changed his mind to study law. He was three-eighths Cherokee, dark, handsome and proud of his Indian blood. The "romance" of the Cherokee Nation, his affection for the Cherokee people, his Uncle Stand Watie and other members of his family drew him back west at the age of twenty-one. As a member of the Cherokee Nation, he had an improved farm and cattle interests there. He studied law in Arkansas, first making his home at Fayetteville and then at Fort Smith. After his admittance to the Bar, he practiced law in Arkansas and took an active part in Democratic politics and in the secession movement in this state before the outbreak of the War. At the age of twenty-five, he was a major in the First Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles under the command of Stand Watie. He was later commissioned colonel in his Regiment. While he saw active service in the field of the first battles of the War, he became hampered and almost a cripple from an old injury of his knee (one report states that the trouble arose from a "white swelling" in his ankle as a small child).

When Chief John Ross left the Cherokee Nation in the summer of 1863, Stand Watie was elected principal Chief of the Southern Confederate Cherokees. Thomas Pegg was chosen chief of the Union Cherokees in council, to serve during the absence of John Ross, the regularly elected chief of the whole Nation. Elias C. Boudinot was chosen by the Southern Cherokees, and went to Richmond, Virginia, to serve as Delegate from the Cherokee Nation in the Confederate Congress. At the close of the War, he was a member of the Southern Delegation of Cherokees in making the Treaty of 1866 with the U.S. Commissioners at Washington.

The Cherokee Treaty of 1866 held the Nation together as one people, owners of their former lands in the Indian Territory, yet among them were the old feud and hatreds accented by the recent War. Many a former soldier of the recently disbanded Confederate forces was murdered by Cherokees who had served within the Union lines. It is a fact that some young Confederates in the Nation fled their country, and did not return for a number of years. Whole families of Confederate refugees remained in the Choctaw Nation farming and stock raising until 1868-69. Some of the young men married Choctaw girls, reared their families and died in the Choctaw Nation. Even the well known Stand Watie had many enemies in his own country but he remained there, operated his farms and made every effort to recover his losses in property due to the War. He entered into partnership with Elias C. Boudinot in the establishment of a tobacco factory in the Nation near the Arkansas line, with the great hopes of a successful business enterprise.

Elias C. Boudinot in the midst of these conditions was more a progressive in his ideas than ever, some of his biographers of later years referring to him as a radical with relation to the conservatives among his people. He firmly believed and made many a strong statement that the Indians should be made United States citizens. He believed in allotment of Indian lands in severalty, every Indian to be a citizen of the United States with a deed to his own property. He believed in opening and establishing the whole Indian country as a regularly organized Territory of the United States. He stood for the building of railroads and the opening of and establishment of industry and commerce. His personal hopes and ambition were blasted, however, in the seizure of the recently founded tobacco factory by U.S. revenue collectors for his non-payment of excise taxes, even though the Treaty of 1866 provided for no regular taxation of any property or enterprise in the Cherokee Nation.[1] Boudinot took his case to the U.S. courts but the Supreme Court made its decision against him in 1871. In fact, he personally was subject to criminal action in the courts for non-payment of the excise tax. Stand Watie died in 1871. Boudinot now was alone, and even his name had become an anathema in his own Cherokee Nation. He stood his ground, however, continued the operation of his farm in the Nation, and opened up a new townsite on the M.K.&T. Railway, which he named "Vinita," for his well known friend, Miss Vinnie Ream of Washington, D.C., who sculptured the marble statue of President Lincoln that stood in the Rotunda of the National Capitol. Boudinot continued his law practice at Fort Smith, and furthered the opening and sale of the Cherokee Outlet by his Nation. His nephew, E. C. Boudinot (II) served on the Cherokee Commission in the sale of the Outlet after Colonel Boudinot died on September 27, 1890. The sale of the Outlet was finally consummated by the Cherokees three years later, and some 6,000,000 acres of the vast tract were opened to white settlement by the "Run" on September 16, 1893, and became a part of Oklahoma Territory (in present western Oklahoma). By this time, Elias C. Boudinot had been all but forgotten. Yet as a brilliant man and attorney among the Cherokees, his family history and his own experience and knowledge gained through the Civil War and the making of the Treaty of 1866 had led him to see the tenuous title to the Outlet ("occupancy title") held by his people. He wanted them to have the advantage and the benefits from any disposal of the great tract before it was too late and the millions of acres seized arbitrarily by U.S. government action for the benefit of the land hungry people on the Western Frontier of his day, leaving the Cherokees nothing.

No extended study and definitive biography of Elias Cornelius Boudinot has ever been produced. These brief notes merely touch on his life that had an important place in the advancement and development of the Cherokees. Though largely condemned as a radical in thinking by his own people and many others, he was highly regarded and held in affection by members of the Bar in Arkansas as well as by prominent leaders in the States. After the death of this Cherokee citizen, his friend of long standing, John D. Adams of Little Rock, Arkansas, who had served as an officer in the Confederate Army during the Civil War compiled an "In Memoriam" volume *Elias Cornelius Boudinot* (published by the Rand McNally Company of Chicago), giving some facts of the subject's life and the addresses by members of the Bar in the "Memorial Service—held in the United States Courtroom at Fort Smith, Arkansas," on Tuesday morning, October 9, 1890, with United States Judge Isaac C. Parker presiding. Extracts from this rare book are given here that shed light on the life, character and personality of Colonel Boudinot. The title page and excerpts from the brief foreword by Major Adams opens the memorial volume and are as follows with other excerpts—resolutions, addresses and press reports in 1890, from the same volume:

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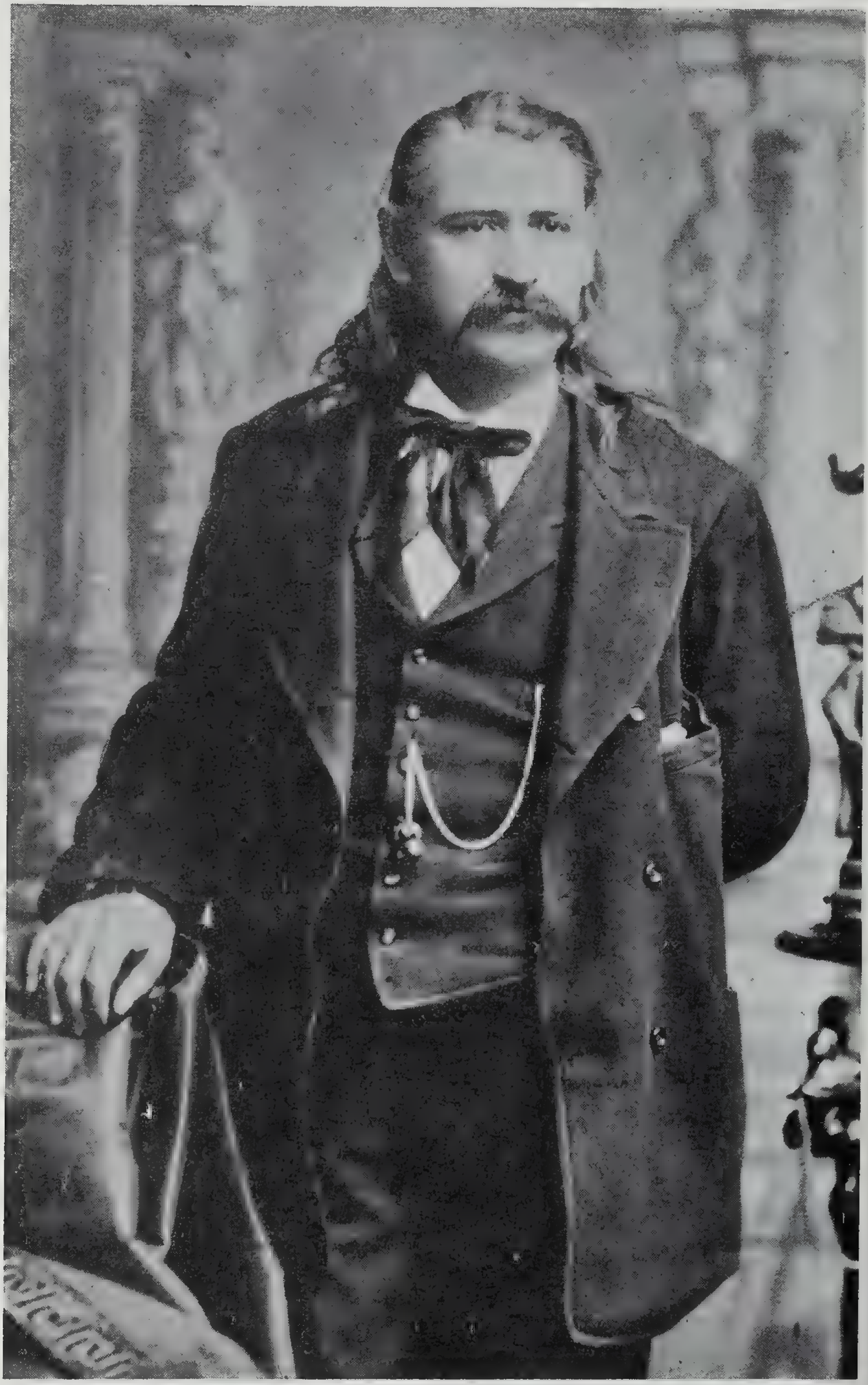
[1] A presentation of "The Cherokee Tobacco Case" by Robert T. Heimann, Ph.D., author and editor, appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), pp. 299-322.

ELIAS CORNELIUS BOUDINOT
Born August 1, 1835 — Died September 27, 1890
"One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin."

In obedience to the request of a number of friends, and in pursuance of an idea already formed before the pleasant duty suggested itself to others, I have collected and had printed in this little volume all the data I could obtain in relation to the life and character of that noble specimen of manhood, the late Elias Cornelius Boudinot. Among the letters I first received containing a request of this kind was one from Hon. Augustus H. Garland, late Attorney-General of the United States, between whom and the deceased there existed the warmest friendship. In this letter, Mr. Garland refers to our much-loved friend as follows:

"He was a bright, smart, intelligent man, and always entertaining. I know of no one who has contributed more to the enjoyment of his friends than he. Since 1860, when he came to Little Rock to edit the *True Democrat*, I have known him dearly and well. He was in the Confederate Congress as a delegate. We crossed the Mississippi together in those perilous days, and went with Governor Flanagan's flag of truce, with Brother Stuart and others, to General Reynolds in 1865, and I do not know what it is we have not seen and done together. You know all your houses were open to him, and he came and went as freely as one of the members of the family he was visiting. When here a few months ago he dined with me at home, and charmed us all with his music and recitations. He was so bright and cheerful then that he looked little like dying soon. In the Confederacy at the capital, and here at Washington, he was a visitor to all the best places, and always charmed his company."

E. C. Boudinot was a man loved by all who knew him. There was only one side to his nature, and that could be seen by anyone in his open, manly, and honest face. He was brave and courageous as a warrior, with a disposition soft and tender as a child. His tastes were simple and his thoughts were as pure as it was possible for them to be. Every act of his life bore the impress of sincerity, and love dominated his entire being. He did nothing for policy's sake. He came nearer living up to the teachings of the Golden Rule than any man with whom I have ever had an intimate acquaintance. He was one of the most confiding men in the world, and upon his friends he bestowed that unlimited confidence that made them love, honor, and respect him. He was extremely sensible to the short-comings of human nature,



ELIAS CORNELIUS BOUDINOT

and though a lawyer and a tireless worker, he never accepted a case in which he was required to appear as a prosecutor. On one occasion when he declined to take the aggressive side in an issue of this kind, he was told that he was afraid to do so. His answer to this remark was characteristic of the noble man that he was. He simply said: "No, I am not afraid. My reason for declining to serve is because I believe that prosecution is the duty of the Government." This answer he thought was sufficient. I have known the deceased since the fall of 1853, when he returned from school. He was the most lovable character I ever knew. He was refined in his manner and peculiarly charming in his conversation. He was an excellent story-teller, and could amuse a company for hours. In all our intercourse, covering a period of thirty-seven years, I never heard him use an expression or relate an anecdote that was not couched in the purest language and that could not be told in the presence of the most refined of the opposite sex.

Up to the date of his marriage he lived for his friends and their enjoyment, many of whom believed that by this marriage they would be deprived of the social pleasures they had so long enjoyed with him; but in this they were mistaken. While in Washington, he met Miss Clara Minear, a lady with splendid connections and excellent accomplishments. Each was peculiarly suited to the other, and it proved a very happy marriage . . . . Her husband was a man who made the world better for having lived in it, and there are none who so keenly appreciate her sorrow . . . as those who were honored with his confidence and friendship, and who look upon his death as the loss of a brother . . . .

MEMORIAL SERVICE

Held in the United States Court-Room at Fort Smith, Arkansas

Thursday morning, October 9, 1890, the court opened at 9:30, it having been arranged for the reception of the members of the Fort Smith Bar and their friends to present resolutions and addresses in memory of the late Colonel E. C. Boudinot. Every seat was filled with friends and acquaintances of the departed brother and friend. A number of ladies graced the meeting with their presence. Mrs. Boudinot, accompanied by Mrs. Judge Parker, was seated in the inclosure to the right of His Honor. There were also present:

Mrs. Thomas H. Barnes, the Misses McCloud, Miss Brogan, Mrs. Ed White, Miss Kate Hurley, Mrs. Bonneville, Mrs. Kerr, Mrs. Clendening, Mrs. J. N. Hewes, Mrs. W. M. Mellette, Mrs. Colonel DuVal, and a number of other ladies.

The Committee on Resolutions were: T. H. Barnes, chairman; Benjamin T. DuVal, Joseph M. Hill, William S. Murphy, E. E. Bryant, J. H. Clendening, Thomas Boles, W. R. Martin, J. B. McDonough, and James Brizzolara.

Judge Parker opened the meeting by saying: "This is the morning set apart by the committee for the memorial services over our departed brother, the late Colonel E. C. Boudinot." He then called upon Thomas H. Barnes, chairman, to present the following resolutions on behalf of the bar, which he read, and then made a short tribute to the worth and endearing qualities of his dead brother and late partner, evincing much feeling, deep affection, and affliction at the loss he and others sustained.

"The Resolutions"

"Whereas, On the 27th day of September, 1890, Colonel Elias C. Boudinot, after a lingering illness, died at his home in this city; therefore be it

"Resolved, That by his death the bar has lost one of its most valued members, one whose every energy was devoted to the interests intrusted to his charge, and whose labors were in no sense bounded by his gains. As a lawyer, he brought to the bar legal attainments of the highest order; as an advocate, eloquence of the most persuasive power, and as a writer and thinker, literary attainments of extensive character, and a mind of wide grasp and high polish.

"Resolved further, That by his death the country has lost an advanced statesman, one who, as an Indian, many years since advocated measures which his people at the time rejected with great bitterness; but time has vindicated the wisdom of his progressive views as statesmanlike and foresighted, and his people have come to recognize him as their truest and best friend, and the people of the United States as the most eminent citizen and greatest genius of the Indian race.

"Resolved, further, That in his death society has lost one of its brightest ornaments, one whose presence was like sunshine, and whose society was sought by the greatest and best of the men and women of this Nation.

"Resolved, That we extend to the widow and relatives of Colonel Boudinot our heartfelt sympathy in their great bereavement.

"Resolved, That these resolutions be presented to the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Arkansas, and the Circuit Court for the Fort Smith District of Sebastian County, Arkansas, with the request that the same be spread upon the records thereof."

FROM THE BIOGRAPHY OF COLONEL BOUDINOT

By John Hallam[2]

. . . .

Immediately after the assassination of his father, Stand Waitie sent all the children to New England. Elias C. was left at Manchester, Vermont, where he mastered a good education. At first, he chose civil engineering as a profession, and at the age of seventeen he spent one year as civil engineer to railroad interests in Ohio; but because of physical injuries in the ankle, existing from early infancy; he abandoned that profession for the law, and entered the law office of Hon. A. M. Wilson at Fayetteville, and there, in 1856, was admitted to the bar. He practiced in the State and Federal courts—much in the latter courts. One of the first cases he appeared in was as junior to the celebrated Alfred W. Arrington and Wilbur D. Reagan, in the defense of Stand Waitie, charged with murder, in the Federal Court for the Western District of Arkansas.

Boudinot led off in the defense, following his old preceptor, the Hon. A. M. Wilson, then United States Attorney, in one of the most effective and polished orations ever delivered by a man of his age.

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[2] John Hallam was the author of *Biographical and Pictorial History of Arkansas* (Albany: 1887). A biography of "Colonel Elias Cornelius Boudinot, Fort Smith" is found in Hallam's volume, (pp. 349-359) from which these excerpts have been taken. Adams used the complete biography from Hallam in the "In Memoriam" to Boudinot. The first part of Hallam's biography on Boudinot contains errors on the family genealogy, etc., and has been deleted here for these "'Notes" in *The Chronicles.*

Reagan was then a great criminal lawyer, in the prime of his life, and Alfred W. Arrington was one of the most gifted orators America has produced.

After hearing an account of this trial from persons who witnessed it, I asked Colonel Boudinot about the chief incidents attending it, and he made this memorable remark: "All the innocent blood and sufferings of my race came in panoramic procession before my mind as vivid as the lightning's flash, and determined me to make an effort worthy of my lineage or ruin my brain in the attempt."

A portion of the time during his first years at the bar, he mounted the editorial tripod as associate editor of the *Arkansian*, an ably edited weekly published at Fayetteville in the interest of Democracy. In 1860 the Democratic State Convention made him chairman of the State Central Committee, a very distinguished compliment for any man only twenty-five years of age. This position as one of the great leaders of Democracy led him into editorial charge of the *True Democrat*, the leading Democratic organ published at the capital. These positions, for a man so young, indicated extraordinary mental vigor, and they were supported with sufficient ability to give him a national reputation. In 1861 he was elected secretary of the Secession Convention by acclamation, and when that body adjourned he embraced the cause of the South, and repaired to the Cherokee Nation and aided his relative, Stand Waitie, in raising one of the then Indian regiments for the then Confederate service. Stand Waitie [*sic*] was elected colonel, and he was elected major, and soon succeeded to the position of lieutenant-colonel by succession. That great man—General Albert Pike—was commissioned by the Confederate Government, then at Montgomery, to raise and command a brigade of Indians, and he did so. John Ross was still principal chief. In October, 1861, he concluded a treaty with the Confederate States, espoused their cause, and issued a stirring proclamation to his people, penned by the hand of a master, in which the author reads the genius of General Pike. He [Boudinot] was then at Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation. He was engaged in the bloody battles of Oak Hills and Elkhorn. Under a provision of the Cherokee treaty with the Confederate States, he was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1863, and served in that capacity to the conclusion of peace. In September, 1865, the largest Indian council ever held in this country convened at Fort Smith, to determine the terms of a treaty then under consideration between the United States and the various Indian tribes inhabiting the Indian Territory. Boudinot represented the Southern Cherokees in that council, and made an able and manly defense of the course pursued by them during the war . . . . He followed [John] Ross to Washington, and checkmated and foiled all . . . combinations to inflict flagrant injustice on the Southern Cherokees.

John Ross died before the final ratifications of the treaty in July, 1866, and his faction tried to perpetuate their power in the person of another Ross, but signally failed . . . . In 1866 Colonel Boudinot was the chief actor in behalf of the Cherokees in negotiating a treaty with the United States. The tenth article of the treaty of 1866 contained a special provision exempting the Cherokees from taxation of every kind. Under this solemn treaty guaranty, Boudinot established a tobacco factory in the Indian Territory in 1867. In 1868 Congress imposed a tax on the manufacture, and authorized confiscation for violation of the act. Immediately on the passage of this act, Colonel Boudinot entered into a correspondence with the Secretary of the Interior, and obtained from that high official and his law adviser a construction of the revenue act of 1868, and the treaty of 1866, exempting his manufacturing enterprise from taxation—a construction in accord with the highest obligations of national faith, and one about which, it seemed, there could be no grave doubt in the minds of jurists, especially in view of the fact that it had been universally conceded that the legislative department had no power to annul a solemn treaty compact.

But Boudinot's factory was seized and confiscated, and the condemnation was sustained, by a divided court, on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. This strange and anomalous decision stands out in solitude and unenviable notoriety. But the court attempts to soften the injustice and rigor of the nation's violated faith in the assurance that Boudinot had kept his skirts clean, and the suggestion that he appeal to Congress for restitution. Judge Dooley, the great jurist and constitutional expounder, was president of the commission that negotiated the treaty of 1866, and as an act of justice to the Indian, agreed to the tenth article of the treaty exempting him from taxation, and did not then, and I presume does not yet, doubt the binding force of that article. Congress did ultimately grant relief by conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to settle and adjust the equities between Boudinot and the United States; and this tribunal, fifteen years after the injury, adjudged restitution. For many years he has advocated, with great learning and ability, the organization of a paternal government over the Indian Territory, and a division of lands in severalty, coupled with the rights of citizenship, as the best solution of the great question now confronting the people of the United States.

On these questions, at intervals during the last fifteen years, he has made many able arguments before committees of Congress—learned, comprehensive, and statesmanlike. In the history of his race he reads, in the near future, annihilation, if wiser measures than have obtained in the past are not adopted to avert it. He prefers the process of absorption to that of inevitable extinction. Fifty thousand Indians, surrounded by the most enlightened and progressive people known to the world, can not, in the nature of things, long maintain an impassable wall; can not long stay the tide of the higher civilization and restrain it from developing an agricultural area capable of sustaining five millions of people.

Colonel Boudinot, like Belshazzar, sees the handwriting on the wall, and for years has labored with great ability to educate his people up to his own intellectual standard. He favors the creation of a large school fund from the proceeds of their lands, to be held sacred and guarded vigilantly. The more cultured Indians now come up to his views, and adopt his standard, but are largely in the minority. To the mind of the author, the problem is now working out a satisfactory solution, without involving the breach of any treaty stipulation or national faith. Physical and moral with natural causes now concur, and are focalizing in that direction, and consummation will follow in the near future, if tinkering politicians and our abundant supply of ill-advised statesmen do not, by unwise legislation, postpone the result. It may be postponed, never defeated. The Government, in virtue of the right of eminent domain, and in aid of *quasi* public enterprises, has granted charters to a net-work of railroads through and across the Territory, which is ultimating in the influx of a large population from the States favoring the settlement of the Territory. Many of these, under the tribal laws, are intermarrying with the Indians. Another potent factor is found in the number of good schools in the Territory where the native children are being educated. Education always antagonizes ignorance . . . .

Some years ago, the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees, and many other distinguished members of the Senate and House of Representatives, united in a written request to Colonel Boudinot to deliver a lecture in Washington on the Indian races, from which the following extracts are taken:

"These tribes are rapidly wasting away, and soon, as in the East, the places in the West that know them now will know them no more forever.

" 'Ye say that *all* have passed away;
The noble race and brave;
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave—
That mid the forest where they roamed
There rings no hunter's shout.
Ye say their cone-like cabins,
That clustered o'er the vale,
Have disappeared as withered leaves
Before the autumn gale—
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore,
Your rolling rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.'

"The report of the Board of Indian Commissioners contains the following language:

" 'If the national honor requires the observance of national obligations entered into with the strong, how much more so with the weak! To repudiate, either directly or by indirection, our solemn treaty stipulations with this feeble people would be dishonor meriting the scorn of the civilized world.' These words are but as 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,' in view of the fact that Congress has deliberately repudiated the Cherokee treaty of 1866 in a vital particular, and has been sustained by the highest judicial tribunal in the land. If, then, professed philanthropists think the repudiation of the last Cherokee treaty is dishonor meriting the scorn of the civilized world, why is it no word of protest is heard? Why do they not lend a helping hand to reinstate the violated treaty? It has been struck down in their presence without calling forth one word of remonstrance from them. I have more cause to complain of the violation of Indian treaties, perhaps, than any living man. In more ways than the loss of property have I suffered by that act, which we are told by the very men who helped to commit it is dishonorable, *meriting the scorn of the civilized world.* Yet it is a fact accomplished. The tax-gatherer is sent to the civilized tribes, by authority of Congress and your courts, to levy tribute for the support of this great country, in spite of the solemn treaty which stipulated it should not be done. Is it not right and just that we should have some voice in your Government when you compel us to contribute to its support? Then make us citizens and clothe us with the prerogatives of freemen; arm us with the rights, if you impose the responsibilities of citizens. Do this, and depend upon it the Indian will bless you, if he but understands that he is elevated from the degrading rank of a subject to the elevated dignity of a citizen. You struck the shackles from four millions of slaves, and, while still dazzled by the full blaze of liberty, you girded them with the arm of citizenship, and bade them protect their new-born rights. You transformed the ignorant slave into an American citizen. Do as much for the Indian. Give him a voice in making the laws which are to govern him, and the right to sit on a jury which is to try his countrymen. Give him that representation which should go hand in hand with taxation, and do not longer trample on the laws and traditions of your race. Give the Indian those equal rights before the law which you concede to all other people. Arm him with the powers and privileges of an American citizen. Give him that title to his land which he can protect and defend. *Then,* and not till then, will he have a country which he can call his own; *then,* and not till then, will he be possessed of indefeasible title to his home; *then,* and not till then, will he have a home freed from the dark forebodings of the future."

One of the finest legal arguments I ever read was made March 5, 1872, by Colonel Boudinot before the House Committee on Territories, in favor of a territorial government for the Indian Territory, and in reply to argument advanced in opposition. Another great effort was made before the same committee in May, 1873, in favor of the bill to organize the Territory of Oklahoma . . . .

In one of his lectures in 1873, he says of John Ross: "He had but little Indian blood in his veins . . . . He was possessed of great administrative ability, understood Indian character thoroughly, and never failed to turn it to his advantage. He died in Washington City, in 1866, after an unbroken reign of forty years." Of Hopothleyoholo, he says in the same lecture: "The bitter feuds existing among the Creeks had their origin, as among the Cherokees, in the cession of their lands east of the Mississippi, and removal to the Indian Territory. McIntosh was chief of the party favoring a cession of their lands, while Hopothleyoholo bitterly opposed it. This remarkable chief was the uncompromising foe of the white man. He is described by a writer in the time of the younger Adams as 'a chief of rare abilities and great daring.' He was a powerful speaker, fluent as a fountain, and extremely vigorous in expression; his imagery was original and beautiful, apposite and illustrative; his words and manner were passionate to wildness. I saw Hopothleyoholo last in 1861. At that time his eye was not dim, nor his natural forces, to appearances, abated . . . . In the late war, he carried his party to the side of the Union, whilst the other party followed the lead of the brave McIntosh into the rebellion; but he was animated by hatred to McIntosh, and not patriotism, in this move. Hopothleyoholo was unsurpassed in ability, and as an orator was the peer of Logan and Tecumseh. He regarded the white man as his natural enemy, and hated him with a perfect hatred to the day of his death, which occurred at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1863. He was actuated by the loftiest spirit of Indian patriotism, hating the civilization of the white man, and loving his people and the graves of his fathers with all the passion and fervor of his wonderful character."

Colonel Boudinot [is] an able lawyer, a polished and refined gentleman, and possesses the most fascinating conversational powers. To these many accomplishments is added a wonderful musical talent and one of the most charming voices given to men. He is a Mason of the thirty-second degree.

Decease and Burial

Colonel Boudinot died at Fort Smith, Saturday morning, September 27, 1890, at 9 o'clock. At his bedside were his wife, Dr. D. T. Johnson, Mr. W. W. Wheeler, and Mrs. Wheeler. He had been unconscious for several hours, and passed away without pain. Three weeks before his death, Colonel Boudinot went to St. Louis, and was there taken sick and lay for ten days at his hotel. He grew tired of the place, and determined to risk everything to reach home, his wife, and his friends. Accordingly he came. He grew better, then worse, and better again until two days before his death, when it became evident that the Great Spirit had called the gifted Cherokee to the happy hunting grounds. His funeral occurred Sunday afternoon, September 28, at 3:30 o'clock, and was very largely attended. The remains were buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, the ceremonies being conducted by the Masonic Order.

COLONEL DUVAL'S ADDRESS[3]

It is with feelings of profoundest grief that I recall the sad event which is the occasion of our being here to-day. There are some persons whose lives are so bright, so accustomed to shed light and happiness upon their friends and family, that we never think of them in connection with death.

I shall never forget the pang felt when, a few short weeks ago, one of the counsel arose in the midst of the trial of an important case in another court, and announced to the court and jury, and counsel and other men, that the news had just been received that Colonel Boudinot was dead. After recovering from the shock, my memory wandered back over the long years since I first knew him in the heyday of youth. Bright, genial, and gifted, he was fitted to pluck the flowers in life's pathway, as well as to attain the highest success in life's contest.

I can not fix the date of our first acquaintance—it was several years before the war. He then lived at Fayetteville, which he considered his home until he finally settled in our own city. I used to meet him in the practice of his profession in this court, at Van Buren, in company with the gifted Reagan . . . .

Colonel Boudinot, although raised in the Northern States by a mother who was a native of New England, was a devoted Southerner in feeling, and in 1861, when the war between the States began, he enlisted in the confederate army, and was on General Hindman's staff at the battle of Prairie Grove. After the battle, he carried a flag of truce to Fayetteville, and there arranged with General Blunt for the proper disposition of our dead comrades who had fallen upon that field. He was afterward selected by the Southern Cherokees to represent them in the Confederate States Congress, and remained in that position until about the close of the war, when he returned to Arkansas. While in Congress, he was recognized for his ability, and made the acquaintance of all the leading men connected with the Government of the Confederate States.

In [1865-] 1866 he participated, in this place [and at Washington] in the negotiation of the treaties made that year between the United States and the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations, by which the status of those members of the tribes who had taken part with the Confederacy was defined, and the relations between the United States and the several tribes were definitely established. Here, as elsewhere, his intimate knowledge of the character of his people and of their history, and of the laws and treaties, marked him as a prominent and useful actor.

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[3] Colonel Benjamin T. Du Val, born in Boone County, Virginia (1827), was of Huguenot descent. His father, Captain William Du Val established a trading post at Fort Smith in 1828. Young Ben was educated by private tutors at Fort Smith, and graduated from St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Kentucky, at the age of 17 years. He studied law under Albert Pike, and was admitted to Bar in Arkansas where his family was well known and prominent.—Hallam, *op. cit.*, pp. 328.

He resumed his practice in this court, and pursued it with success for several years, until the seizure and condemnation of his factory for the manufacture of tobacco in the Cherokee Nation. He had, in connection with others, established a factory in the Indian Territory, not far from Maysville, Benton County, Arkansas, believing honestly that the revenue laws did not extend into that Territory. In this it proved afterward that he was mistaken. The whole of his property and fortune was confiscated, and in the effort to obtain compensation he went to Washington City, where he spent many years of his life, and finally Congress gave him a partial relief.

Colonel Boudinot became convinced in early life that the highest development his race could attain lay in their becoming citizens of the United States. To that end, he advocated the organization of the five civilized tribes in one territorial government, the subdivision of their land and its allotment per capita in certain proportions, and the balance be sold and the proceeds paid over to the members of the several tribes, or into the common treasury, for the establishment and maintenance of public schools and other beneficial and necessary purposes. No one could conceive a proposition more hateful to the Indian than this. When it was first advocated by Colonel Boudinot, we all remember that he was outlawed by his people, his property confiscated, and his life declared forfeited. He could not cross the border for many years, and was an alien to the country and people he loved so well and for whose welfare he thus imperiled his life. He lived to see his policy accepted and advocated by a large portion, if not a majority, of the Indians. It will not be many years until the Indians of the five tribes will be clothed with the inestimable boon of citizenship and in the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and benefits which the Government confers.

I have often counseled with him during the years of his heroic effort in behalf of a people who denounced and villified him and pursued him with demoniac hatred. Strong in his convictions, resolute in action, he pursued the right with unswerving devotion, undaunted by danger and uninfluenced by flattery.

I regret that I have been prevented by other duties from giving more of the events which characterized the life of our friend and marked him as a great man. He fell, like many of the benefactors of their race, in the front of the battle in the very hour of victory. He lived long enough to know that hatred had softened and hands once armed to slay him were extended with fraternal love. His presence among his people on their soil was no longer at the risk of his life, but warm-hearted greetings welcomed his presence there, and his public advocacy of his policy, once so hateful, had respectful and approving attention. His death is a great loss to his people as a community, and in the coming time, when enjoying the fullness of American manhood, the free and equal citizens of this great country, the name of Boudinot will be spoken by them with reverential respect, and the coming generations, the descendants of those people, will be taught to look upon him as the Moses who led them to the summit of Mount Pisgah and looked into the Promised Land of their freedom, and had died before his work was fully accomplished.

To us, his friends and brethren at the bar—his pale-faced brethren, as he used to call us—how sad this occasion. Boudinot is dead! No more shall this court-room resound with the music of his voice; no more will the jury feel the sway of his resistless and impassioned eloquence; never again will the court listen to his logical exposition of the law and enjoy the rich treat of his learning. His association with the members of this bar, who only knew him of late years, I know will ever be treasured by them as the most pleasant period of their lives, for it may be truly said of him: "To know him was to love him." To those who knew him longer, his loss is greater, because they knew him better, and in their daily life at the bar they will miss his warm-hearted greetings and his generous counsel.

In social life, Colonial Boudinot was always welcome, for he was ever entertaining, genial, and courteous.

In 1874 and 1875 I spent many months with him in the city of Washington. They were months of struggle for us. They were, in fact, part of them, months of poverty and self-denial; but amid all discouragements, when everything was darkest, his hopeful nature never flagged. He knew more public men than anyone I ever met. He was on familiar and easy terms with the learned justices of the Supreme Court, with stately senators, members of Congress, distinguished military men, and, indeed, with every class of society. I have heard judges of the Supreme Court address him as cordially as one of us would. I have spent the evening with him at General Sherman's more than once, and the features of that grim warrior would brighten as he extended to him a cordial welcome, and Mrs. Sherman treated him with a warm cordiality that showed how much she esteemed him. There was not a door there, or elsewhere in this broad land, where Boudinot was known, that did not open wide with generous welcome to our gifted friend. And in many households in distant parts of this great country, both high and low, the news of his death wrought tears and sadness. . . .

In the more than a quarter of a century of my friendship and association with our deceased brother, I never met him without pleasure. He was always cordial, affectionate, and magnetic.

In the darkest hours of my life—and I have had some—he sympathized with me, and his words were full of encouragement, and his earnest friendship inspired me with courage to overcome all difficulties, all opposition. He thus brightened my life, as he did those of others, by that genial, loving nature which made him the idol of his friends and the admiration of all who came within the range of his acquaintance.

When I look back, may it please Your Honor, to the time when I first knew our lamented friend, and recall those we were associated with at the bar, in the field, and in the social circle, and whose places are vacant among the living and whose abiding places upon the earth are marked only by little mounds, a feeling of inexpressible sadness overpowers me to which I can not give utterance. I can not realize that my long-time friend has preceded me to that land from whose bourne no traveler returns. As one by one my friends fall by the wayside, and are gathered to their fathers, I feel more and more lonesome, and I begin to appreciate the fact that one of the penalties of age is its isolation. The friends of youth and manhood drop into the grave until the living find themselves alone and without companionship, and naturally turn their eyes lovingly to the past and yearn for the companionship that they can never have again on this earth. It has been said that after "our shadows begin to fall toward the east we make no new friends." This is not literally true.

It is with a heart full of grief, not unmixed, however, with pleasure, that I participate in these proceedings in honor of the memory of one I loved so well. I mourn his death, shall ever mourn for my warm-hearted comrade, the loss of his genial and magnetic friendship; but I am proud that he was ever my true, tried, and firm friend, in adversity and prosperity, even unto the end.

> "What tho' no sculptured shaft
> Immortalize his name;
> What tho' no monument epitaphed
> Be built above his grave."

His memory will live in our hearts when marble wears away and monuments are dust . . . .

JUDGE BOLES' ADDRESS[4]

Naturally our mind goes to scenes by-gone, in which our departed brother had a part. I remember in 1860 politics ran high. The Whig party had disbanded, the Democratic party had come into power. At that time I remember his writings were as brilliant, able, and keen as any I have seen. Then the war came up, and I met him in 1868 at Washington, with the Blue and the Gray, with senators and judges.

At one memorable meeting, there were present General Pike and a number of others who had taken part on both sides in the war. General Pike had written a song, and Boudinot, who proved himself the life of the party, not only sang this song, but accompanied himself on the piano. As a school-boy, an old classmate said he was the very soul of gallantry and honor, and a hard student at Bird's Seminary, Vermont. Professor J. Wickham, his professor, still living, aged ninety-three, when written to, replied by letter in the highest and most commendatory terms of his departed pupil. He was a man of rare foresight.

I believe Colonel Boudinot saw the handwriting on the wall, and the Indians will acknowledge that he was a far-seeing, unselfish, and patriotic statesmen . . . .

COLONEL GLENDENING'S ADDRESS[5]

> "When the soul doth leave its dwelling,
> The glory of one fair and virtuous action
> Is above the escutcheons on the tomb,
> Or silken banners o'er it."

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[4] Judge Thomas Boles of Fort Smith (born in Johnson County, Arkansas, 1837) had little opportunity of schooling as a youth but at the age of twenty "became his own zealous educator," later read law and was admitted to the Bar in Yell County, in 1859. He was a warm "Unionist" in the Civil War, and served as captain in the Third Regiment of the Arkansas Cavalry in the Union Army. He was active in Republican politics after the War, a supporter of Governor Powell Clayton of Arkansas, and was elected (1868) as member of Congress, serving two terms in this post. He resumed the practice of law, and was appointed (1882) by President Arthur as United States Marshal for the Western District of Arkansas, a position that he held five years. — Hallam, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-36.

[5] Colonel Glendening (or Glendenin) was of a prominent Arkansas family, originally from Pennsylvania, aligned with the administration of Governor James S. Conway in 1840, and later members were well known as judges and attorneys in the State Courts. Only a small portion of Colonel Glendening's address on Elias C. Boudinot has been selected for the above statements.

It is thus we love to think of the departed. His memory needs not the blare of trumpets to announce his life's acts and virtures. The generous impulses of his nature prompted him to acts which will stand as monuments to his memory.

His constancy and consistency were shown in his advocacy of an advanced policy for his race. A quarter of a century ago, he read the signs of the times and took advanced grounds on the Indian question, which were at that time and for years thereafter rejected by the masses of the white race and bitterly opposed by the leaders among his own people. None of those things moved him. He pursued the course marked out with enthusiasm, until the statesmen of the white race accepted his views and the leaders among his own people were compelled to admit the greatness of the man whose views they had so long rejected. Had Colonel Boudinot been a time-serving man, with his ability and energy he might have been a popular leader of the people and have amassed a fortune, as others did, but he was not moved by such considerations. He earnestly and consistently labored for advancement of his people, and waited for the logic of events to vindicate his course; but at the very moment when his hopes for his people were about to be realized, he was laid low by the fell destroyer. But when his people shall have attained the advancement which he had sought for them, the name of "Boudinot" will stand prominent as among the greatest and the best of his people.

He amassed no fortune, either in the practice of his profession or in the service of his race, but he received the confidence not only of his own people, the members of the bar of which he was an honored member, but became the best and most favorably known Indian in America. He became a man of national repute, one whose name was ever prominent where the Indian question was discussed, and whose name and fame will be remembered long after the language of his race shall have been forgotten. His tribe and the country at large will mourn him as a valued and valuable citizen, but those who knew him as we knew him will deplore his loss as that of a friend and brother....

COLONEL CRAVENS[6]

Addressed the assembly in his usual clear and concise style, waxing eloquent at times. He commenced by saying that "death loves a shining mark" was never truer than in the taking away of Colonel Boudinot from our midst. He was a shining mark among his brothers and his nations. Prominent for his love for the lawyers he associated with, he stood their friend and "loved and was loved." He then related that President Nathan Green said, when he came to argue his first cause in court, when he had spoken a few sentences he trembled and leaned, pale, on the back of his chair. He trembled till his blood began to circulate, when, knowing that his future career depended on this his maiden effort, he braced himself and finished his argument. The older lawyers present, seeing his embarrassment, gathered around him and encouraged him. Many a time since has he given encouraging words and lent a helping hand to young lawyers. There was magnetism in the grasp of his hand. Colonel Cravens closed with a beautiful tribute to his worth.

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[6] Hon. Jordon E. Cravens, born in Missouri (1830), was brought as an infant by his parents who settled in Johnson County, Arkansas. He studied law before the Civil War, and enlisted in the Confederate Army at the outbreak of the War, later commissioned (1863) as Colonel in the Twenty-first Arkansas Infantry. After the War, he was elected to represent the Third Congressional District of Arkansas for three successive terms. Members of his family lived at Fort Smith where they were prominently known. — Hallam, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-99 (and additional notes).

JUDGE PARKER'S TRIBUTE[7]

GENTLEMEN OF THE BAR: On receiving the resolutions offered as a testimonial of his worth by his brethren of the profession to which Colonel Boudinot belonged, I trust it will not be deemed inappropriate for me to add a word to what has been so appropriately, eloquently, and well said by the resolutions offered, and the remarks of the gentlemen who have spoken.

Solomon, that wisest man of antiquity, in his Proverbs, said: "Boast not thyself of the morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

How forcibly we are reminded of the truth of this declaration by the death of our friend and legal brother. But a few days ago he was among us in the full vigor of mature manhood. When I saw him, then leaving here on a mission of mercy, on the 9th of last month, the very picture of health and in the most buoyant of spirits, I little thought in twenty days thereafter we would join a long procession of mourning friends to follow his remains to the tomb.

Day after day we see our friends falling around us. "The air is full of farewells to the dying and mourning for the dead." In the midst of this grief for the departed ones, let the thought of Longfellow occur to us, because it is consoling—

"There is no death; what seems so is transition.
 This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
 Whose portal we call death."

This event, so fruitful of sorrow and grief, has its deep meaning. We have but to reflect to be fully impressed with the fact that no life is ever lived in this world which, when it goes out, does not leave behind it an influence for good or evil, to be felt by all within the circle of its power. A human life, with all that makes it up in its influence, is like a pebble dropped in water as it starts a rippling, circling wave that reaches the farthest shore. So, when a human life has a place in the great ocean of Time, it exerts an influence felt by all around it, and often by those who are yet unborn. That life starts a wave of influence which goes beyond even the shores of Time, and is felt in Eternity.

The life of a good man, as an example to be followed, is as useful and cheering to the tempest-tossed soul in this world as the beacon-light of the light-house is to the storm-driven mariner as he is drifted by winds and waves toward the dreadful rock-bound coast. The life of a bad man looms up dark and gloomy before us, as does the rock in mid-ocean to those who go down to the sea in ships. The things which go to make a life a bad one are to be shunned as the mariner shuns the dreadful rock. The useful character of such a life is in teaching us to avoid the shoals and quicksands of folly, vice, crime, and immorality which make it up. So, good or bad, no life is without its influence. We are all sowers of seed in the field of life. These bright or gloomy days of our lives are the seed-time. Every thought of our intellects, every emanation of our hearts, every word of our tongues, every principle we adopt, every act we perform, is a seed whose good or evil fruit will be the bliss or bane of some human life. By our example, we may raise a mortal to the skies, or we may drag even an angel down. To us on this side of the grave, the great lesson of a death is to call our attention to the life that has gone out, that we may take it as an example to be followed or shunned.

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[7] Judge Isaac C. Parker, native of Ohio (born, 1838), settled in Missouri where he served in the courts of that state as judge, and after the Civil War was elected to Congress. He was appointed U.S. District Judge of the Western District of Arkansas in 1874, a position that he held for twenty years. He was noted in the history of the Indian Territory, referred to as the "Hanging Judge" for the number of criminals (most of them from the States) convicted and sentenced to the gallows at Fort Smith. Much has been written on the life of Judge Parker through the years, some in the popular reading style of the modern Western. A brief biography of Judge Parker is found in Hallum, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-47.

Mr. Dickens, that wonderful pen-painter of human emotions and the nature of man, when writing of the influence on the living of the death of the young, with wonderful beauty and power says:

"For every fragile form from which He lets
The parting spirit free
A hundred virtues rise,
In shapes of mercy, charity, and love,
To walk the world and bless it;
Of every tear
That sorrowing mortals shed on such graves,
Some good is born, some gentler nature comes."

So it is with any death. I have known our departed friend well on to twenty years. I have seen him mingling socially with the great and powerful of our land, and the very talents which God gave him, and which he had improved by cultivation, qualified him to entertain presidents and cabinets, generals and statesmen. The highest and lowest in the land have been entertained, edified, and instructed by his beautiful recitations, and the music of that rich, mellow, sweet voice, as it brought out the sentiment and beauty of the songs he sung. How often have we all, at social gatherings, listened to him, and by so doing been elevated and made better in thought and purpose. Some part of our better nature was quickened by sentiments uttered by him; some chord of memory he caused to vibrate so as to bring vividly to our minds some sacred recollection of the forgotten past. He touched some sentiment of affection that makes the whole world kin. He could produce the tear of sentiment or sorrow, or the smile of amusement or joy. All his efforts to entertain his fellow-men were lofty grand, and elevating. They would be sometimes amusing, but they were never low, vulgar, or groveling. He was a man of broad, liberal views. He had a heart filled with kindness for all mankind. He had a hand ever ready to do a charitable deed. He had a tongue that never spoke evil of any mortal. He was a man that could not entertain malice. He was a man of such ability that, if he had devoted his time and talents from early manhood to his chosen profession, he would have taken very high rank in it. He was a good thinker, and he possessed the happy faculty of arranging his thoughts so as to present them briefly to a court or jury. His manner in court and before a jury was of the most affable, gentlemanly, and pleasing character. He was, consequently, a good advocate. Whether at the bar or in the forum, he was an orator.

I think he was very much misunderstood by some of his people. They had a belief that he was not true to their interests, and that he was willing to barter away their rights. This was a great mistake. He was as jealous of the rights of the Indian as any of them, and I believe he was ever ready to defend their rights of life, liberty, and property. He was just a little ahead of his people. He wanted them to fall into the ranks of that great column of civilization and progress, as it goes marching grandly on to that higher, greater, and nobler goal of the nation. He saw they must accept the civilization of the century as well as of the future. To do this they must look forward, and not backward. Colonel Boudinot believed that the position of the Indian was side by side with his white brother, as a citizen of this great Republic.

Colonel Boudinot, like Moses of old, died in the very sight of the "promised land"; for we all now see our red brother will very soon take such a stand affecting his political relations that he can point with pride to the fact that he too is an American citizen, in possession of all the great rights that status brings. Then Colonel Boudinot's position will be fully vindicated, and his having learned "to labor and to wait" will not have been in vain. Then his memory will be held in grateful remembrance by those of his people who have misunderstood him. This event, so important to the Indian, will come with his full and free consent, in God's own good time; and that time is even now in sight.

Our friend was not without his faults. Who is? Echo answers: No one. If we find such a one we must look higher than mortality.

But we can truly say Colonel Boudinot has not lived in vain, for the world is better for his having lived; for he favored and advocated all that is great, noble, and grand in our progress and civilization. We can say, with truth, he has left for good effects "his footprints on the sands of time."

TRIBUTES

Washington, D. C.
November 8, 1890.

Dear Major:[8] Your favor of the 1st instant, touching reminiscences of our worthy friend E. C. Boudinot, is received, and after going over in my mind the past thirty years as well as I could, I beg to reply.

I first became acquainted with him in the early part of the summer of 1860, when he was associate editor of the *True Democrat* at Little Rock. During his stay there he was a frequent and always welcome visitor at my house—the one I bought from you in 1856— and I met him quite often at the houses of friends, and he was the same cheerful, sprightly, bright spirit on each and every occasion. His contributions to the *True Democrat,* in a most exciting period of our history, were well written, strong, and attractive. Not long after the elections of that year, if I remember correctly, he left Little Rock and went back to Northwest Arkansas, his old home. When the convention met, in

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[8] Maj. John D. Adams, compiler of the "In Memoriam." The names of associates and friends of Colonel Boudinot who paid him tribute in addresses and brief statements found in Major Adams' "In Memoriam," not included in these "Notes," many of them prominent in the history of Indian Territory and Arkansas are "Colonel" Wm. H. H. Clayton, Major T. H. Barnes, Judge Edgar E. Bryant, J. F. Reade, Jo. Johnson, Judge Cady, James Clark, Colonel Campbell LeFlore, John Vaile, Judge Murphy.

March, 1861, to consider the relations of that State with the Union, he was made its secretary, and a competent and faithful one he was in all respects. After this convention finally adjourned, in May, 1861, he went into the Confederate service with all his energy and ability, and used his full influence with his people in this cause.

About the latter part of the second year of the war, he came to Richmond, Va., as a delegate from his nation of the Indian tribes to the House of Representatives of the Confederate Congress. His uniform kindness and great social qualities won for him then, in those turbulent times, friends on all sides. On one occasion, especially, do I remember when he showed to great advantage, and captivated the House to a man. At his solicitation, I drew up a resolution touching Indian affairs, and indicating what would be a proper course to pursue with regard to these people. After offering it and making some general remarks upon it, I moved its reference to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and stated that before it was referred Mr. Boudinot desired to be heard on it. He arose with perfect composure, with every eye in the House turned upon him, and delivered one of the most brilliant and entertaining speeches I ever heard, and it was applauded by the listeners most vociferously. At its close, I believe all the members, without exception, gathered around him and gave him most hearty congratulations. We had no short-hand reporters there, and the proceedings of the Confederate Congress, unfortunately, are known only in its records, except the short articles the newspapers then gave of them. It is a pity that speech could not now be read and enjoyed by people of this day. It was eminently worthy of preservation.

After that time, till the end of the Confederacy, I was with him quite often, making together, in those perilous days, two different trips across the Mississippi River going to and from Richmond, and a more genial and captivating companion than he, on such a journey, could not be found. And finally at the winding up, when General Flanagan sent me, under a flag of truce, to General Reynolds, at Little Rock, in June, 1865, he and Brother Stuart, as we familiarly called him, were aides, as then jocularly named. There were many sad and some laughable scenes along this trip, which was made in safety, but with conflicting emotions of the deepest kind. Many, many times after it, did we refer to it as a curious and instructive period in our lives.

From that time until I came to Washington, in 1877, I saw him only at intervals, but always with undisguised pleasure. My house was ever open to him as one of the family.

After coming here, in 1877, I found him active and full of life, and the same old "Boudy" we all used to know so well and esteemed so highly. He had charmed everybody around here, and was regarded as an essential part of Washington society; his friends all about were countless, and are to this day. Most of his life here is public history.

The last visit he paid here he was a guest at my house, and looked so well and seemed so cheerful and hopeful we could not believe his end was so near. I never saw him in a better mood, and I was painfully shocked at hearing, not long afterward, of his death.

A brave, generous, intellectual, cultured man he was, with warm and sincere friends all over the land to mourn his loss and mingle their sorrow with that of his stricken wife; his name will live long, and be cherished in every place he was known.

I have lost many a friend from the ranks of the living, but none truer or better tried than Boudinot.

Your friend,
A. H. Garland.[9]

Major Jno. D. Adams

PRESS REPORTS

Doctor Bailey[10]

Colonel Boudinot died about 9 o'clock. He had been unconscious eighteen or twenty hours. His mind had been wandering for two days, though he frequently talked rationally and indulged in humorous allusions. He didn't suffer any pain. He returned from St. Louis two weeks ago Tuesday next. I was called to attend immediately on his return. I told Mrs. Boudinot I did not think he could live, but he rallied and gave me some hope of his recovery. He got so that he would talk about his friends, and tell funny things that occurred to him. He had a number of letters written to distant friends, not, however, with any seeming expectancy of death. He became worse in the last two days. He had been sick ten days before he came home from St. Louis. He exerted himself to get back here. He and I were old friends. He was the only man I ever knew in my life who was universally loved. I never heard a single man in my life say a single word against Boudinot. When I had to go to Greenwood, Doctor Johnson was called in. I didn't want to go, but was compelled to. When I returned and took his hand, as he lay with his eyes closed, his wife told him that I had come.

"Yes," said he, "I know his touch."

I was not with him when he died—left about an hour before. I went home to rest, and in my sleep I dreamed of Boudinot, and thought I saw him in his health and vigor, and heard him singing the plaintive old song he loved so well. The song was "Sweet and Low," and when I woke the melody was ringing in my ears. The vision was gone, and I knew too well poor Boudinot was gone forever. I had been with him from half-past three to seven. He was a very dear friend of mine. I was born in the Cherokee Nation, and though not a Cherokee, they always claimed me as such, and Colonel Boudinot claimed me, too, and loved me as a brother. I don't think Colonel Boudinot ever did a mean thing in his life. He was incapable of doing a mean act.[11]

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[9] A. H. Garland, born (1832) in Tipton County, Tennessee, was brought by his parents to live in Arkansas the next year. Biographer Hallum gives much space to the life of Mr. Garland whom he describes as one of the most remarkable men in the history of Arkansas, whose good name and career (though he escaped uncondemned), became involved in an attempt of the Pan-Electric Company to force the Bell Telephone Company to share its resources through the U.S. courts, the case touching upon the "Rogers patent" and the Bell telephone. Garland as U.S. Senator from Arkansas had voted for secession in 1861, and served his state as senator in the Confederate Congress at Richmond during the Civil War. He was elected U.S. Senator to Congress in 1866 but was denied admission by the reconstruction forces. He was elected and inaugurated Governor in 1875; beginning in 1877, he was again elected and served nearly two terms as U.S. Senator from his state, before he was appointed Attorney General by President Cleveland as the first U.S. Cabinet officer from Arkansas.

[10] Doctor Bailey's report here is given from the *Fort Smith Times* of Sunday, September 28, 1890.—Hallum, *op. cit.*

[11] The settlement of the Cherokee Outlet Claim through the U.S. Court of Claims, (in process of payment 1963), "The Cherokee Tobacco Case" and research on other subjects recently recalled to the Editor of

Little Rock, Ark.

Fort Smith Times:

The gifted Boudinot is dead. Perhaps Colonel Boudinot was not his own best friend. Perhaps he was not the cool logician who sought to accomplish ends without regard to means, and hence failed to acquire that competency which brings ease and comfort and perfection. But without effort and without method he acquired the wealth of a name that will live when the wealth of fortune's favored sons is forgotten. Colonel Boudinot was a man of friendship. To hate was no part of his nature, and though he hated his enemies with all the fervor of his soul, he did it religiously—did it with the impulsive feeling that not to hate them would be treason to the memory of his father and friends who had suffered at the hands of savage cruelty.

Colonel Boudinot was a classic man. He loved the classics intuitively. He loved the beautiful in marble, in painting, in music, in faultless rhythm. He loved beautiful words and beautiful accounts, and most of all, beautiful thoughts.

Now that he is gone, we shall miss him. That dark face of his which looked glum to the stranger, when saluted by a friend lit up with a sparkling light no words can describe. But it will light up no more to the loved and loving friends he leaves behind until the resurrection morn gleams its light upon us all.

Arkansas Gazette:

The announcement of the death of Col. E. C. Boudinot, made in Sunday's Gazette, was read with deep regret by all who knew the deceased in life. For many years Colonel Boudinot was prominent in Arkansas affairs; was known by all classes of our citizens, and possessed qualities which rendered him a prime social favorite everywhere. He was the soul of honor; brave and chivalric. He bore his heart on his sleeve, that all might see it, for he had nothing to conceal from friend or foe. His long and varied career, if properly written, would make one of the most interesting of contributions to the history of life in the Southwest.

Arkansas Democrat:

Colonel E. C. Boudinot, the famous Cherokee lawyer and ex-Confederate soldier, died in Fort Smith, Saturday, after an illness of ten days. He was surrounded at the time of his death by the friends who had known him best and loved him most. It was a sorrowful summons, and the news of its fulfillment saddened many a heart, not only here in Arkansas, but in other sections of the country.

The Chronicles, the figure of Colonel Elias C. Boudinot, prominent in history from the period of the Civil War to the organization of Oklahoma Territory in 1890. The Editor (M.H.W.) has written brief sketches on the life of Colonel Boudinot in her various books on Oklahoma history and in addenda notes for *The Chronicles* through the years. This article devoted to "Notes" on his life in this number of the magazine was specially brought to mind through the loan of the rare book, *Elias Cornelius Boudinot* (John D. Adams' "In Memoriam"), by Mr. Edwin Culbertson of Oklahoma City. The Historical Society Library also has a copy of this book. Mr. Culbertson's copy bears an original handwritten inscription on the fly leaf: "D. M. Wisdom to Dr. E. Poe Harris in *Memoriam of Elias Cornelius Boudinot*—Our Ulysses has gone upon his eternal wanderings, & there is no one left in Ithaca strong enough to bend his bow.—*D.M.W.*"—Ed.

Fort Smith Call:

In the death of Elias C. Boudinot, the city of Fort Smith loses one of her most useful citizens, the bar one of its most brilliant members, and the Cherokees one of their greatest and most progressive leaders. For twenty-five years Elias Boudinot has been one of the most noted Indians of America. Driven from his native land years ago because of his progressive views, his property confiscated, a price set upon his head, he fled to Washington, where his natural brilliancy, his powers of logic and conversation, his great knowledge of human nature, soon won for him a name and fame both in social and national affairs. Few men were possessed of such personal magnetism, and he made friends wherever he went; and though an exile, he never forgot that he was a Cherokee, and the land and people that had spurned him always occupied a warm place in his heart, and he was ever a ready and ardent defender of their rights. More than twenty years ago, he advocated in a public speech the holding of lands in severalty by the Cherokees. He was far ahead of his people in ideas and in works, but he has lived to see the day when thousands of his tribe have accepted the same views for which he was exiled from his country in his early manhood, and to live down his wrongs, and find himself once more an honored and respected citizen of his native land. The last years of his life he has spent in this city, practicing his profession and winning laurels at the bar of the land, and working out the dream of his life, which was the building for himself a home in his own land and ending his days peacefully among his own people. And just as his dream was about to be materialized, death stepped in and claimed him for his own, and to-day, all over this fair land, there is many a heart that will bend in sorrow for the chieftain whose life has held so much of life's bitterness, and on the brink of the grave all mankind will drop a sympathetic tear and softly whisper, "Peace be still."

Fort Smith Elevator:

Colonel Boudinot was an extraordinary man, and will occupy a marked place in history. Taken in all phases of character, he was, perhaps, the best representative of the Indian race that ever existed.

COMMENTARY

The foregoing citations of facts in relation to the life and character of Elias C. Boudinot constitute but a small fragmentary evidence of what might be written of a man who will always be regarded as "the noblest Indian of them all." He lived during the most exciting period of his country's history, at a time when problems touching the future welfare of the Republic required solution by men of quick and active brain, and possessed of that courage and bravery, born of patriotism, which lead them on to battle for their country's good in field and forum, the sacrifice of personal interests always being necessary to the accomplishment of their aims, and purposes. Such a character was E. C. Boudinot. His statesmanlike efforts in behalf of human liberty and of his people were made at the proper time and in the proper place, and when the art of stenography had not reached that degree of perfection to which it has now attained. Consequently, many of his best speeches and noble utterances will forever remain a part of the unwritten history of the nation. I regret that the incidents of his active life can not be given in fuller detail, and consoled with the knowledge that all that was good and commendable in his nature has already been written in that Great Book whose observant Author noteth even the fall of a sparrow, and leaveth nothing unfinished. I close this little volume, which I desire to dedicate to the loving and sorrow-stricken widow, whose bereavement awakens genuine sympathy in the hearts of the many friends who were devoted to her noble husband; and with the assurance that his name and memory will always continue to be remembered and honored, I remain,

Very respectfully,
John D. Adams

A PIONEER'S SOD HOUSE MEMORIES

*By Orvoe Swartz**

Since pioneer Sooner lore included many home and community interests, it is not enough to just continue depicting the modern screen versions of the old West's history. With western fiction readers and picture fans swayed by the screen's make-believe versions of the old cow country, too few of today's Sooners are versed in the true settlement and home-making history lived by our Pioneer Builders. We display imitative stories of our state's earlyday bandits, pistol duels and other violence, but too little is pictured and published about its pioneer home, school, church, industrial and other law abiding history.

Some say, why keep alive this pioneer folk lore and home-making history when so much depends on keeping posted on today's community, state and national affairs? Too many forget that it took pioneer home-makers, school teachers, church leaders and law officials to tame the "Wild and Wooly West." They laid the foundations and trained their successors to transform the arid cow country and subsequent homestead empire into Oklahoma's unsurpassed growth and dauntless spirit of today's builders.

With this decade bringing the centennial of the West's opening to farm settlement, second and third generation descendants of pioneers are reviewing stories of century old war conflicts, western travels and Indian Territory forts. Moreover, but little realized, we are in the beginning centennial years of our nation's "HOMESTEAD ACT." With this little publicized Act inaugurating so much of the West's civilized trade, there can be no more fitting time to record and preserve additional chapters of that fast fading pioneer settlement and building history.

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* Mr. Orvoe Swartz, born in Central Kansas, came as a boy with his parents to the "Cherokee Strip" country in 1894, their first home a sod house built on a school-land section southeast of Ringwood (an inland store and post office), in Woods County Oklahoma Territory. He attended the neighborhood, log school-house, and when grown, farmed in the daytime, crammed home study in the evenings, finally received a County teacher's certificate and taught school at Spencer post office in old Garfield County. He married in 1901, and was the manager of the Swartz family farm and ranch for a number of years. He moved his own family in 1920 first to Enid and later to Norman to educate his children, and now lives in Oklahoma City where he and his wife celebrated their sixtieth wedding anniversary in 1961. He has authored a pioneer story that appeared as a serial in his old Kansas home-town "News Weekly," besides has completed a "Swartz Family History," and two other book-length manuscripts, one titled "Pioneer Kid's Cow Country Lore."—Ed.

A SIXTIETH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY
IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1961

Right are Mr. and Mrs. Orvoe Swartz; left, Dr. and Mrs. Roy Swartz of Enid. Dr. Swartz and Mr. Swartz are brothers, and their wives are sisters—nee Lillian Carlile (right) and Nellie Carlile (left). The couples married in a double wedding ceremony in November, 1901; both the Swartz and the Carlile families were pioneers in the Cherokee Strip, mail received at Concord in Woods County, Oklahoma Territory.

National Archive Records reveal that the Homestead Act was passed by congress and signed by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862. Although that Act's operations began January 1, 1863, it was a decade later before many eastern citizens started traveling by rail, stagecoach, prairie schooners and light rigs to become midwestern homesteaders. From the 1870's through three decades more than a million settlers entered virgin land under that historic Act, thousands of whom settled in Oklahoma.

Having witnessed some of that history, I have not ceased to admire the sturdy hardihood, dauntless courage and never quit spirit of the Pioneer Builders. Although I did not know many more pioneers than our neighbors, I recall how most all honored their word and how they extended a friendly welcome to travelers and help to neighbors in sickness and need. I shall always cherish the ethical ideals and loyal citizenship of the noble families, school teachers and clergymen with whom I pioneered, when a Kansas youth and an earlyday teacher in Oklahoma.

Knowing of much history these pioneers made, and though many were little traveled and unsung, this is to record that some of them lived nine decades and several of them counted a hundred birthdays. Still few of them troubled to write details of their sod shanty building or prairie schooner camping. Now with this vehicle obsolete, almost no one remains with the western skill to outfit and manage a one to three hundred mile, prairie schooner trip. Although numbers have pictures of sod houses and prairie schooners, these show very little of the history lived by Oklahoma's earlyday ranchers and pioneer homesteaders.

However well versed in pictured western lore, if you do not know how to assemble a horse-powered covered wagon and grubstake it with food, bedding and camp tools for a long trip; if you have not driven such a land schooner over a wild prairie trail; if you have never retired under one with its wheel spokes for your bedroom's side wall, prairie sod for a bed mattress and the night sky for a canopy and horse neighs for a lullaby, you have missed your lessons in prairie schooner travel and camping.

Moreover if you never batched and lived for days on schooner fare of sow-belly, camp fried spuds, boiled soups, beans and sourdough bread; if you have not used the ground for a dining table, a wagon tongue or your imagination for a camp stool and washed down each meal with tincupfuls of black, camp brewed coffee; if you could not eat enough to ease hunger more than three hours, and not get as ravenous as a starved pup, you have skipped over your western travel schooling in schooner rations and pioneering lessons in the rugged "School Of Hard Knocks."

These were only a few of the lessons needed by the prairie schooner trail campers and pioneer home-seekers. With necessity the mother of invention, and without textbook studies, they mastered lessons in building dugouts, sod houses and shacks of various designs and sizes. Although few old-timers survive who made sod shanty history, that kind of family shelter was a common residence on the western plains and Oklahoma prairies in my early memories of the 1880's and 1890's.

With one or more sod houses, in regions of the old cow country's several states, still reminders of the old West's history, one of the oldest soddies is still useful and serving a historic purpose. It is a sod museum housing some of the pioneer relics and antique heirlooms of frontier days and homestead yesteryears. It and a similar one, not as aged, provide two sod houses that are open to tourists and research historians from all states. They are at Colby, Kansas — headquarters of the Sons And Daughters Of The Soddies. The town is likewise known as *"The Prairie Homestead Capitol of North America."*

A century and less ago, the sod shanty builders had no notion of making the skill a union labor trade, but it proved a cash saving project and a money stretching craft to many pioneer home-makers. With no end to lessons in enforced thrift and practical ingenuity, an urgent need was learning how to lay up prairie sod for a house and cover its walls with a pole rafter, coarse grass, sticky clay and sod roof.

Having learned this history, a pioneer kid born in a Kansas soddy and who, as a teen-ager, helped build three like shanties in Oklahoma should know how to lay up sod houses. Even when pioneers were schooled in self-initiative, practical labor and ready thrift, most had their hands gripped to tools and their noses on the proverbial grindstone. Still they did not have an eight hour day, strike for higher wages nor better working conditions. Rather they mastered their hardships and lived by the age-old "Right to Work Law" — right to work or *"Else."* This meant work or else have gnawing hunger, ragged clothes, shoeless feet, no home fireside and other discomforts.

With no chance of escaping this unrepealable work law, most arrived on their virgin land with a merely clothed body, meager rations and no credit. Still each settler's next need was to make a house for himself and family, which was often provided by making a dugout or sod shanty. Some of those prairie shelters were made without a square, plumb, nail or money.

Since most pioneers brought their gun, ax, spade and plow from a former home, their added building needs were two or more pair of willing hands, brawny arms, straight eyes and enduring back muscles. With most having these physical requirements and an ambitious pioneer spirit, they were soon marking a home site and anxious to begin building their homey sod shanty.

Unless aiming to make a part dugout, they chose a mostly level prairie plot, smoothed the dirt floor and marked out the inside dimensions. Some squared the house-base by using a lariat or leather lines from a team's chain harness. Not needing more than one door, they made, staked and braced an upright plank frame where it was wanted. Later the number and size of plank window frames were set and braced after the walls were laid sixteen or more inches above the soddy's dirt floor. To have sod that would not crumble, when handled, a prairie plot was chosen where the turf was toughest. The matted grass rootage in buffalo sod made the slabs hang together for satisfactory work and afforded quite storm resistant and durable walls.

A twelve inch sod plow and one or more sharp spades were the mainly needed building tools. When two or more homebuilders worked together, they plowed fresh sod each morning and one used a spade to cut the three or four inch thick, by foot wide, plowed slabs in one or two foot lengths. Sandy and crumbly sod was unusable. By arm-strong power, the workers lifted the cut sod blocks on wagons and hauled the loads to the building site. Except in doors and windows, two rows of sod were placed side by side to form the width of each end and side wall.

The sod was laid grass side down and the walls were evened and plumbed by using straight eyes. By breaking joints, similar to laying brick, the top side of each tier was sheared and evened with a sharp spade. This was done to keep all layers of sod nearly level, plumb and solid in the walls. After laying three or four tiers on all walls, the toughest sod was cut in two foot lengths and placed fully crosswise to tie the middle seams and thus prevent the two widths of sod from separating.

When the sod slabs were being evened and built up around a third of the structure's wanted height, and later, each inside end and side wall was sheared nearly plumb. This inside smoothing made the walls suitable for plaster when that could be afforded. When all walls were built seven feet high, or a hand less, the soddy was ready for the gables and roof.

Settlers with little cash finished the gables with sod and numbers set forked posts at the soddy's ends to support a center ridge-pole and pole rafters. Then when the rafters were laid on the side walls and ridge pole, touching each other, the cracks were chinked with coarse grass, sunflower stalks or fine brush. Finally all was covered with closely laid sod and several loads of sticky clay. Pioneers who had the money, built board gables, lumber rafters with a wood shingled roof.

Some soddies were made more inviting, homey and easier kept clean by plastering the inside walls with gypsum mud or lime and sand mortar. When two or more rooms were wanted, a partition was made by hanging blankets or a wagon sheet to the rafters with the bottom ends dangling near the dirt floor. When walls were unplastered, some pioneers hung muslin, blanket or carpet behind their clothes hangers and linen shelves. When having a rag carpet, some drove pegs around the room's dirt floor edge to tack carpet after covering the ground with hay or straw.

No matter what trials had passed or what hardships were evident, their working time and night dreams were to better their yesterdays. Moving from their open air camp into a soddy brought them nearer to their better home-making ambitions. Even when the shanty's furnishings were little more than a dirt floor, cook stove and pine box furniture, they were steps toward more comfort and protection from storms than outdoor camping, cooking and sleeping in all kinds of changing weather.

In those humble abodes, except for an occasional bureau or other heirloom, varnished furniture was as scarce as silk gowns and split tail coats. Living with little factory furniture, they used soft pine grocery boxes, which were as common then as modern give-away paper crates. When no better furniture was moved from a prior home, a large goods box was used for a table and similar ones served for a kitchen cupboard or a clothes closet. Additional home furnishings were made by having nail kegs, small boxes and little casks for kitchen stools. Then vinegar and cider was shipped and sold in five gallon casks.

In the absence of factory bedsteads, crude wooden single and double bunks were made by hand. Also some made a corner bunk by digging four holes in the soddy's floor in which were set forked posts. Then slim poles were placed in the forks for rails on which were laid willow slats to support a haytick, bedding and one or two people. Those soddies were generally cool in summer and warm in winter, but house-keeping in them was not a simple task. At times it was a woman's maddening vexation.

Even with crude furnishings, many families had some cherished goods or keepsakes. To avoid having these items badly damaged or soiled, was each owner's special concern. This concern was always aroused when her most vexing ordeal was a leaky dirt roof. Especially one that showered muddy rain on a sleeper's bedding, hair, furniture and floor. After heavy rains and long drizzles, a fully soaked roof might drip and keep goods spattered for a day after the sun brought a cloudless sky.

During each leaky vexation, they used pots, pans and dishes on beds, furniture and floor to catch the muddy streams and nasty drips. Always these leaks caused concern for special goods that could be ruined. Although these vexations caused plenty of tears, they had laughs when a sudden stream poured down a diner's neck or in one's plate at meal time. Some had a more joking time when a helper was needed to hold an umbrella over the cook, frying pan and stove while cooking a family meal.

Amid their several crop failures, winter blizzards and summer insect plagues, the pioneers continued to live by the "Right To Work Law." Thereby they rose above having scant rations, ragged clothes, shoeless feet and other privations. By their endless work, they strove together to stretch their cash by steadfast thrift and neighborly exchange of services and goods. Although it took several years for some to overcome their poverty, they gradually bought some furniture and new clothes.

Before gaining many new comforts, however, scant rations, leaky roofs and ruined goods were not all the vexations and deplorable stings in the bloody history lived by the soddy pioneers. The crude wooden beds and willow bunks were the source of added vexations that robbed many settlers of hours of cherished slumber. Of all the sneaky raids for blood, made on weary sleepers, the little flat, brown pests harboring in those wood beds and willow bunks out-vexed the nasty, leaky roofs.

The usual and on the spot impulse for revenge, on the bloody raiders, was to spring from one's comfy bed, at any hour of the night, with fire in his eyes and murder in his veins. Then, after lighting a coal-oil lamp, if he could stab pins through a dozen blood-suckers, and stick each pinful on a bedpost, he was lucky to end the business of that many blood raiders. But if he had enough skill to pin-murder two or three score of gnawing bedbugs he might get another nap by the next hour's end.

On a hot night, however, the blood hungry bugs were not the least baffled by having their stabbed comrades dripping stolen blood and dying pinned to a bedpost. Still the pioneers were not so fiendishly bug-gnawed into a furious rage when they could murder a whole army of the pests in battles before midnight after which they might save their blood until the next night.

Of course the day-hiding and night-gnawing bedbugs drove the pioneers to frenzied distraction and premeditated murder and they used every drug exterminator known. When living from twenty to sixty miles from a drugstore, and having no other slaughtering means at hand, many pioneers removed the bedding and murdered the bugs by pouring scalding water into their hiding crevices. That was only a temporary dose, however, and did little to reduce the hatching of bug descendants and related tribes. Even taking the whole wooden or pole bunk beds outside and burning the willow slats, haytick and all was not a complete riddance. Always there were other bug breeds hatching elsewhere that were absent from those furious infested-bed burning bonfires.

Even when drugs curbed the bug breeding, the pioneers had to be careful to not carry more bugs in the house with old, dried stovewood that often harbored bugs under the bark. No matter how they tried, not a single pioneer was able to change any bedbug family's blood-sucking nature. For in spite of all the premeditated murdering by poison, pin stabs, scalding and bed burning, the natural traits of the flying insects and all gnawing bedbugs always were inexorable and still are the same, for

"June bugs have neat gauzy wings,
Lightning bugs carry their flame.
Bedbugs have no wings nor light,
But they get there just the same."

This varying review is only a sample of the prairie schooner home-seeking, roadside camping and sod shanty home-making that then helped change the old cow country into pioneer settlement and early homestead history. With other like first-hand schooner and shanty history fast sinking in the sea of forgetfulness, beyond recovery, it is sad that more pioneer folk lore has not been preserved. Already unrecorded volumes of it have been buried with untold thousands of deceased pioneer history makers of our state's unique "Land Races" and homestead yesteryears.

Having lived two decades of that last century pioneer history, I learned many lessons during hot winds, crop failures and hardships that beset many early settlers on the arid Kansas and Oklahoma prairies. When a pioneer kid some of the schooner home-seekers watered their teams and stock at our farm well. Other times a schooner home-seeker who had camped near our soddy's yard, on his way west would stop again on a trip back east to find work or when taking his family back to live with his wife's folks.

My preacher father often welcomed these going and returning schooner families to camp in our barnyard. One came a late dry summer, after hot winds had burned his crops to a crisp failure. This destitute western settler, returning east, camped in our farmyard with his wife and brood of small children. While camped there that week end, and sharing some of mother's fresh eggs, milk and butter, which was a common deed in those days, the settler freely reviewed the midwest's good and bad seasons.

During one talk with the camping settler, father stated that all of the West's tillable soil would surely grow fine crops if the farmers could only have rain to fully water their fields. The settler, knowing father's calling, said:

"Preacher! You know there's an over-heated, dry region described in the Bible that wouldn't be such a bad place if people there (in hell) could just get a single drop of water. If that region is any worse than where we tried to farm out west, I'm surely going to steer away from that scorching drouth, for I don't aim to roast in either hell-fired country when I die."

SNAKE'S FOWL APPETITE

Among multitudes of folk who go to see zoo confined animals, not many have observed the food habits of wild creatures, their native rovings, dietary freaks nor choice of dining places. Although some may know of these habits, few have first-hand facts about animal combats for survival of the fittest and the scenes numerous species of outdoor creatures have contributed to unrecorded pages of our state's wild animal history.

Not a few pioneers were able naturalists trained in the rugged school of Nature, during the heyday of wild game that became almost extinct, before and near the ending years of the last century. When my sod house memories began, over eight decades ago, the virgin prairies showed plenty of evidence of the bleaching bones of wild game that once were the most prolific animals. That evidence was a reminder that their roving for daily food, the instinctive prowling of all wild creatures, and their battling for survival, was no small part of the old cow country's history.

Since those yesteryears are far past, not many more than descendants of pioneers are fully aware that the prowling rodent foes, wild beasts and snakes far outnumbered the pioneer human aggressors. Although naturalists know their textbooks, few of them have witnessed more first-hand instinctive traits and battle maneuvers of wild animals than the pioneers who knew the West's cow country history in its wild game heyday.

During my youth, some of that history was witnessed when our flocks and herds were menaced by prowling animals. Although my parents saw wild creatures wage battles with other species, for survival, they did not report them for publication. Then the ones who observed wild animal dietary preferences, prowling designs and fatal combats, were folk who herded cattle, hunted game for pelts, rode the trails or tilled virgin fields. Even they, of course, missed uncounted history making animal battles that were waged beyond human view, but later many a victim was found maimed, snake poisoned and dying on the battlefield.

Although then deemed too common for public print, we pioneer youths learned that mother fowls and animals served as sentinels in the woods and on the prairies. We were not deaf to the weird alarms sounded by bluejays and crows that often warned other wild denizens to scoot for cover from a creeping, prowling varmint or other preying foe seeking food and striving for survival. When hearing these alarms, we occasionally got a ring-side seat to view animal battles fought to one's death in fatal frays defending their young and proving the survival of the fittest.

What pioneer observer, or one schooled later, has not seen a boiling mad bumblebee, or like enraged yellow jacket, in vicious combat with a food hungry spider? In these fatal combats, after the first strike and no chance to escape, it was not nearly as even a match as some folk may assume. Neither was it an equal combat when any bird, chicken or rabbit was nabbed, coiled and crushed in preparation to sate the appetite of a snake.

Over seven decades ago, we pioneer youths knew the animal prowlers and witnessed the dietary freaks and roving habits of the species that preyed on our small stock and poultry. Then, and later, we had neighbors who repeatedly spared snakes to have them help reduce the rats, skunks, possum and other creatures that frequently invaded our neighborhood's barnyards and ravaged hen's nests and sucked the blood from poultry flocks.

The same neighbors, also, spared snakes to reduce their crop ravaging prairie dogs. That was when many Oklahoma prairie farms were one dog town after another. Of course we were willing for the snakes to feed on the dogs, but we killed all the large serpents that came around our farm buildings. We knew them to do more damage to the poultry business than to prairie dogs.

Then when my brother lived across the road from us, and had his hen house raided by a huge snake, we killed all large ones that came near our farmyards. That chicken thieving vermin broke the record, in my pioneer history book, with his "fowl" appetite. He exhibited the most unbelievable dining fete of any snake I ever knew to venture into the poultry and egg business. Even if a beginner, he did not lack either capacity or audacity.

Being familiar with the weird voices of chickens, when hearing their alarms one morning, I knew more than an ordinary enemy was in my brother's poultry yard across from my farm house. Before the tumult's cause was discovered, a setting hen's squawks were silenced never to sound another battle alarm. When the chorus of weird voices stirred the whole poultry flock, my brother ran from a near lot directly to his hen-house. There, awed by seeing a ravaged nest and a seven pound hen partly drawn down a snake's throat, he made record time to bring his ax.

By then I came on the scene and observed that the thief was not satisfied even after having swallowed a whole double nest of two hen's, twenty-six, half incubated eggs. There the sneaking thief was caught red-handed in the preinstinctive, if not premeditated, possession of the looted eggs and in the very act of further trying to consume a whole hen, feathers, anatomy and all. This was begun notwithstanding, but by wiggling and shrinking his giant body down to nearly two feet less than his normal size. Then, by wiggling and resuming his natural length, he stretched his egg and chicken breakfast to more than double the hen's normal feathered appearance and anatomy proportions.

Wanting to observe more of that robber's dining manners and snaky maneuvers, shrinking his body and elongating his fowl meal, we extended his life over an hour after arriving on the scene. Until then, we would not believe any snake could shrink into his throat a hen four times larger than his normal mouth.

Finally, knowing the meal might continue several more hours, an ax chop was struck two feet back of the diner's extra bulged mouth. The chop also severed the hen's neck where a few more inches of it, her head and all twenty-six eggs were soaking further toward the thief's tail. Of course the ax put him out of the poultry and egg thieving business on the spot and ended his champion fowl appetite and role in pioneer snake history.

When the thief was cut open, the remaining length of his fowl breakfast reappeared on the ground. After restoring that snake's poultry feast to full view, only three of the eggs were broken. Had my brother done as one pioneer, who witnessed a similar snake's appetite, he might have turned his poultry loss to an asset. That pioneer washed the recovered eggs, had another hen finish hatching them and later, when more sanitary eating, feasted on numerous meals of delicious fried chicken.

Although I knew real pioneer hunger, most later meal time memories of that snake's chicken breakfast caused squeamishness under my belt. Even if my brother had salvaged his poultry loss, as the other pioneer turned his hen's eggs into grown fowl, my thoughts of that kind of fried chicken placed a block in my throat for years. With that block, I did not relish the fuzzy idea of feasting on any second-hand fowl that formerly had been consumed by a snaky thief—especially not chicken that once had partly appeased the unbelievable greedy, fowl appetite of a slimey-skinned, chicken thieving, seven foot bullsnake.

PIONEER'S HISTORIC MEMORIES

"Wham, bang, shoot 'em gun-smoke!" So goes the modern picture versions of the old West's history. That, however, was not the way Oklahoma's pioneer settlers really lived the foundation laying and building history of those ever receding yesteryears.

Folk may view dramas of pioneer lore played from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores; they may seek frontier tales from Canada to Mexico; they may climb the highest peaks and explore all the country's caves, but all combined would not give them the spirit of a full fledged western plainsman or pioneer settler. Most would still need to live a year or more in a dugout or sod shanty to sense the mutual feelings and esteem of early day settlers. Even then, they would need to endure the poverty and toil before grasping the imbedded spirit of a dyed-in-the-wool Plains scout, prairie schooner home-seeker or sod-house pioneer.

Having known many pioneers who lived volumes of unrecorded early homestead history, the writer here is grateful for the privilege of then joining them and their families in building our part of northern Oklahoma's rural settlement history. Woven into that history, as a tribute to the pioneers, have been the anniversaries of the several earlyday "Horse Races" for virgin homestead lands. Those races brought the pioneer families who actually lived Oklahoma's settlement history and growth in home, school, church and other building pursuits. This was the history, added to our state's Indian background, culture and wide renown, that made possible our cherished Oklahoma prosperity and today's institutions.

In making that history uncounted pioneer families were not strangers to the prairie schooner, dugout and sod-shanty living of the fast dimming years. Now, with many modern "sooners" joining other citizens in reviewing centennial Civil War history and other century old Indian lore, there could be no better time to record added chapters for preserving that period and later pioneer history. The year 1963 also marks the centennial of our nation's "HOMESTEAD ACT," which was debated, passed by the U.S. congress and signed by President Lincoln in 1862.

According to National Archive records Homestead Entry number *"One"* was filed minutes after A.M., January 1, 1863, by Daniel Freeman, a Union soldier on Army leave. He filed that historic "entry" on land near Beatrice, Gage county, Nebraska. From that 1863 date to the last century's ending years millions of pioneers filed on virgin land under that historic Homestead Act, thousands of whom were early Oklahoma history-makers.

Of those notable history-makers, few stopped to record how they and others raced for homesteads and won over the ensuing vicissitudes of those rugged, far past settlement struggles and privations. Although April 22, 1889, marked Oklahoma's initial "Homestead Race," other similar events greatly increased the extent of virgin land settled in the central, northern and western regions of our earlyday Soonerland. The larger crowds then racing, on varying kinds of steeds and vehicles, entered Cheyenne and Arapaho land in 1892 and Cherokee Outlet in 1893.

While helping make Oklahoma sod-house and log school history, after a role in Kansas pioneering, the writer worked, neighbored with and taught school among people who lived Sooner history in the mentioned races and rugged pioneer years. They said the 1893 *"Run,"* into the Cherokee Outlet or "Strip" was the most eminently known and greatest "horserace" for virgin homesteads in all history. Frequently since the fiftieth anniversary of that memorable race several of the region's cities have celebrated their September 16 birthday nearly every year.

The celebrations have helped keep alive first-hand anecdotes and unrecorded stories of how multitudes of pioneers camped near trails, staked claims and town lots on a large portion of the Strip's several million acres in a few hours that September day and night. That autumn most of the Strip's grass was scorched brown by hot winds and each day's searing sun made the ground hot and dry. With vehicles, horses and home-seekers camping and treading the turf for two and more weeks, on the north border, the dry grass and soil was ground into fine dust. That powdery dust, stirring winds, swarms of flies and water, along the south Kansas border, selling for ten and more cents a gallon made conditions very unsanitary and distressingly uncomfortable.

In preparation for the Strip's race for homesteads, U.S. Army troops had made special efforts to prevent "soonerism." To do this and keep order at populated border camps, eight troops of cavalry and four infantry companies were ordered to several selected points. With several hundred miles of border to patrol and around 10,000 square miles of virgin landscape to cover, arrest and remove squatters, even though aiming to do their best, they failed to catch all of the wily, secreted sooners.

It was estimated that 100,000 people entered the Strip on that opening day. With the season's mentioned arid winds, that race occurred during a long drouth that had creased the prairie sod with gaping earthen cracks. These and uncounted prairiedog holes and mounds on the region, from border to border, made a menace to limb and life of both man and beast. Also that night, many settlers were plagued by raging prairie fires that brightened the sky for miles around and seared multiplied acres of the landscape long before the next morning's sunrise.

At the race's starting gallops most rode steeds and others drove one and two horses drawing covered wagons, buggies, buckboards or carts. With nags urged at top speed, numbers became badly winded and some were so exhausted they were unfit for any further work. Dried rigs went down with damaged gears and nags broke limbs by stepping into cracks and holes. These accidents and maimed steeds left some riders and drivers stranded on the open prairie with only a scant supply of water.

When the swiftest ones had raced ahead of the laggers at a strenuous speed, under two hours, the riders from the north and the ones from the south began getting views of one another when speeding over high points on the landscape. Before then, however, most others had leaped from their mounts, landed with feet fanning on the run and staked ridge and valley claims enroute before getting to the center of the Strip that memorable day.

Also tribute is due the ladies, for numerous women raced side-saddle on steeds and staked homesteads that September date. Others drove oxen and horses drawing prairie schooners, moving families and a few goods, that trailed behind the saddle riders and buggy racers. The lady schooner outfits drove mostly by instructions memorized from their husbands. They judged distance and kept their course by described landmarks and hoped to camp with their menfolk that night or before the next sunset.

Although some under age to take a claim, the writer drove a prairie schooner far into the "Strip" the spring of 1894, shared in "Sooner" pioneering and attended Enid's 1894 birthday celebration. While present at that earlyday event, from mid-morning to nearly midnight, an enormous concourse of joyous pioneers roamed the wide board sidewalks around Enid's then treeless public square.

In that teeming throng mustache and whisker faced gentlemen mingled amiably with shirt-waist and multi-petticoat ladies and variable sized and motley clad youths. There hour after hour, that mass of gay pioneers wove to and fro, elbow to elbow, joking friends, sharing neighborly visits, greeting strangers and exchanging mutual goodwill. Although lacking picnic pasteries, banging firecrackers, flags and patriotic oratory, the all day pioneer diversion from work was similar to an old time Fourth of July celebration, but on a far more elaborate scale.

With deflated purses then prevalent, the meager trickle of nickels and other silver coins did not over-tax Enid's merchants that day. Still they had Negroes prepare a free lunch from cart loads of bread and several grown beeves. The meat was roasted in open soil pits, peppered with the wind's dirt, made in sandwiches and consumed in competition with swarms of barnyard flies. That and other unsanitary conditions, however, did not dampen the ecstatic spirit of that frolicking throng of Sooner pioneers, many of whom had less than a dime or two bits to spend.

That dry summer and two more lean crop years brought very few chances to find a hired job at any price. Thus scant rations, patched clothing and attending hardships were the common lot of most Sooner pioneers. Now reviewing that sod house pioneering brings to memory 1894's summer drouth and that autumn's bumper and mostly unsalable turnip crop. That crop came in November, seven months after a 180 mile trip from central Kansas to a dozen miles west of Enid's present Vance Air Base.

There while camping with my brothers and before building three sod shanties, to later house their families, we broke virgin sod for summer crops and to replow later for planting wheat. Although we planted thirty acres of sod corn and other fields of maize and cane, August's extensive drouth blighted and killed most spring planted fields except melon patches.

Settlers with early melons sold their first loads for whatever price was offered at towns. Soon there was no sale for either melons or pumpkins. Still some settlers kept hauling and, having no market, left piles of melons along town sidewalks and returned home without family groceries. Some timber settlers cut and hauled stove-wood twenty and forty miles and only received fifty and sixty cents for a wagon load. If even available, jobs paid only four-bits for ten hours at grubbing oak trees.

Then after an early September rain, bringing temporary encouragement, nearly all settlers planted a patch of turnips and soon had a bumper crop. Although they were not as perishable as melons, and could be stored for winter, there was little sale anywhere for them. Merchants who traded groceries for a bushel or two at a time were joked for displaying over a bushel for sale even when over-stocked with the choicest turnips.

Even when in dire need, pioneers refused to beg, but neighborly sharing of home remedies, nursing and dividing meal and other simple food was cheerfully practiced. Still to accept any money charity, from a neighbor, was not in their book of self-esteem. A few, however, sorely pressed to feed their hungry children, resorted to crafty schemes and drove all kinds of bargains to replenish their empty larders. Then, when swindled on a trade, not many raised a howl, even when getting stung on a raw deal, especially not a tricky horse trader.

With their families sick of turnips raw, cooked or made in turnip kraut, and having little other food, two poverty-plagued pioneers joined in a shrewd trade on a chilly day. They sent an awkward youth to a bustling town's grocery store where he bought a dime chunk of old-fashioned cheese and two cents worth of bulk crackers. Then he sat on a goods box behind a pot bellied stove and began eating his purchase, as was common in all pioneer food stores. While dining there a trader, wearing faded and soiled denim clothes, rough boots and a wide rim hat, entered the store and asked the grocer if he could fill a prospective order for a sizeable amount of turnips.

"About how many turnips do you want?" inquired the grocer.

"Well," said the trader, "no less than twenty or thirty bushels would serve the purpose I have for them."

The grocer was quite surprised at the man's requirements and said, "I only have ten bushels on hand today, but what would cause you to want a whole wagon-load of turnips?"

"I'll let you in on a secret," confided the trader, "I've a bunch of shoats down in the timber, where we raised only a mite of cotton, and I've just discovered that boiled turnips go extra well with acorns to fatten hogs."

"What would you pay for that many turnips?" asked the grocer.

"If I can get a load without having to drive all over town," said the trader, "I could give you thirty cents a bushel."

Figuring to get plenty of turnips from other over-supplied merchants, and double his money, the grocer said, "Come back within two hours and I'll fill most of your order!"

"I'll aim to be around somewhere close by then," said the trader, and strode outside and up the street.

After the trader closed the door the youth, finishing his lunch behind the stove, said, "Say Mister! I saw a whole load of turnips down the street before starting here to buy my dinner and find a place to get warm by a cozy fire."

Soon learning the turnip rig's location, the two walked outside and, when the youth went his way, the grocer soon found the vegetables. Addressing the owner, huddled in the cold beside his loaded wagon, the grocer said, "Sir! how would you like to sell your whole load of turnips and soon get started home?"

"That's what I hoped to do when coming to town," said the shivering settler, "but I've only sold a bushel so far."

After a short spell of bargaining, the turnips were on the way to be measured at the grocer's store-room door. There after many shoveled basketfuls, the settler was paid fifteen cents per bushel. During the measuring the grocer kept looking for the trader to return and pick up his end of the bargain.

Before leaving the store with his empty wagon, the settler bought two dime plugs of tobacco, received fifteen cents per bushel, cash, for his vegetables and soon left town.

While being kept extra busy selling goods, the next two and more hours, the grocer became anxious about his huge supply of hog feed. He wanted to hunt the pretended hog raiser, but could not close the store on his customers. Still he was too occupied to realize that the only profit from that turnip deal would be the few cents he made on the settler's tobacco and the youth's cheese and cracker lunch. Before night, however, the grocer became fully convinced that he had been out-smarted on the prospective end of selling the turnip hog feed. Before then and later, he searched and inquired to locate the vegetable hauler and pretended hog raiser, but found no one who knew where they lived and saw no trace, likeness nor location of the youth or either of the two poverty plagued traders thereafter.

Of course you guessed before the last paragraph that the combine trader outfit framed the raw turnip deal, aiming to skin the grocer out of cash to spend for family provisions elsewhere. Now, for your further queries, however, you still have two more guesses. Who do you think the conniving turnip vendors were, or were they actually seasoned and unscrupulous "Horse Traders?"

No, no, you've guessed wrong! Although I was a later sucker on the losing end in one of their sly horse trades, I did not help to abet that premeditated "Raw Turnip Deal."

The grocer never got a dime back on his turnip investment and, before spring paid for having them hauled to the city dump.

TWILIGHT OF THE CONFEDERACY IN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Fred Hood**

As the Battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July, 1863, were pivotal in the eastern and western theaters of the Civil War, so the Battle of Honey Springs, also in July of 1863, marked the end of Confederate ascendency in Indian Territory. In the earlier engagements of the war the Confederates had driven the remaining Union sympathizers completely out of the territory. For nearly a year the Secessionist occupation was secure. A first attempt by Federal troops to take the Indian country in the early summer of 1862 ended in failure. Beginning in October, 1862, however, the Northern force advanced slowly but victoriously. By April of 1863 Fort Gibson fell before the Union army, and after the Battle of Honey Springs the following summer, the Confederacy controlled less than half of Indian Territory.

The Union force, under General James G. Blunt, did not follow up their victory, but withdrew to the north bank of the Arkansas River. Led by Generals William L. Cabell and Douglas H. Cooper, the defeated troops retreated about twenty-five miles, and several days later took a position at Prairie Springs, fifteen miles south of Fort Gibson. Here General William F. Steele, commander of all Confederate forces in Indian Territory, assumed personal command on July 24.[1] He intended to wait for reinforcements from Texas under General Smith P. Bankhead, and then advance toward Fort Gibson.

The South had nearly 6,000 soldiers in Indian Territory, compared to less than 5,000 Northern troops, but the superiority of numbers was the only cause for optimism. The Confederates had less than half the artillery strength of the Federals and their gun powder was nearly worthless. The powder was "scarcely more than sufficient to drive the ball from the piece."[2] Some of the men were unarmed and others possessed faulty guns. Pay was eight months in arrears, clothing inadequate, and food often was lacking in quantity and quality.[3] These conditions, highlighted by the poor discipline of popularly elected officers, led to numerous desertions. Steele reported up to three hundred, including several officers, in one night. He complained that conditions were such that it was impossible for the Confederate troops to entrench themselves and prepare for the defense of the Texas Road.[4]

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* Fred Hood's paper here is another excellent contribution to Oklahoma's Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War in the Indian Territory, completed in his careful research and preparation of the manuscript as a graduate student in the Seminar on the subject of the American Civil War that involved the Indian nations and tribes in this Oklahoma region (History 510 Seminar), under Professor LeRoy H. Fischer, author and historian, at Oklahoma State University, January, 1963.—Ed.

[1] U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter referred to as *Official Records*), Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. 2, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 948, Brig. Gen. William Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Prairie Springs, 26 July 1863, to Maj. W. B. Blair, Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Arkansas, Little Rock.

By early August, General Steele was convinced that "with such material and such ammunition" he was "doing well" to "avoid a disaster." He ordered Colonel A. S. Morgan to evacuate Fort Smith and move everything of value to Boggy Depot. Efforts were made to make an entrenchment north of there to stop any Union move south on the Texas Road. Confederate fears were well warranted, for on August 22 General Blunt crossed the Arkansas River with 4,500 men and eight pieces of artillery, boldly predicting that "forty-eight hours hence will settle the contest in the Indian Territory."[5] The Confederate force was considerably scattered. Cooper was at Briartown, Cabell had been ordered toward Fort Smith, and the reinforcements from Texas under Bankhead had not yet arrived. When Blunt approached the 2,000 Confederates under Steele, encamped near the Canadian River, they fell back along the Texas Road without giving battle. But at dusk the rear guard of the Southern force deployed for combat and fired upon the Federal troops. Blunt quickly dismounted his cavalry and ordered a flanking movement which soon routed the Confederates. The rear guard deserted Perryville and hastened to catch up with the main body of Confederate troops, who were by now some distance away. Having marched all day, the Union force did not pursue. That night Blunt's force feasted from the Confederate provisions stored at Perryville while the darkness around them was brightened by the glow of the burning supply depot.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1097, S. S. Scott, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fort Washita, 8 August 1863, to Lieut.-Gen. Theophilus H. Holmes, Commanding, District of Arkansas.

[3] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,* (hereinafter referred to as *Oklahoma*), Vol. I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 346-347.

[4] *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. 2, pp. 956-957, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Camp Soda Springs, 7 August 1863, to Blair, Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Arkansas, Little Rock.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 957-958, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Soda Springs, 8 August 1863, to Col. A. S. Morgan, Commanding, Fort Smith, Arkansas, p. 961, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Camp Imochia, 9 August 1863, to Blair, Actg. Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Arkansas, Little Rock, pp. 456-465, Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt, Commanding, Army of the Frontier, Fort Blunt, 22 August 1863, to Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, Commanding, Department of Missouri.

Harassment continued for several days while Confederate fear mounted. Steele was twenty miles from water and sixteen from suitable grass for grazing. Bankhead received orders to come to Steele's aid immediately, though he could provide only eight hundred of the two thousand troops deemed necessary. Steele now made provisions to secure better powder, as attack on Boggy Depot seemed imminent, but Confederate fear momentarily subsided when Blunt turned his troops from Boggy Depot.[6]

Blunt now aimed for a higher prize—Fort Smith. He left a portion of his troops at Fort Gibson and Webbers Falls, and proceeded to Fort Smith with the Second Kansas Cavalry of Colonel W. F. Cloud. At Steele's orders, Cabell was stationed at some distance from the fort, which fell to the advance guard of the Union without resistance. Arriving at Fort Smith, Blunt dispatched Cloud with six hundred cavalry and two sections of battery to pursue the Confederates. There was some skirmishing in the late afternoon but during the night Cabell continued to retreat towards Lanesport. The next day Cloud overtook the Southern force at Devil's Back Bone in the Poteau Mountains. After several hours of fighting, in which half of the Confederate troops "behaved disgracefully," Cabell's force was forced to retreat. Bankhead had been sent to the aid of Cabell, but did not reach him in time. When Cabell reached Waldron, desertion had diminished his force from 1,250 to 900. For several days after the skirmishing, "mountain Feds" and deserters flocked to Fort Smith in great numbers.[7]

Having taken Forts Gibson and Smith, the Northern army ceased their southward drive, and there was little military activity in the fall of 1863. In early September, Cabell and Bankhead were ordered to Arkansas, leaving only Cooper's Brigade in Indian Territory to secure Confederate interest. When General John B. Magruder, commanding officer in Texas, heard of the recent developments in the territory, he suggested a combination of the forces of Steele, Cooper, Bankhead, and Cabell to retake the two forts. But by this time the scattering of forces made this or any other offensive strategy impossible. Steele took advantage of the lull and journeyed to Bonham, Texas for a conference with General H. E. McCulloch, leaving Cooper in charge of affairs in Indian Territory.[8]

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 972-973, Acting Brig. Gen. Smith P. Bankhead, Commanding, Second Brigade, Camp Bankhead, 20 August 1863, to Capt. Edmund P. Turner, pp. 983-984, J. F. Crosby, Bonham, Texas, 30 August 1863, to Maj. G. M. Bryan, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Trans-Mississippi Department, pp. 1012-1013, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Middle Boggy, 11 September 1863, to Maj. Thomas S. Snead, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Little Rock, Arkansas; *ibid.*, Part 1, pp. 597-598, Blunt, Commanding, Army of the Frontier, Perryville, 27 August 1863, to Schofield, Commanding, Department of Missouri, St. Louis.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 604-609, Brig. Gen. W. L. Cabell, Commanding Brigade, 7 December 1863, to Capt. B. G. Duval, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Indian Territory.

The Confederate force in Indian Territory reached a dangerously low point in early October when Martin's Regiment of Cooper's Brigade was ordered to northern Texas. This left a total force of only 999 white soldiers and 1,643 Indian troops in the area.[9] The Indians became very anxious over the depletion of white troops, feeling that their country was being left to its fate and that treaty obligations were being defaulted. The situation was eased to some extent when General R. M. Gano was sent to the territory in late October with 2,000 men.[10]

The deplorable condition of the Confederate army in Indian Territory was revealed in the semiannual inspection report of W. C. Schaumburg.[11] The physical condition of Fort Washita was described as a "perfect wreck" and Boggy Depot "about the same." The troops were poorly uniformed and insufficiently protected against the approaching winter. Discipline was almost completely lacking. At one post when Schaumburg called on three captains to drill the regiment, each admitted incompetency to do so. The senior captain who finally made an attempt "failed most signally." Referring directly to Cooper's Brigade, Schaumburg reported that the Indian troops displayed a total ignorance of drill. Generally, the men were poorly armed, with their rifles and heavy artillery being ill kept. In addition, most officers failed to keep the required reports, and an audit demonstrated that every quartermaster had deficits for which he was unable to give account.

Due to a Federal buildup at Fort Smith, General Steele anticipated a movement from there to the Red River, and made an attempt to strengthen his command. Even with the Choctaw

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[8] *Ibid.*, part 2, pp. 1018-1019, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Middle Boggy, 17 September 1863, to Brig. Gen. W. R. Boggs, Chief of Staff, pp. 1023-1024, Crosby, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Department of Indian Territory, Camp Watie, 19 September 1863, to Bankhead, Commanding Texas Brigade.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 1064-1065, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Camp Sabine, 9 November 1863, to Col. S. S. Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Trans-Mississippi Department.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 1065.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 1045-1053, Major W. C. Schaumburg, Asst. Inspector-General, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, 26 October, 1863, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department.

Indians recruiting feverishly, any offensive drive by the Confederates was impossible. Steele adopted the policy of "harrassing the enemy without risking an engagement of . . . (the) whole force."[12] Luckily for the Southern force, the Federal troops remained at Fort Smith.

Stand Watie was the only Confederate officer involved in military activity in the latter part of 1863. In late October and early November he made three forays in the vicinity of Fort Gibson. In the second of these he had less than forty men and passed within sight of the fort. He burned several houses and captured clothing "even from the very person of . . . (the) loyal women."[13] In November Watie planned a raid up the Neosho Valley into Missouri and in early December moved north with less than 1,000 men. En route he plundered houses of loyal Indians and burned the Negro cabins of Chief John Ross. Upon hearing of Watie's proximity to Fort Gibson, Colonel William A. Phillips sent Captain A. C. Spillman with 290 infantry to arrest the Confederate movements. On December 18 the forces engaged in combat near Sheldon's Place on Barren Fork. After an initial Federal advance, there were two hours of fighting in which neither side could gain an advantage. After staging a fake retreat that drew the Confederates out of their entrenchments, Spillman quickly routed Watie's Indians.

Characteristically, the Union did not pursue, and Watie continued his campaign. Several days later his troops were engaged in a skirmish below Cane Hill near Fayetteville, but Watie avoided a direct encounter. On Christmas Eve, the Confederate Indians camped on the bank of the Grand River, and on Christmas day they turned south. Crossing the Arkansas River three miles below Fort Gibson, the Confederates skirmished a Union scouting party but fell back. Watie succeeded in keeping the Union officers anxious about his movements for several days, but by January 4, 1864 he had returned to his camp on Cowskin Prairie, leaving only a few men to the north for the purpose of aiding rebel families moving south for safety.[14]

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 1055, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Camp Hardeman, 1 November 1863, to Brig. Gen. D. C. Cooper, Commanding, Second Brigade, Department of Indian Territory.

[13] U. S. House of Representatives, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863," *Executive Documents: First Session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, 1863-1864*, (hereinafter referred to as *Executive Documents, 1863-1864*), Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 340-341, A. G. Procter, Late Special Indian Agent, Leavenworth, Kansas, 28 November 1863, to Col. William G. Coffin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

[14] *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, pp. 780-781, Capt. A. C. Spillman, Commanding, Detachment of Third Indian Regiment, Fort Gibson, 23 December 1863, to Col. William A. Phillips, Commanding First Brigade, Army of the Frontier; *ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 752, Brig. Gen.

The Confederate defeats in the fall of 1863 seriously impaired relations with their Indian allies. The Federal force had been allowed to occupy the Cherokee Nation, and the Creek and Choctaw nations seemed highly vulnerable. Arms for the Indians had been lost at Vicksburg, and many other treaty obligations continued to be neglected. Watie, who was Principal Chief of the Confederate Cherokees as well as an officer in the Confederate army, was one of the outstanding spokesmen for the Indian cause. He complained that an inferior military force was allowed to occupy the country. Feeling that decisive action would result in victory, he called on the Indians to protect their own homes, declaring that the Confederacy could not or would not protect them. General E. Kirby Smith, Commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, hastened to assure Watie that the Confederate position would be strengthened sufficiently to make an offensive drive very soon in Indian Territory.[15]

Many Confederate Indians had defected to the North when General Blunt offered protection to all who would desert the Southern alliance. General Steele was convinced that the Indians could be of little service to the Confederate army, but, fearing that they would be dangerous enemies if properly armed by the Union, took steps to reconcile them. Israel G. Vore, whom the Creeks had earlier requested for their agent, was sent to allay their dissatisfactions, while Commissioner S. S. Scott continued to work with the Choctaws. In a meeting of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation in early October, the Choctaws registered a formal complaint in a letter to the Confederate Secretary of War, James A. Seddon. In addition, they approved resolutions which called for the apointment of General Cooper "in exclusive command" of Indian Territory, reaffirmed their loyalty to the Confederate States, and offered more troops if their conditions were met.[16]

If the Confederate soldiers were relatively inactive in the fall of 1863, the same could not be said of their generals. Cooper, instrumental in the removal of General Albert Pike earlier, desired to replace General Steele as commander in Indian Territory. In August he complained to General Smith that it was unjust for him to serve under Steele, whom he considered to be his junior in rank. While Steele was absent for the con-

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John B. Sanborn, Commanding, District of Southwestern Missouri, Springfield, 27 December 1863, to Brig. Gen. James Totten, Chief of Staff.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 1104, Stand Watie, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, Cherokee Nation, 8 August 1863, to Hon. S. S. Scott, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 1123-1125, Samuel Garland, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 7 October 1863, to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War for the Confederate States of America, Richmond, Virginia.

ference at Bonham, Cooper strengthened his position with the Indians and many of the regular officers. In early October the War Department in Richmond was flooded with requests from these officers that Cooper be placed in command of Indian Territory. Almost simultaneously, the Choctaws passed a resolution to the same effect and Cooper filed another complaint.[17]

The antagonism was not all one sided. Steele reported to the Trans-Mississippi Department in late October that Cooper had failed to file the proper reports and that he had planned an unwise attack on Fort Smith without consultation. By November, Steele's attacks became more vicious. He accused Cooper of avoiding the "chain of command," of falsifying what few reports he made, and of handling his troops in a most unmilitary manner. The situation became intolerable to Steele when slurs were made on his Northern birth and he was accused of cowardice and treason. At his own request he was relieved of command of Indian Territory on December 11, 1863. Cooper, however, did not win the coveted prize, as General Samuel B. Maxey was assigned to the command in the same order that relieved Steele.[18] Steele was asked to remain in the territory for a while so that Maxey could benefit from his knowledge of the command. It could be possible that Cooper over pressed his fortunes, for on the same day that Maxey was assigned the command, General Samuel Cooper recommended that D. H. Cooper be given the position, even though General Steele's commission held priority.[19]

Maxey did not inherit a great military legacy when he assumed command of Indian Territory on December 21, 1863. The effective Confederate fighting force numbered less than 1,000, although the reports for January of 1864 listed the "aggregate present and absent" as 8,885, of which only 2,241 constituted the "aggregate present." In his first report Maxey revealed that over 1,000 of the Indians were unarmed and that there was no infantry in the territory. Maxey found the army "demoralized and disorganized, and drawn back to the Red River, where nature . . . presented no line of defense."[20]

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 987, Lieutenant-General E. Kirby Smith, Commanding, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, 1 September 1863, to Cooper, Commanding, Brigade, p. 1103, E. C. Boudinot, Delegate, House of Representatives, Richmond, 21 December 1863, to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 1078-1079, Steele, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Doaksville, 27 November 1863, to Anderson, Assistant Adjutant-General, Trans-Mississippi Department, p. 1094, Special Orders No. 214, Trans-Mississippi Department, Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 1038, Samuel Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General, 11 December 1863, to Davis, President of the Confederate States, Richmond, Virginia.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 1127, Abstract from return of the Trans-Mississippi Department, Smith, Commanding, 31 December 1863; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV,

A man of drive and ability, Maxey sought to arrest the deplorable conditions of his new command by a general reorganization. Realizing that it would be nearly impossible to obtain an adequate white force for the defense of the country, Maxey hoped to make full use of the Indians by bringing about conditions that would place every able-bodied Indian into the effective fighting force. These troops should be organized into two brigades under Watie and Cooper. Maxey did hope to secure enough white officers to train the recruits and restore military procedures, including the filing of reports. He ordered the arrest and conscription of every unattached white man in the territory, and inaugurated a system of scouts and spies. This reorganization and revitalization was intended to produce conditions favorable to an offensive movement in the spring.[21]

Feeling slighted because he had once again been bypassed, Cooper's opposition to Maxey was vocal from the beginning. Cooper preferred the organization of three brigades, and the constitution of Indian Territory into a separate department, with himself in command. Cooper was further insulted when he was placed in command of all the Indian troops. Although this was intended as a promotion, Cooper regarded it as a demotion and immediately complained to the Trans-Mississippi Department. When he was informed that he would continue under the command of Maxey, he carried his protest to President Jefferson Davis, under whom he had served in the Mexican War.[22]

The military inactivity was interrupted briefly in February of 1864 when Colonel Phillips, commander of Fort Gibson, waged a campaign to the south. Phillips marched from Fort Gibson on February 1, 1864, with 450 cavalry, a company of infantry, and one howitzer. Reaching the Canadian River, the party scouted on both sides for several miles, burning or destroying anything that might be of value to the Confederates. Between February 5 and February 8, the Union troops encountered isolated bands of Confederate Indians and fired on them, killing a few and easily routing the remainder. The Federal force arrived at Middle Boggy on February 13, where a skirmish took place with a detached group of Seminoles and Choctaws under Colonel John Jumper. Taking only the cavalry, Phillips penetrated near old Fort Arbuckle, 105 miles from Fort Gibson. When Cooper began

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pt. 2, pp. 856-857, Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Maxey, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Doaksville, 12 January 1864, to Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Trans-Mississippi Department.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pt. 2, pp. 1112-1113, Maxey, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Doaksville, 26 December 1863, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department.

[22] *Ibid*, p. 1112; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pt. 2, p. 857, Maxey, Commanding, Department of Indian Territory, Doaksville, 12 January 1865, to Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Trans-Mississippi Department.

to concentrate the Confederate forces at Fort Washita, Phillips returned to Fort Gibson.[23]

Upon his arrival at Fort Gibson, he reported that the campaign was "more eminently successful than any ever undertaken in the Indian country," and that the "Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw Nations," had been "destroyed or driven out of the country."[24] In reality, since Phillips did not even engage a major Confederate force, the campaign was more successful for its moral effect on the Indians than as a military victory. En route Phillips distributed copies of President Lincoln's "Amnesty Proclamation" in the Indian languages and wrote letters to most of the Indian leaders, promising them "mercy, pardon, and peace" if they abandoned the war, and threatened them with sure destruction if they did not.[25]

At the same time Phillips launched his expedition, a council of the United Nations of the Indian tribes met at Armstrong Academy. One of the primary purposes of this meeting was to make peace with the "wild Indians" of the west who had been raiding the western part of Indian Territory and down into Texas. As it turned out, however, the council developed into a struggle concerning the Indian status in the war. General Maxey attended the council on February 5 and delivered a speech. His oration had such a profound influence on the Indian leaders that he was asked to present a written copy for closer scrutiny and interpretation. Cooper, also active at the meetings, was largely responsible for the Indians' continued support of the Confederacy. The tribes received a timely message from President Davis, who apologized for Confederate failures, and promised concessions to the Indian demands.[26]

The council at Armstrong Academy did not allay the suspicions of all the Indians, however, and the propaganda spread by Phillips invigorated those leaders who desired to submit to the Union. Another council, composed of seven delegates from each tribe, met on March 16 at Tishomingo, near Fort Washita, to discuss the issue. Cooper was once again active in securing a decision favorable to the Confederacy, but discouragement at the general situation could be noticed in the decision of the council to enlist men for the defense of the Red River country, and not for the repossession of the Cherokee Nation. The opposition could not be reconciled as it had been at Armstrong Academy and a small group of Choctaws met at Scullyville and attempted to accept peace for the Choctaw Nation. This was realized by the Union officials, who regarded it only as an indication of future large scale defection from the Confederate alliance.[27]

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[23] *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 108-109, Phillips, Commanding, First Brigade, Army of the Frontier, Fort Gibson, 24 February 1864, to Maj. Gen. S. R. Curtis, Commanding, Department of Kansas, pp. 111-112, Itinerary of the Indian Brigade.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[25] *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 997, Phillips, Commanding, United States Forces, Indian Territory, Chickasaw Nation, 15 February 1864, to Col. D. N. McIntosh.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 958-961, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 9 February 1864, Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen. Trans-Mississippi Department; *ibid.*, pt. 3, pp. 824-825, Davis, President of Confederate States of America, Richmond, Virginia, 22 February 1864, to Israel Folsom, President of the Grand Council of the Six Confederate Indian Nations.

Maxey gained a greater understanding of Indian problems from this series of tribal meetings and the personal contact he had with many of the Indian leaders. After his initial association at Armstrong Academy, he immediately sought to procure arms for the Indian troops and see that other treaty obligations were met. By April of 1864 he realized that the Indians could not fight effectively using the white man's strategy. He was now convinced that the Indian brigades could be more useful if they were allowed more freedom to make raids.[28]

In early April, Maxey received orders to rush all available troops to Washington, Arkansas, to aid in repelling a Union assault from Fort Smith on the Confederate force of General Sterling Price. Although he disapproved of this strategy, Maxey complied by personally taking the newly formed brigades of Tandy Walker and Gano. While in Arkansas, these troops were pivotal in the Battle of Poison Spring.[29] Cooper was once again left in temporary command of Indian Territory. An attack on Fort Gibson and Fort Smith had already been seriously considered by both Cooper and Maxey, and during Maxey's absence Cooper encouraged such action. William P. Adair crossed the Arkansas River in mid-April with 300 men, with the intention of attacking Fort Gibson. Although the Union force at Fort Gibson was considerably depleted by the absence of a great number of patrols engaged in securing provisions for the troops and refugee Indians around the fort, Adair was never able to attack. He succeeded in moving into the northern part of the Cherokee

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[27] Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma,* Vol. I, p. 358; *Executive Documents, 1863-1864,* Vol. III, pp. 328-329, Justin Harlan, Leavenworth, Kansas, 8 August 1863, to Coffin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Leavenworth, Kansas.

[28] *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XXXIV, pt. 3, pp. 745-746, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Camp Garland, 7 April 1864, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana; *ibid.,* Vol. LIII, pp. 963-966, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 7 February, 1864, to Anderson, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana.

[29] *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXIV, pt. 3, pp. 728-729, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 3 April 1864, to Smith, Commanding, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Nation, only to be attacked at Huff's Mill near Maysville. The Confederate force was quickly routed, losing six men, and forced to retire to the south side of the Arkansas River. When Maxey returned to Indian Territory on May 9, 1864, he expressed approval of Cooper's actions in his absence.[30]

Considerations of retaking Forts Gibson and Smith continued to receive Confederate attention throughout May. Although Maxey complained of having inadequate transportation facilities, he reported to the Trans-Mississippi Department that the two forts could be taken easily, but that they could not be held until the Confederacy occupied the Arkansas River area below Fort Smith. A concerted Confederate drive, which would result in the repossession of northern Arkansas and the Cherokee Nation, was visualized, but never effectively launched. In June, when Cooper prepared to attack Fort Gibson, he was constrained by Maxey, and Confederate hopes of recovering the fort were temporarily dimmed.[31]

A bright spot in Confederate activity in Indian Territory came with the capture of the *J. R. Williams,* a steam ferryboat. With a Union escort of twenty-six men, the craft started up the Arkansas River from Fort Smith on June 15, 1864, carrying a cargo of quartermaster stores destined for Fort Gibson. General Watie, whose scouts informed him of the boat's departure, prepared an ambush at Pleasant Bluff, near the juncture of the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers. When the steamer came abreast the three cannons concealed on the south bank, the Confederate Indians fired. The boat was disabled in the first volley, and ran aground on the north bank, where the escort fled through the woods. The captured vessel was brought across the river and the Confederates began to unload the supplies. During the night the river rose, carrying some of the cargo downstream. On the next day, a band of Union Indians appeared on the opposite bank and repeatedly fired across the river, hindering the Confederate attempts to carry the supplies up the steep bluff. Discouraged, Watie's men set *J. R. Williams* on fire, and cut it adrift. The Arkansas again rose in the night, sweeping the remaining provisions from the sandbar on which they were stacked.[32]

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[30] *Ibid.,* pp. 765-766, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Camden Road, Arkansas, 14 April 1864, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana, p. 816, General Orders No. 39, by Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 15 May 1864.

[31] *Ibid.,* pp. 819-820, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 11 May 1864, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana.

[32] *Ibid.,* pt. 4, pp. 503-504, Brig. Gen. John M. Thayer, Fort Smith, Arkansas, 22 June 1864, to Maj. Gen. F. Steele, Commanding, Depart-

Many of the Confederate Indians deserted with a portion of the captured goods, leaving Watie with a force insufficient to defend the bulk of the plunder. Upon learning of the approach of Federal troops, Watie set the provisions on fire and retreated. The next morning there was a skirmish at Iron Bridge on San Bois Creek, after which each side marched toward camp.[33]

The success of these raids, militarily insignificant, seemed to have a profound effect on the morale of the Confederate Indians. On June 23, 1864, the first Choctaw Regiment of General Walker unanimously re-enlisted before their term expired and passed resolutions to work for legislation that would make military service in the Confederate army compulsory for all Choctaw men from eighteen to forty-five.[34] The Cherokee, fresh from their attack on the *J. R. Williams*, reassembled on June 27 at Watie's camp on Limestone Prairie and re-enlisted for the duration of the war. At a meeting of the Cherokee National Council in July, Watie proposed conscription, but the council only recommended an increased effort to procure voluntary enlistment.[35]

With the exception of occasional raids around Fort Gibson, there was little military activity in Indian Territory in July and August of 1864, and the last major engagements of the war came in September. The Union force in Indian Territory was small and widely scattered. The major objective of Colonel Phillips was to provide for the refugee Indians which surrounded Fort Gibson. These factors indicated that there was little probability of a Federal offensive movement, but the Confederate Indians, with fresh recruits and a desire for their homeland, were eager for action. General Gano and General Watie met on September 12 at Watie's camp and decided to undertake an expedition. On September 15 the combined force of 2,000 moved northward, and the next day they came upon a Union hay station about twelve miles above Fort Gibson. The Union troops there, commanded by Colonel E. A. Barker, numbered only 125, the majority of which were Negro infantry used in the haying operations. The Confederates attacked from five directions, and quickly dislodged the Federal soldiers who had formed in a ravine beyond the camp. Colonel Barker and some fifteen men who had horses were able to escape, but the rest were either

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ment of Arkansas; *ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 1012, Watie, Commanding, Troops on Arkansas River, Pleasant Bluff, 17 June 1864, to Cooper.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 1013, Watie, Commanding, First Indian Brigade, Camp on Limestone Prairie, 27 June 1864, to Cooper.

[34] *Ibid.*, pt. 4, pp. 694-695, Tandy Walker, Col. Second Indian Brigade, Camp Green, 23 June 1864.

[35] *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 1013, Watie, Commanding, First Indian Brigade, Camp on Limestone Prairie, 27 June 1864, to Cooper; *ibid.*, pp. 1046-1047, Watie, Cherokee Nation, 11 July 1864, to the Honorable Members of the National Committee and Council in General Council Convened.

captured or killed. No quarter was given to the Negroes and only a few escaped slaughter by hiding in the ravine. After destroying the hay and machinery, the Southern troops camped on the battle ground. The next morning, General Gano sent a portion of the troops to a nearby hay station, but finding it reinforced with troops from Fort Gibson, they withdrew after a brief skirmish.[36]

Watie and Gano learned from prisoners that a wagon train from Fort Scott was expected soon. The 300 wagons in this train carried quartermaster and commissary supplies which were greatly needed by the Federal army around Fort Gibson. The capture of this train now became the major objective of the Confederate generals. General Gano with 400 Texans located the wagons at Cabin Creek in the afternoon of September 18, and immediately sent for Watie. He arrived at midnight, bringing the Confederate force to nearly 2,000, and prepared the attack, which began several hours before dawn. After an initial exchange of fire, the Confederates moved steadily closer to the Union lines. There was great confusion in the Union camp. Teamsters were fleeing in all directions on mules from the train, and teams, terrified by the noise of battle, were bolting and leaving wrecked wagons behind them. The Secessionist charged with renewed vigor at dawn, and soon overwhelmed the Union guard that was outnumbered more than two to one. The Federal force retreated, leaving what was left of the wagon train to the Confederates.[37]

The Confederates gathered those wagons and mules that had escaped damage, and destroyed the rest, burning the wagons and shooting the wounded mules. They then crossed the Arkansas River and started south with the 130 wagons and 740 mules that now made up the train. Late that afternoon, the Southern force met Federal troops from Fort Smith, who were on the way to protect the train, near Pryor's Creek. They skirmished until dark, when the Confederates stole away under cover of darkness, after having created the allusion of parking the train for the night by driving an empty wagon in a circle over a rocky place. Watie and Gano marched their men for three days and nights, and arrived at Watie's camp on Limestone Prairie on September 28, 1864, having destroyed over a million dollars worth of Federal supplies.[38] The Confederates had fought and won the last major battle in Indian Territory.

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[36] *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, pt. 1, pp. 771-772, Capt. E. A. Barker, Commanding, Company C. of Second Kansas Cavalry, Fort Gibson, 20 September 1864, to Adjutant-General U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., pp. 784-786, Watie, Commanding, First Indian Brigade, Camp Bragg, 3 October 1864, to Captain T. B. Heiston, Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Indian Territory.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 788-791, Brig. Gen. R. M. Gano, Commanding, Brigade, Camp Bragg, 29 September 1864, to Cooper, Commanding, Division.

These victories greatly encouraged the Confederate troops in Indian Territory, and greatly aided the process of reorganization which General Maxey continued to pursue. By August of 1864, Maxey had solved the organizational question on the status of Indian officers. Many of his fellow officers, including Cooper, did not believe that Indian officers should take rank over white officers. Maxey ruled that there was no color line drawn in determining the elective rank of officers and that there was no difference between white and Indian officers of the same rank.[39] In addition, contrary to Maxey's earlier plans, the three brigade plan was being initiated. The Cherokee Brigade was fully organized, the Creek Brigade was in the process of formation, and no difficulty was anticipated in raising men to make up a Choctaw Brigade. The third brigade, however, was not realized until October, when three regiments were severed from Watie's command and formed into a separate unit under the command of Colonel D. N. McIntosh, who was to serve until he could be replaced by a brigadier general.[40]

When the grand council of Indians met at Armstrong Academy in November of 1864, General Maxey delivered by request a speech on conditions in Indian Territory. Following his three hour oration, the council passed resolutions approving the military and civil administration of Maxey. The main business of the council was to once again request the arming of Indian troops. This request had been made the previous November, but a full year later the Indians had received nothing more than another promise from President Davis.[41]

Maxey made a three day tour of inspection in early December. He reported that the troops were now cheerful and confident, as contrasted to December of 1863, when men were deserting in large numbers. The troops were better armed and well clothed because of captured supplies and some provisions received from Texas. But Maxey was over optimistic. In late December he complained that there was an insufficient amount of supplies for the winter, and most of the soldiers had not been paid since June 30, 1863. He tried to explain to the Trans-Mississippi Department the importance of holding Indian Territory, but it is evident in his correspondence that his main objective in desiring to retain the area was for the sake of his own reputation.[42]

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 791; Marvin J. Hancock, "The Second Battle of Cabin Creek, 1864," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, (Winter, 1961-1962), pp. 414-426.

[39] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pt. 4, pp. 698-699, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, 29 June 1864, to Cooper, Commanding Division.

[40] *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, pt. 2, pp. 1078-1079, Scott, Indian Commissioner, Towson, 23 August 1864, to Seddon, Secretary of War, Richmond, Virginia; *ibid.*, Vol. LIII, p. 1023, General Orders No. 63, M. L. Bell, Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 13 October 1864.

[41] *Ibid.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 1026-1038, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 12 November 1864, to Smith, Commanding, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Even under these undesirable circumstances, the Confederate forces were in no danger of attack. The Union troops in Indian Territory had diminished to under 1,500, few of these being whites. Fort Gibson suffered under an added burden of having around it 20,000 refugee Indians to feed. Conditions were so poor that General Edward S. Canby recommended that all of Indian Territory be abandoned by Federal troops. General U. S. Grant expressed the opinion that Fort Smith at least ought to be held. Colonel Phillips protested that if Fort Gibson were abandoned, the refugees would be mercilessly destroyed by the Confederates. Because of Phillips sincere desire to help these Indians, the Union troops remained to occupy the territory until the end of the war.[43]

After Maxey had been assigned to Indian Territory, General Cooper had never ceased his efforts to be made commander-in-chief of all Confederate forces there. Orders from the Secretary of War in Richmond had been issued to this effect in July of 1864, but General Smith refused to deliver them, allowing them to remain on his desk. Cooper made a journey to Richmond to see President Davis in February of 1865, and shortly after Smith was informed that it was imperative that he issue the orders. On February 14, Cooper was made Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Indian Territory, and on February 21 he received the coveted position of commander of all Confederate forces in Indian Territory.[44]

Upon assuming his new duties on March 1, 1865, Cooper's immediate activity was more oriented toward Indian problems than the military aspects of his command. He tightened down on the removal of public property from the territory, and ordered government workshops to spend at least one day per week in repairing farm implements. He further assisted agricultural endeavors by issuing seed corn from government supplies to indigent Indian farmers. He made an effort to bring about civil order by restraining soldiers from "depredations, outrages and wrongs," on citizens of the territory.[45]

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[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 1029-1030, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Camp of Gano's Brigade, 2 December 1864, to Smith, Commanding, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana; Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 31 December 1864, to Boggs, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana.

[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, pt. 1, pp. 456-457, Phillips, Commanding, Fort Gibson, 8 January 1865, to Secretary of War, Washington, D.C., p. 391, Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Chief Point, Virginia, 1 January 1865, to Maj. Gen. Halleck, Chief of Staff, United States Army.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 1403, General Orders, No. 7, Maxey, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 24 February 1865, pp. 1408-1409, Smith, Commanding, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, 2 March 1865, to S. Cooper, Adjt. and Insp. Gen., C.S. Army, Richmond, Virginia.

Cooper had been in command of Indian Territory just over a month when General Robert E. Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The news, spreading slowly over the continent, reached the territory in early May, but Cooper refused to believe the scattered rumors. He wrote to Captain T. M. Scott, "It is very strange the country should be flooded with alarming reports relative to our army east. . . . We shall proceed as if no bad news had reached us."[46] And so he did. On May 14, 1865 he concentrated his forces at Boggy Depot and planned a raid into Missouri. But the raid never matured, for on May 16 Cooper received notice of a peace conference being held at Marshall, Texas, and stayed his actions pending the outcome of the meeting.[47] Ten days later, General Smith surrendered the Trans-Mississippi Department to Major-General Canby, Union commander of the Military Division of West Mississippi. Orders were sent to Cooper on June 6, to "apply to the nearest officer of the United States Army and complete the surrender of your command."[48]

The stubborn resistance of the Confederates in Indian Territory had ended, but only because the "army east" had been defeated. It was three months after Lee's defeat that the last of the Confederate Indians surrendered. Details of peace and treaty making were to drag on throughout the latter part of 1865 into the summer of 1866, but the war was over.

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 1413-1414, Special Orders, No. 63, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 7 March 1865; p. 1422, General Order, No. 10, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 12 March 1865; p. 1437, Special Orders, No. 74, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 18 March 1865, pp. 1447-1448, General Orders, No. 12, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, 27 March 1865.

[46] *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 1297, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Washita, 10 May 1865, to Scott, Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Indian Territory.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 1303-1304, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Washita, 14 May 1865, to Scott, Asst. Adjt. Gen., District of Indian Territory, p. 1308, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Washita, 16 May 1865, to Col. W. P. Adair, Commanding, Indian Brigade.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 604-606, General Orders, No. 61, Col. C. T. Christensen, Asst. Adjt. Gen., Military Division of West Mississippi, New Orleans, Louisiana, 26 May 1865, pp. 1322-1323, Lieut. Gen. S. B. Buckner, Chief of Staff, Trans-Mississippi Department, Shreveport, Louisiana, 6 June 1865, to Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory.

The irony of war and the blessedness of peace had been echoed in Cooper's last official correspondence to Captain Scott in 1865: "The country is quiet, and no danger of traveling alone."[49]

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 1024, Cooper, Commanding, District of Indian Territory, Fort Washita, 26 June 1865, to Scott, Adjt. Gen., District of Indian Territory, McKinney, Texas.

CONFEDERATE INDIAN TROOP CONDITIONS IN 1864

By *Allan C. Ashcraft*[*]

By 1864 the various Indian units of the Confederate military service had been consolidated with a battery of Texas volunteer artillery to make up the Indian Division of Brigadier-General D. H. Cooper. In all, this division consisted of Brigadier-General Stand Watie's First Indian Brigade, the Second Indian Brigade of Colonel Tandy Walker, Colonel David Newman McIntosh's Creek and Seminole Brigade, a small "Reserve Squadron" of Captain George Washington, Howell's Battery of Texans under First Lieutenant H. A. Routh, and a division staff of four officers. General Cooper's assistant inspector general was Captain B. W. Marston, a young Louisianan who displayed great enthusiasm and frankness in carrying out his duties. After being cited for "gallant and meritorious conduct" at Shiloh in 1862, Captain Marston requested transfer to the Confederate trans-Mississippi west. Eventually, he was ordered to join Cooper's command at Fort Towson, Indian Territory.[1]

In December, 1864, Captain Marston journeyed to the Boggy Depot assembly area of Cooper's Indian Division where he was to conduct a routine inspection of the various regiments and companies of the division.[2] Marston's inspection report (which is well preserved in the very excellent Archives Division of the

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[*] Dr. Allen C. Ashcraft, Assistant Professor of History, A. & M. College of Texas, College Station, Texas, presents here in *The Chronicles* (Winter, 1963-1964) history not generally known concerning the Indian Division of the Trans-Mississippi Department, C.S.A. Material used are among the Confederate records in the Archives Division of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.—Ed.

[1] Captain Marston's father, Henry W. Marston, had come to Feliciana Parish, Louisiana from Boston in 1822. By 1835, Henry had prospered in banking and planting, and had settled on an estate near Clinton, Louisiana. All three of his sons: James, Henry, and Bulow served in the Confederate Army. The old Marston house, which was used as a hospital during the Civil War, fell into disrepair as the post-war decades passed. Shortly before World War II this structure was used as a dilapidated backdrop for certain portions of the moving picture version of *Tobacco Road*. In 1941 the Marston heirs gave the old building to the community. It has since been restored by the East Feliciana Pilgrimage and Garden Club. From Inventory Folder to *Marston (Henry W. and Family) Papers*. L.S.U. Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Included in the folder are newspaper strips from the *States-Times* (Baton Rouge) Oct. 6, 1949 and Nov. 3, 1941, and the *Morning Advocate* (Baton Rouge) Aug. 17, 1941.

[2] Capt. B. W. Marston was acting Assistant Adjutant General on the staff of Brig. General Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding Confederate States Forces of Indian Territory, in the Field in October, 1864, Choctaw Agency region west of Fort Smith. General Cooper's report of October

Louisiana State University Library at Baton Rouge) offers considerable insight into conditions and problems that were confronting the Indian troop units at that time. Howell's Battery was the only unit that Marston actually inspected. He reported that this Texas artillery force had an aggregate of 75 officers and men, 82 horses (57 of them classed as "unserviceable"), and 6 guns of the six-pounder variety. All of the battery equipment was accounted for, military appearance of the soldiers and police of quarters were adjudged to be "tolerable," and a notation was made that orders from higher headquarters had not been "duly received" by the battery.

The reason why Captain Marston was unable to inspect the Indian units was explained in the "remarks" section of the inspection report form. These also present a rather detailed picture of the military status of the Indian commands in this phase of the war:[3]

REMARKS WITH CAPTAIN MARSTON'S INSPECTION REPORT

None of the commands mentioned herein were formally inspected except Howells Battery of Texas Vol, the rest are Indian organizations, and from various causes, they had, at the date of this Report, dispersed and gone to their homes. — The Return of the Indian Brigades[4] as contained herein is taken from the Books of the A.A. Genl of Div — the last return from them respectively — Which I thought best to embody.* The Indian Troops, besides being a peculiar organization, labor under many disadvantages — more, I venture to say, than any command in the Confederacy. Their organizations to start with are

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10, 1864, to Capt. C. A. Scott, Act. Adj. General, District of Indian Territory, Ft. Towson, Choctaw Nation, makes special mention of Capt. Marston's exploit out from Buck Creek Camp (site in vicinity of present Panama, LeFlore County, Oklahoma): "While resting at Buck Creek Captain Marston and Captain Gunter, [Samuel H. Gunter of First Cherokee Regt.], with four men, swam the Arkansas, made a reconnaissance of the enemy on the north side, ascertained certainly that the enemy were not evacuating [Ft. Smith], captured two Federals with arms, horses, rigging, and greenbacks, paroling one of the prisoners who was badly wounded, and then recrossed again, swimming the Arkansas in full view of the enemy, and arrived tired, but safely, at my camp near Chula Church, where the train had been directed to meet us. This feat is unsurpassed in the annals of the war."—Report Brig. Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.Army, *War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies,* Vol. XLI, Pt. I, pp. 31-36.—Ed.

[3] Original grammar and punctuation have been retained in all documents and letters quoted in this article. (In a few places, parts of long text have been set in new paragraphing for clearness.—Ed.)

[4] The strength table, presented in Marston's report, gives some concept of the size of the various Indian units in 1864. As the young inspector pointed out, all of this information (except for the figures pertaining to Howell's Battery) were copied from earlier reports. See accompanying table opposite page.

* Since the return was made, four Batteries [?] of white troops have been attached to the 1st Ind. Brigade. They having recently come out of the enemies lines, no Return from them has been received therefore they are not included in the aggregate.

PRESENT

Comdg. Officer	Troops	FOR DUTY						On special duty		Sick		In arrest		aggregate
		Number of Regts	Number of Cos	Genl. Offs.	Genl. Staff Offs.	Field, Staff and Company Offs.	Enlisted Men	Aggregate	Offs.	Enlisted Men	Offs.	Enlisted Men	Offs.	Enl. Men	
1 Lt. H.A. Routh	- Howell's Btry		1			3	64	67		7		1			75
B. Gen. S. Watie	- 1st Ind Brig	2 1B*	24	1	6	80	623	710		108	1	38			857
Col. T. Walker	- 2nd " "	3 2B	33		2	63	851	916	1	40	2	24		6	989
Col. D. McIntosh	- Creek & Seminole Brig.	3	30			112	1020	1132		37		13		1	1133
Capt. G. Washington	- Reserve Sqdn.		2			6	145	151							151
B. Gen. D.H. Cooper	- Gen & Staff Officers			1	4			5							5
Aggregate		8R 3B	90	2	12	264	2703	2987	1	192	3	76		7	3260

STRENGTH TABLE — MARSTON'S REPORT, 1864

Taken from cover sheet of "Inspection Report of Cooper's Division, Dist. Ind. Ty., Trans-Miss. Dept. Commanded by Brig. Genl. D. H. Cooper. Inspected by Capt. B. W. Marston A. Insp. Genl. Near Boggy Depot, Dec. 18th, 1864 [MSS]. — "Marston (Henry W. and Family) Papers," Louisiana State University Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

as loose and irregular as their ideas of military propriety; their officers as a general rule are ignorant of their duties, and by education are incapable of informing themselves, — this nature of things would necessarily make discipline loose, and that being the case the command is unreliable.—When the Indians came down from the neighborhood of the enemy on the Arkansas River about the 1st of Nov, their first impulse, officers and men alike, was to go home. It was intended to have kept them on the Boggies, build winter quarters, and instruct them in the various Military exercises during the winter, this became impracticable from the facts that neither forage nor provisions had been accumulated during the summer to supply them, and the most of them were destitute of clothing or blankets; nor could axes be had to build huts — the 2nd Ind Brigade having only three or four, and they were private property, the 1st and 3rd may have been a little better supplied, but there was universal complaint in both of them — In this condition Genl. Price's army passed through their midst, and the small amount of provisions accumulated was immediately consumed by them, the severity of winter setting in at the same time made it self preservation for the Indians to disperse.

Stringent orders have been issued for them to assemble in camps; but they have as little effect as 'Mexican pronunciamentoes' with as little power vested in the comdr to enforce them. Such is the state of the Indian troops at the present time, and this they are apt to remain until spring, unless they are satisfied of an advance of the enemy, when every man would most probably turn out. — I consider one of the greatest evils to the service existing in the Indian Troops, is, the great number of white men not citizens of the Territory who have saught service in the Indian Regts to get out of service — There are some few exceptions to this rule — In some instances there are white companies, entire, in the Indian Regts. I would respectfully recommend the propriety if not necessity, of transfering every white man not on duty in the Staff Depts, not an officer, to some white command, or when there exist organized white companies, they be allowed to organize themselves into a Batallion or Regiment, as it stands now (and I dont think there are less than a thousand white men in the Indian Division) they think themselves entitled to the same rights and "prerogatives" of the Indians, and are in no respect more efficient, being as a general rule totally ignorant of drill and unaccustomed to discipline — The Indians rid of this demoralizing element, but at the same time be made to depend and rely upon a steady body of white troops which are disciplined and know how to enforce it, will give them consistency and make a frame work to build upon and being gradually taught the weight and necessity of discipline will become as effective as light cavalry or mounted infantry could be desired. — If the transfering of these white men would effect no other good than rendering them efficient it would result in no small benefit to the service, —**

I would respectfully recommend the propriety of competent and disinterested authority making a thorough investigation of the causes of the present disorganized condition of the Indian Troops, with a view to correct the evils which beset them, the many disadvantages they labor under, and the improvement of the general service — To

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** Who is responsible for the organization of the Indian Troops; their wants of every thing necessary for their comfort and efficiency as soldiers is not for me to say, but this bad organization and these wants exist and have existed for so long a time, they are beginning to think that patience has ceased to be a virtue.[5]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

illustrate the Justice of this recommendation it is simply to state, that the Brig Genl D. H. Cooper was placed in command of the Ind Troops by the President, he has no more command of them, except the influence he wields from long association & universal kindness, than if he was not their General, and, if he has not command of them yet by now in command, who has? Further than this it is not my province as Div Insptor to go, but facts are on record to warrant an investigation — as for the data, in full, required by the Inspection Circular I would state that it cannot be had at present, but they are almost as destitute of every atribute of a soldier as if they were raw recruits. I would further state that they have not received pay since the 30th of June 1863.

B. W. Marston
Capt & Inspector General
Cooper's Div

While Marston's report indicated a lack of leadership on the part of the division commander, General Cooper continued to hold the young officer in high esteem. In a personal letter to General Edmund Kirby Smith, Commanding General of the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi West, Cooper recommended approval of Marston's application for a furlough with glowing statements about the inspector's abilities. In this same communication Cooper included some general comments about basic shortcomings of the Indian Division. Perhaps General Cooper thought that this might cushion the effect of Marston's report as that document was being forwarded from Cooper's headquarters to the headquarters of Major-General S. B. Maxey, Commanding General of the District of Indian Territory:[6]

HeadQrs Indian Division
Boggy Depot CN Dec 28th 1864

Gen,

Capt Marston having applied for leave to visit Shreveport and the residence of his Father in La, I take great pleasure in bearing testimony to his having merited by his conduct, during the time he has been on my staff, the character given him by yourself — that of a soldier and a Gentleman.

It may not be inapropriate for me to say: That the great *desideration* in this District, is efficient Staff Officers — without whom (with the faulty organization of the Indian Troops — or rather the want of information among by far the greater portion of their officers — and which must necessarily continue to some extent, on account of a lack of education, in the most limited sense of that word,) there is no prospect of introducing order, system, discipline or drill among them— We want young, intelligent — zealous and, above all, *honest* Staff Officers, in the Indian Commands. Officers who are willing to work, patiently, almost without the hope of reward, for the good of the service and the success of our *Holy Cause.*

I trust, Gen, you will excuse the liberty I have taken — of addressing an unofficial note, being myself personally unknown to you. The desire to do an act of justice to our mutual young friend Capt. Marston, has overcome my reluctance to deviate from propriety!

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[6] D. H. Cooper to E. Kirby Smith, Hq., Indian Division, Boggy Depot, C. N., Dec. 28, 1864. MSS. *Marston (Henry W. and Family) Papers.* L.S.U. Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

I am Gen
Respectfully
D. H. Cooper
Brig Gen Comdg

Gen E Kirby Smith
Shreveport
La

On the very next day, General Cooper attempted to solve one of the most crucial problems that Marston had disclosed in his report, the matter of white men serving in Indian units. In a dispatch to Brigadier-General W. R. Boggs, Chief of Staff at Kirby Smith's departmental headquarters, Cooper asked for permission to re-organize his division in such a way as to separate the white soldiers from the Indian troops. Captain Marston's name was offered as possible commander of the proposed all-white unit in the Indian Division.[7]

Copy

Head Quarters Indian Division
Boggy Depot — Dec 29th 1864

Gen

I have the honor to apply for an order from the Genl Comdg authorizing Capt B W Marston Inspt Genl of Division to organize the white men of the Division, into a separate Battlion or Regiment, the same to be attached to my Division.

The necessity of having white troops in an organized body attached to the Indian Division has been frequently represented by me. The white men mixed in with the Indians are an injury to them and are not doing Justice to themselves or their country — By being organized into a separate Battalion or Regiment, as the numbers will warrant, with good officers they will set an example to the Indians and promote the efficiency of the service. Especially by affording me the means of enforcing orders among the Indians and lawless white men of the Indian Territory. Capt Marston sent here with high recommendations from the Genl Comdg has served on my staff for nearly a year as Inspect-Genl & AAA Genl,[8] and has always shown by his conduct that the Comdg Genl of the Dept was not mistaken in his estimate of his character and worth

Tho an excellent Staff Officer, whom I should regret to part with, Capt Marston is peculiarly fitted, by his temperament, for a Cavalry Officer; and having a military education can soon familiarize himself with the Cavalry drill, sufficiently for the Mounted Rifleman

Respectfully
D H Cooper
Brig Genl Comdg

Brig Genl W R Boggs
Chief of Staff T M D
Thru Maj Gen Maxey
Cmdg D I T

Official Copy
T. B. Hinton
Capt & AA Gen

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[7] D. H. Cooper to W. R. Boggs, Hq., Indian Division, Boggy Depot, C. N., Dec. 29, 1864. MSS. *Marston (Henry W. and Family) Papers.* L.S.U. Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

[8] Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

As this letter from General Cooper passed through General Maxey's district headquarters on its way to General Kirby Smith's departmental headquarters, the following endorsement was added by General Maxey:[9]

Head Quarters
Dist Ind Ty
Ft Towson C N
Dec 31st 1864

Respectfully forwarded.

The Chief white element in the Indian Division is in Watie's Brigade brought there under an authority which I am advised he has from the Sec of War to recruit within the enemy's lines

I know of no laws to prevent Genl Cooper who has been assigned by the Sec of War to the Command of the Indian Troops from making this organization without further trouble, other than the law (or laws) prohibiting the organization of new commands without special authority. My opinion has long been that whites should be kept out of Indian commands, and shortly after I took command I issued a note prohibiting the enlistment of white men into Indian Comds except upon authority of the Regtl Comdr Some white men are necessary to the perfection of the organizations but as a general rule they join these commands to avoid strict discipline. They need a rigid disciplinarian — It's difficult under the most favorable circumstances to enforce rigid discipline in white troops in this Dist. The plan proposed for the white men in the Indian Comd is perhaps the best that could be fallen on. I regard Capt Marston as an energetic and ambitious young officer who would endeavor to make an organization of this kind valuable — It is the business of the Dist Comd to look after "the careless white men in the Indian Div" and he feels himself competent to do this duty

S B Maxey
Maj Gen
Comdg

Official
B W Marston
Capt & AA Genrl

By early 1865 Captain Marston was in command of a separate battalion of white men in the Indian Division.[10] He was acting in this capacity when the war ended and as he was taken prisoner by Union troops. After his parole at Shreveport, Marston turned to planting and steamboating and led what was apparently a full and successful life.[11]

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[9] *Special Orders, No. 25* issued by T. M. Scott, Assistant Adjutant General, "By order of Major-General Maxey," from Headquarters of District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, C.N., January 26, 1865, was published as a "Circular," stating that "Capt. B. W. Marston is hereby authorized to organize a battalion or regiment of white troops out of the Indian division, to be permanently attached to the Indian District." This "Circular" closes with this statement: "I may be found for the present at these headquarters. B. W. Marston, Inspector-General, Cooper's Division, District of Indian Territory." — *Official Records, op. cit.,* Vol. XLVIII, Pt. I, p. 1386.

Special orders, No. 11 issued by order of Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper from Headquarters of District of Indian Territory, Fort Towson, C.N., March 23, 1865, states: "Capt. B. W. Marston is relieved from duty with the Indian Division, and is hereby announced as assistant inspector-general, District of Indian Territory, and will be obeyed and respected accordingly."—*Ibid.*, p. 1444.—Ed.

[10] S. B. Maxey's endorsement, *Ibid.*

The December inspection report indicates that the Indian Division was seriously lacking in basic military attributes. Discipline was unknown, leadership and command were weak, supply and planning were deficient, and few members of the entire unit were capable of understanding the situation. In short, Cooper's command bore little resemblance to a military force. Yet, the individual soldiers must have had an interest in "the cause" as Marston proved by his comment that "every man would most probably turn out" if the Indian soldiers could be convinced that the enemy was advancing in the district. Unfortunately for the South, General Cooper was never adequately able to make use of this willingness on the part of his followers. Still, the fact that both Cooper and Maxey pushed for the formation of a separate battalion of white troops shows that these leaders were capable of making an effort to erase some of the most serious faults of the Indian Division.

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[11] Inventory Folder to *Marston (Henry W. and Family) Papers.* L.S.U. Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The enclosed material was located by the author while conducting research made possible by an allocation of funds from the State of Texas through the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION OF OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As members of the Oklahoma Historical Society, this is to propose in accordance with Article VII of the Constitution, that the Constitution be amended by adding an additional sentence to Sec. 3 of Article IV, reading:

> "If no additional nominations are received, thus resulting in no contest, the Administrative Secretary at the meeting of the Board of Directors where such ballots otherwise would be canvassed shall cast one vote and declare the five nominees elected.

Very truly yours,
R. O. Wilkin
Robert L. Newton
Glenn E. Robberson
Wendell E. Howell
W. R. Withington
W. J. Robinson

CEREMONIES AND MEMORIAL SERVICES OF 1963 ANNUAL MEETING, THE NATIONAL HALL OF FAME FOR FAMOUS AMERICAN INDIANS, AT ANADARKO

The annual ceremonies in 1963 of the American Indian Hall of Fame took place in the Hall of Fame area at Anadarko on Friday morning of October 11, on the occasion of the unveiling and dedication of the bronze bust sculpture of "Chief Tishomingo of the Chickasaws." The meeting was opened by Mr. Paul Stonum, Program Committee Chairman, and Justice N. B. Johnson of the State Supreme Court, President of the American Indian Hall of Fame presided throughout the program begun by the National Anthem led by the Riverside Indian School Chorus and followed with the Invocation by the Reverend Ted Ware, Pastor of the Methvin Memorial Church of Anadarko. The address of welcome was given State Senator Don Baldwin of Anadarko, and the response was by Hon. E. B. Maytubby, Governor of the Chickasaw Tribe.

The regular ceremonies of the day began with Memorial Services to the late Logan Billingsley, Esq., of Katonah, New York, founder of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, whose death occurred in August, 1963. Tributes were also given Governor Floyd E. Maytubby of the Chickasaw Tribe, and Mr. Robert Goombi, leading Kiowa and President of the American Indian Exposition, both of whom died earlier in 1963, and who had been active in the interests of the American Indian Hall of Fame since its founding in 1952, these tributes made by the Hon. Homer Paul and Mr. Tully Morrison, respectively.

The Memorial Services opened with the following special tribute to Mr. Logan Billingsley given by Justice N. B. Johnson:

"It is appropriate on this occasion that we pause to pay the tribute of our love and respect to the memory of our departed friend, Logan Billingsley.

"He was the guiding light in the founding of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians and spent thousands of dollars and much of his time in behalf of the organization.

"Living in the Indian country before Oklahoma became a state, he saw Indian life in its transition stage and through his years of work and association with the Indian people, he learned the important role the Indian has played and the imprint he has made on our national character traditions and culture. He realized that the names and deeds of many outstanding Indian personalities who have contributed immeasurably to the advancement of our social, economic, political and cultural wellbeing have gone unrecorded. It was his desire and ambition to establish a place of national significance where due recognition for them could be made and their historic stories preserved for all times to come. Through his untiring efforts he brought about a meeting in 1952 of a number of public officials, teachers, jurists and civic leaders with Governor Johnston Murray of Oklahoma. As a result of this meeting and with the full cooperation and assistance of Governor Murray the present organization was established by act of the Oklahoma Legislature and was incorporated under the laws of the State of Oklahoma on February 1, 1952.

"This memorial we see here today stands as a lasting tribute and testimonial to the efforts of Logan Billingsley. He loved Oklahoma, its citizens and its Indian people everywhere. He chose Oklahoma for his final resting place — almost within a stone's throw from where we meet today. Weary and tired, he passed to his reward in August, 1963.

"May we think of him in the sentiment expressed by the poet:

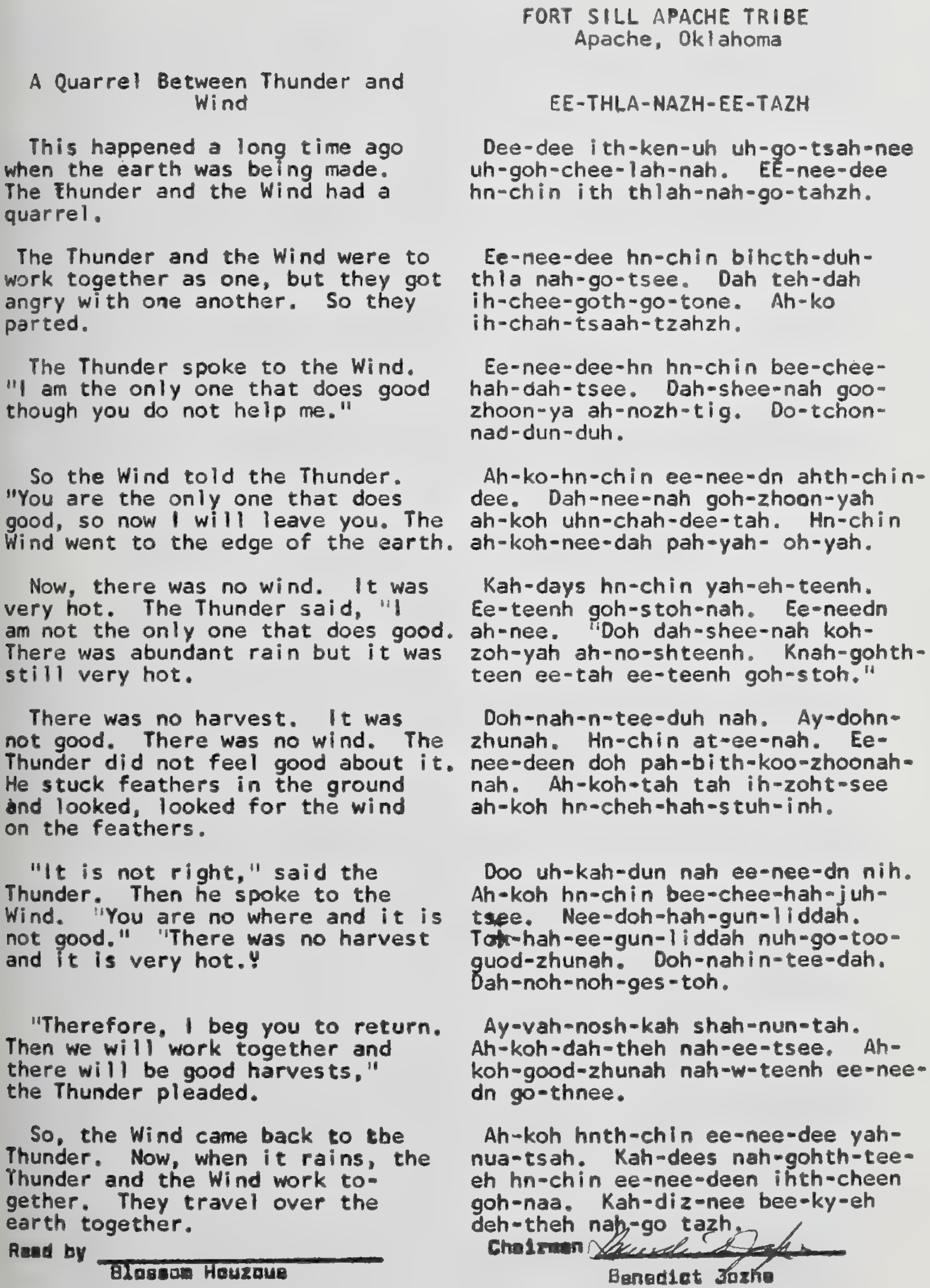
"Thy day has come, not gone;
Thy sun has risen, not set;
Thy life is now beyond
The reach of death of change,
Not ended — but begun.
O, noble soul!
O, gentle heart,
Hail and Farewell!"

As a member and director of the Executive Board of the American Indian Hall of Fame, Mr. Paul Stonum contributed commentaries on the purposes and aims of this national organization. An address on the history of "Tishomingo, the Chickasaw Chief" was given by Miss Muriel H. Wright, Vice President American Indian Hall of Fame. Mr. Leonard McMurry, sculptor of the bust of Tishomingo was introduced. The unveiling of this beautiful bronze was by Lelah Maytubby Berry (Mrs. William Berry), daughter of the late Governor Floyd E. Maytubby, of Oklahoma City. Mr. Arthur Thomas, in Indian tribal costume, Vice President of the American Indian Exposition, introduced one of the Indian princesses of the Exposition, now president of the American Indian Club in the Anadarko High School activities.

Invitation to attend the Annual Seminar in the afternoon, November 11, sponsored by the American Indian Hall of Fame and the Oklahoma Historical Society was extended by Mr. Albert T. Pyles, Superintendent of the Riverside Indian School, the program to be held in the auditorium of this historic Indian school at Anadarko.

The Annual Seminar of 1963 was the fourth sponsored by the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians and the Oklahoma Historical Society, held as announced by Superintendent Pyles, in the auditorium of the Riverside Indian School on Friday afternoon, October 11. The "seminar" plan to present a program along the lines of "American Indian Culture and Western History" during the Annual Meeting of the American Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko had originated in 1959 through the active interest of Mrs. Logan Billingsley, a Director on its Advisory Board, who had made the journey from her home in New York and was introduced as an honored guest during the afternoon of the fourth Annual Seminar.

The special theme of the 1963 Seminar was "American Indian Languages." All participants were of American Indian descent, most of them full blood who spoke their tribal language fluently and also spoke the English. The program began with the Invocation in Kiowa by the Reverend Cecil Horse, son of the late Hunting Horse, noted U. S. Indian Scout of old Fort Sill. The song "Christian Hope" and other old hymns were sung in the Choctaw-Chickasaw by a group of sweet-voiced singers of these two tribes directed by the Reverend Jess J. Humes, Chickasaw. Introductory remarks about the Seminar Program were given in English by Justice N. B. Johnson, (Cherokee) President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, for the benefit of the audience present, many of whom were Indian students of out-of-state tribes attending Riverside High



FORT SILL APACHE TRIBE
Apache, Oklahoma

A Quarrel Between Thunder and Wind	EE-THLA-NAZH-EE-TAZH
This happened a long time ago when the earth was being made. The Thunder and the Wind had a quarrel.	Dee-dee ith-ken-uh uh-go-tsah-nee uh-goh-chee-lah-nah. EE-nee-dee hn-chin ith thlah-nah-go-tahzh.
The Thunder and the Wind were to work together as one, but they got angry with one another. So they parted.	Ee-nee-dee hn-chin bihcth-duh-thla nah-go-tsee. Dah teh-dah ih-chee-goth-go-tone. Ah-ko ih-chah-tsaah-tzahzh.
The Thunder spoke to the Wind. "I am the only one that does good though you do not help me."	Ee-nee-dee-hn hn-chin bee-chee-hah-dah-tsee. Dah-shee-nah goo-zhoon-ya ah-nozh-tig. Do-tchon-nad-dun-duh.
So the Wind told the Thunder. "You are the only one that does good, so now I will leave you. The Wind went to the edge of the earth.	Ah-ko-hn-chin ee-nee-dn ahth-chin-dee. Dah-nee-nah goh-zhoon-yah ah-koh uhn-chah-dee-tah. Hn-chin ah-koh-nee-dah pah-yah- oh-yah.
Now, there was no wind. It was very hot. The Thunder said, "I am not the only one that does good. There was abundant rain but it was still very hot.	Kah-days hn-chin yah-eh-teenh. Ee-teenh goh-stoh-nah. Ee-needn ah-nee. "Doh dah-shee-nah koh-zoh-yah ah-no-shteenh. Knah-gohth-teen ee-tah ee-teenh goh-stoh."
There was no harvest. It was not good. There was no wind. The Thunder did not feel good about it. He stuck feathers in the ground and looked, looked for the wind on the feathers.	Doh-nah-n-tee-duh nah. Ay-dohn-zhunah. Hn-chin at-ee-nah. Ee-nee-deen doh pah-bith-koo-zhoonah-nah. Ah-koh-tah tah ih-zoht-see ah-koh hn-cheh-hah-stuh-inh.
"It is not right," said the Thunder. Then he spoke to the Wind. "You are no where and it is not good." "There was no harvest and it is very hot."	Doo uh-kah-dun nah ee-nee-dn nih. Ah-koh hn-chin bee-chee-hah-juh-tsee. Nee-doh-hah-gun-liddah. Tok-hah-ee-gun-liddah nuh-go-too-guod-zhunah. Doh-nahin-tee-dah. Dah-noh-noh-ges-toh.
"Therefore, I beg you to return. Then we will work together and there will be good harvests," the Thunder pleaded.	Ay-vah-nosh-kah shah-nun-tah. Ah-koh-dah-theh nah-ee-tsee. Ah-koh-good-zhunah nah-w-teenh ee-nee-dn go-thnee.
So, the Wind came back to the Thunder. Now, when it rains, the Thunder and the Wind work together. They travel over the earth together.	Ah-koh hnth-chin ee-nee-dee yah-nua-tsah. Kah-dees nah-gohth-tee-eh hn-chin ee-nee-deen ihth-cheen goh-naa. Kah-diz-nee bee-ky-eh deh-theh nah-go tazh.

Read by ______________________
Blossom Houzous

Chairman
Benedict Jozhe

"QUARREL BETWEEN THUNDER AND WIND"
Facsimile of manuscript read by Mrs. Blossom Houzous, showing English version on right hand side of page with the Apache version in the English phonetic spelling prepared and contributed by Mr. Benedict Jozhe, Chairman Fort Sill Apache Tribe, to the "American Indian Seminar" program at Riverside Indian School Auditorium in October, 1963, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

School classes. Mr. Overton James, the newly appointed Governor of the Chickasaw Tribe, through the U. S. Indian Service, was introduced and made a brief talk.

The main part of the program was a brief tribal legend, story or history written for the Seminar records, to be given by the participant in his native language and its English translation: Chickasaw by Darius Cravatt; Comanche by Robert Coffee; Wichita by George Bates; Caddo by Andrew Dunlap; Fort Sill Apache by Benedict Johze; Kiowa by Robert Goombi, Jr.; the American Indian Sign Language by Charles Grounds (Seminole). The Seminar Director was Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor and writer, Oklahoma Historical Society. A museum display of books, pamphlets, all rare items in various Indian languages was also arranged in charge of Mrs. C. E. Cook, a Curator of the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum.

— Ed. (M. H. W.)

IMPORTANT RECORDS FOR GENEALOGISTS

The genealogical collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society is enriched by the generous gift of ten manuscript volumes by Annie Walker Burns (Mrs. Annie Walker Burns Bell) and by her co-worker, Mrs. Lucy Kate McGhee (Mrs. Carl W. McGhee). Each volume has an index. The compilers spent decades in depositories of Washington and elsewhere typing records concerning the southeast quarter of the United States.

This was a labor of love, a devotion to history that merits highest commendation by their countrymen. Records have been mimeographed, bound in volume form, and sold to libraries and genealogists.

The *Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards* lists 165 volumes prepared by Mrs. Burns (Bell), and this falls far short of her total output. Scores of people who frequent the National Archives remember Mrs. Burns (Bell) seated by her typewriter, as an intricate part of the institution.

The volumes placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society illustrate the work of the two compilers. Volumes by Mrs. Burns (Bell) are, *Records of Harlan County, Kentucky,* 140 pp.; *Family Bible Records of Harlan County, Kentucky, 1830 Census,* 35 pp.; *North Carolina, Pension Abstracts of the Revolution, War of 1812,* and *Indian Wars,* vol. 6, 107 pp.; *South Carolina, Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars,* vol. 5, 97 pp.; *Baltimore Marriage Records, 1823-1826,* 201 pp.

Volumes by Mrs. McGhee are, *Pension Abstracts of Maryland, Soldiers of the Revolution, War of 1812, and Indian Wars, Who Settled in Kentucky,* 76 pp.; *Virginia Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars,* vol. 19, 114 pp.; *Virginia Pension Abstracts of the Revolution, War of 1812,* and *Indian Wars,* vol. 23, 118 pp.

Volumes previously donated by Mrs. Burns (Bell) to the Oklahoma Historical Society are:

Military and Genealogical Records of the Famous Indian Woman, Nancy Ward and *Ward Families History Records of the Eastern Cherokee Indian Tribe.*

An examination of these volumes creates in the searcher a desire for access to the complete works of the compilers.

—B. B. Chapman.

"I'm in the Wewoka Switch"
Heard in the Oil Fields over the World

A saying that originated during the oil boom days of the early 1920's at Wewoka, Seminole County, Oklahoma, may be added to the growing list of American expressions or idioms including those of the oil fields, heard in many parts of the world.

Recently, the question was asked in the Editorial Office, "Where was Wewoka switch? And what is meant by the saying, 'I'm in the Wewoka Switch?' "

The Editorial Office has received a copy of *Barking Water—The History of Wewoka,* containing about 68 pages bound in attractive hard-back cover (about 8 x 11 inches in size), with its text giving bits of local history and lore about Wewoka mostly devoted to its story since the oil boom period around 1923. The text was compiled by the journalism classes of Wewoka High School, under the auspices of the Wewoka Rotary Club, and published by the Wewoka Chapter of American Association of University Women in 1960. There are three pages in the front of the text under the heading "Faces from the Past" that are caricatures done as charcoal or pencil sketches seemingly from photographs of individuals who had to do with Wewoka's history, which mar the presentation of the book and detract from its many worthwhile illustrations of prints from old photographs of early day citizens and scenes of Wewoka. On page 15, there is a footnote on *Wewoka Switch* that "became popularized by the opening of a new motel by the same name . . . on West First," as follows:

> "Wewoka Switch was the name applied to the railroad station in Wewoka during the boom days. Often mounds of misguided freight would sit near the tracks for months before being found by their

owners. The Switch has been in existence since territorial days, when the Rock Island Railway first came through Oklahoma. It was the only sidetrack between Oklahoma City and Little Rock."

Historical records show that Wewoka became a widely known center of trade in 1902 when the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Company (its first line having been completed in Oklahoma Territory in 1888 via Pond Creek, Kingfisher and Hennessey) bought out the old Choctaw Coal & Railway Company which had continued its west line to Wewoka about 1895-96. Wewoka was already a business center as the capital of the Seminole Nation (present Seminole County, Oklahoma), the location of the prosperous Wewoka Trading Company with Gov. John F. Brown, (Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation) as the owner. With the passage of the Curtis Act by Congress in 1898, preparatory to the close of the Indian nations and their governments before statehood, a commodious frame U. S. courthouse was erected at Wewoka. The Seminole Council House of logs in the vicinity was abandoned, and meetings of the Seminole National Council were held in the new courthouse until Oklahoma became a State in 1907.

At the request of Mr. Joe W. McBride, Chairman of the Publication Committee of *The Chronicles*, the Secretary of the Wewoka Chamber of Commerce, Mrs. Dorris Hoofman, has kindly sent the Editorial Office an advertising card which tells how the term "I'm in the Wewoka Switch," originated, as follows:

"The term 'I'm in the Wewoka Switch' came into being in the early 1900's when the Rock Island Railroad had their first railroad siding in Wewoka, already a good size Trading Post, at that time.

"Merchants and traders for many miles in all directions ordered supplies and merchandise shipped to this new siding where they in turn drove in wagons to accept delivery of the same.

"Upon being questioned concerning any items which they had been unable to pick up from the siding, their standard reply became, "Yes, I have it but its in the 'Wewoka Switch." Meaning of course, through some cause or another they had been unable to pick up the item desired and were caught in a tight spot.

"In the early 1920's oil was discovered and over night Wewoka became an oil boom town. Many millions of dollars of oil field supplies, parts, pipe, casing and even rotary drilling rigs began to flood this siding.

"Lost freight bills, poor telephone service, poor freighting facilities, and other factors congested this traffic, leaving everyone in the dark. Enumerable shipments of merchandise thought to be lost in transit, could be found awaiting delivery hidden in the Wewoka Switch.

"So common did this situation become that the Rock Island Railroad adopted a policy of searching for all 'lost in transit' merchandise on the 'Wewoka Switch' before looking elsewhere.

"The expression, 'I'm in the Wewoka Switch' has grown to mean that one suddenly finds himself in a dangerous or trying situation.

In later years oil men and oil field workers moving on to bigger and better and newer oil fields carried this expression to all parts of the world, where its use has become universal."

Since *The Chronicles* here has given space to the story of "Wewoka Switch" and its folklore, something on the history of the City of Wewoka, its founding and the meaning of its name should be added here. Wewoka had been established as a U. S. post office in May, 1867, with Elisha J. Brown as postmaster, its site on Wewoka Creek at the western edge of the Creek Nation, the Seminole-Creek boundary line not being definitely known at this time. Postmaster Elisha J. Brown was not related to John F. Brown, Principal Chief of the Seminoles, who had served as an officer with the Indian Confederate forces in the Indian Territory during the Civil War. Late in the same summer of 1867, Wewoka Post Office location became that of the "Wewoka Seminole Agency" with U. S. Indian Agent George A. Reynolds as agent for the Seminoles. A group of Seminoles who had refugeed in other parts of the Indian Territory during the Civil War came to Wewoka Post Office in October, 1867, some of their former Negro slaves along with them. (By the the new U. S. Seminole Treaty of 1866, these former Negro slaves were known as Seminole Negro Freedmen.) The Seminoles at Wewoka Post Office built good log houses, split 1,000's of rails to fence new fields, and by the next year their location was a thriving farming community. It was soon learned that this Wewoka settlement was within the limits of the Creek Nation. This brought about a dispute and a suit in the U. S. courts that finally closed by the Seminole Nation buying from the Creek Nation another approximate 175,000 acres comprising a strip of land along the Seminole east boundary so as to take in Wewoka and other settlements made since the Civil War.

Barking Water — The History of Wewoka gives a note on the lore of the founding of Wewoka on page 1, as follows:

> The Seminole slaves, whose masters were very liberal, were allowed to live in separate communities. The most important settlement of Seminole Negroes took place in 1849. On January 2, 286 Negroes were delivered to the Seminole Indians. Gopher John, a leading Negro who had served as guide and interpreter for the army officers in Florida, conducted these Negroes to a place to set up their own town. This settlement was named from a little falls that rippled over the rocks just north of the present city. The Indians called it "Wewoka" meaning "barking waters" or "stump water."

Wewoka is an ancient place name among the Creeks who translate it to mean "roaring water." Early day scholars of the Creek language, some of whose works were recognized and published by the Smithsonian Institution, give this meaning "roaring water" to Wewoka (or Wiwohka). Wewoka (or Wiwohka) was a town of the Upper Creek Division, and was counted among the "peace towns" or "white towns" (*white* symbolizing peace in the tribal ceremonials) of the old Creek Indian confederacy. This Creek town was an old place name, or name of a "town" (*tulwa*) on the Coosa River in Alabama. Many of the old place names among the American Indians — Five Civilized Tribes — of the Southeast were transferred to Indian Territory. — Ed. (M.H.W.)

HONEY SPRINGS CIVIL WAR BATTLE MEMORIAL PARK

The Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission has adopted the following resolution to carry out its plans and purposes to establish a Memorial Park to commemorate the Battle of Honey Springs, the major battle in the Indian Territory fought between Confederate and Federal forces during the Civil War:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the sacrifices made by the peoples of the Trans-Mississippi during the American Civil War are the least remembered and most neglected, especially those of the Indian Territory;

WHEREAS, the Indian Nations, being the only Allies bound by Treaty obligations to the Confederate States of America, although not the principals of the conflict, yet saw their homes ravished, their fields and crops destroyed, with resulting suffering, disaster and tragedy unequaled elsewhere in the United States; and

WHEREAS, the Battle of Honey Springs, sometimes known as Elk Creek, in the Creek Nation, on July 17, 1863, emulated and represented the highest degree of sacrifice of the participants of the Civil War, not only by the white soldiers, far from their homes and homeland, but by the Red Man, allied to and participating in a struggle not his own; and

WHEREAS, that battle between the armies of the North led by Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt and of the Confederacy and its allies led by Brig. Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, marked the high-water mark of the conflict of the American Civil War within the Indian Territory; and

WHEREAS, as the Battle of Honey Springs is unique in the history of the American Civil War, it is fitting and proper that such Battleground be a National Shrine and Military Park dedicated to the super-human contribution made to that Cause by the American Indian.

NOW, THEREFORE, be it Resolved by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission that there be created a Honey Springs Civil War Memorial Park; and that all necessary steps be forthwith instituted to acquire such battle site and to dedicate the same in perpetuity to the memory of those who fought there and as a shrine to the cause for which they had dedicated their life and fortune.

Adopted 10 December 1963.

Certified a true copy.
/s/ Wendell E. Howell
Acting Secretary

RESTORATION AND DEDICATION OF THE CHIEF JOHN ROSS HOUSE AT ROSSVILLE, GEORGIA

The boyhood home of John Ross, noted Chief of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, has been restored as a historic shrine in memory of this great Cherokee leader, on its original site at Rossville, Georgia. The restoration was completed and the dedication ceremonies were held on May 29, 1963, under the auspices of the John Ross House Association organized and incorporated under the laws of Georgia on November 25, 1958. The moving spirit in this fine restoration project is Gertrude McDavis Ruskin of Decatur, Georgia, who is one-eighth Cherokee by blood and identified through her ancestry, friends and historical interests with the Eastern Cherokee in North Carolina. Her activities and devotion to the cause were the inspiration that drew many who gave their efforts promoting the movement that brought the completion of the restoration, in which she was ably assisted by her husband, Mr. Sidney Ruskin, and the elected officers of the Ross Association, Mr. John L. Mavity, President; Mr. Gordon McFarland, Vice President; the Reverend Gordon Sterchi, Secretary, with Mrs. Ruskin as historian, who usually signs herself by her Cherokee name, Gertrude "Chewani" Ruskin.

The Ross House was erected by Daniel Ross, father of John Ross in 1797, but passed into the hands of others in recent years though kept on its original site. Mrs. Ruskin has written a booklet, *John Ross, Chief of an Eagle Race* which gives many interesting facts on the original Ross family and its descendants, the erection of the old home at Rossville as well as later historical documents and notes on the life of Chief Ross. This booklet may be ordered from Mrs. Gertrude McDavis Ruskin, 2663 Fair Oaks Road, Decatur, Georgia.

The Oklahoma Cherokees were well represented and honored by the presence of Supreme Court Justice N. B. Johnson at the dedication of the John Ross House at Rossville, Georgia in May, 1963. Judge Johnson represented the Oklahoma Historical Society as a member of its Board of Directors and, also was the personal representative of Chief W. W. Keeler of the Cherokees in Oklahoma. The dedication had wide press notices in the East, and Judge Johnson has kindly given *The Chronicles* a brief report of the event at Rossville:

> "It was estimated that from 2,500 to 3,000 persons were present at the opening of the dedicatory ceremony held in Rossville, Georgia, which was a climax of the six years of planning and effort to restore the old log dwelling of Chief John Ross. Prominent white and Indian leaders marked the occasion with appropriate speeches, including Chief Osley Saunooke of the Eastern Band of the Cherokees.
>
> "The town of Rossville was decorated with flags appropriate for

the occasion. Justice Johnson thanked the people of Georgia for their interest and the efforts in preserving for posterity the history and traditions of the Cherokees who once lived in their country.

"The dedication ceremony was conducted by the Grand Lodge of Georgia, F. & A.M., and the principal address was given by the Illustrious Luther A. Smith 33°, Sovereign Grand Commander, Southern Jurisdiction, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry. During the ceremony certain trees were dedicated in honor of Chief W. W. Keeler of the Western Cherokee, Chief O. B. Saunooke of the Eastern Cherokee and Gertrude McDaris Ruskin. It was a most impressive ceremony and a fitting recognition to one of the Cherokees' greatest chiefs.

"Preceding the dedicatory service there was a colorful parade down Chattanooga Avenue leading to the Chief John Ross House.

"Chief Saunooke and his entire Tribal Council of the Eastern Cherokee were present, as well as many outstanding guests from various parts of the country."

DEDICATION OF THE NEW WING OF THE MUSEUM, GILCREASE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND ART

A special program was held on the grounds of the Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art at Tulsa, on Sunday afternoon, October 27, 1963, during which Governor Henry Bellmon dedicated the new wing of the Museum, and Wm. "Dode" McIntosh, Chief of the Creek Nation, gave the invocation before a large crowd of visitors from over the state and elsewhere.

The Museum of the Gilcrease Institute built like an Indian long-house is on a hilltop just outside the west edge of Tulsa, the big windows of the new wing commanding a magnificent view of the Osage Hills to the northwest. The building is of reddish sandstone quarried in these hills, and is surrounded by beautiful grounds planted with specimens of nearly every bush and tree of the region. All this is a setting that impresses the visitor when he sees and learns of the remarkable collections in the Museum—American Indian art from pre-Columbian gold to contemporary paintings and sculpture by modern Indian artists, rare sculptored bronzes by Frederick Remington and Charles Russell of frontier life, oil paintings by Moran, Whistler, Sargent and others, and a Library of rare books, manuscripts and documents—some 60,000 Library items altogether, including the original instructions given Paul Revere and the first letter written in the New World, by the son of Columbus to Poncé de Leon.

The dedication of the new wing of the Museum at Gilcrease marked a milestone in Oklahoma's advance in the field of art and history in American culture.

OPENING OF THE OTTAWA COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Interest in the history of Ottawa County stems back to the Indian Removal period of the 1830's with the settlement of the Seneca of Sandusky from the Ohio region (1832) and the Quapaw by treaty (1833) in that part of the present county lying east of the Neosho (or Grand) River. Since the region (just east) had known Quapaw villages since as early as 1780, the U.S. Indian Office established here soon after the Civil War still carried on the name "Quapaw Agency" in Oklahoma history, though by 1867 it included the remnants of many tribes including the Quapaw, Peoria, Miami, Ottawa, Shawnee, Wyandot, Seneca, Cayuga, Mohawk and later the Modoc. The history and mention of these tribes and others were briefed in a booklet, *Quapaw Agency Indians* compiled and edited by Charles Banks Wilson, today one of Oklahoma's outstanding artists. This was published (1947) and is still of interest for its illustrations—map of the region, rare photographs of Indians and particularly the artist's own superb drawings and paintings of Indian scenes. The booklet has a statement on the "Quapaw Indian Agency" by former U.S. Superintendent, H. A. Andrews as well as a brief history of "The Quapaw in a White World" by the late historian, Grant Foreman. There are also Indian data and notes relating to the effects on life in the area brought about by the great lead and zinc mining industry in the County as a part of the Tri-State Mining Region.

The opening of the Ottawa County Historical Museum at Miami, on October 20, 1963, with a dedication program under the auspices of the Ottawa County Historical Society was a success through the continued efforts during the years of Velma Neiberding (well known writer of Miami), Charles Banks Wilson in the art world, as well as the interest and work of members of the County Historical Society in arranging the exhibits of rare old photographs, of art and of pioneer relics in the museum itself. The program on October 20 opened with "Greetings" by Mrs. George Francis, followed by prayer by Mrs. Mary Redeagle, words of welcome by Chief Robert Whitebird of the Quapaw and Mr. Wayne Pack, Mayor of Miami, introduction of Indian leaders and of the mayors of many towns and cities in the County, and a historical address, "Fourteen Flags Over Oklahoma" by Muriel H. Wright of the Oklahoma Historical Society with the large replicas of these flags (Spanish, French, British, Mexican, etc.) from this State Society's collections as a colorful background for her talk.[1]

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[1] Brief histories of the American Indian tribes and parts of tribes in Oklahoma, including those in the "Quapaw Agency," are in the volume by Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1951—2nd printing 1957).

NATIONAL INDIAN DAY DINNER AT TULSA

The Council of American Indians held its Annual National Indian Dinner the evening of September 27, 1963, in the Skelly Building at Tulsa, Oklahoma. The program consisted of all Indian talent and art, including "The Lord's Prayer" sung by Jennie Lee Fife in the Cherokee language with Frances Spraker giving rendition of the same song in the Indian sign language, both young women wearing beautiful, beaded buckskin costumes. The speaker of the evening was Mr. Newt Scott, well known in the field of State education, stressing the aims and place of the Indian in today's world, by making every effort toward progress and a stronger America. The organization purpose of The Council of American Indians is to establish an Indian Center in Tulsa that can serve all Indians from coast to coast, functioning to obtain scholarships for higher education, job placements, to promote Indian arts and crafts, to act as talent agency and to join hands with other civic organizations for the higher development of our Country.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Francklyn Land & Cattle Company. By Lester Fields Sheffy. (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1963. Pp. 402. $6.50.)

This is the No. 3 book in the M. K. Brown Range Life Series and it deals minutely and thoroughly into vast Texas Panhandle area ranch enterprise from 1882 to 1957.

If we think we have big finance these days, the operators of the late eighties were just as plunging as any ever seen. This 1882 purchase of 637,440 acres of land for the sum of $887,654.40 was only the beginning of the Francklyn deal. After this purchase came investments for water wells and ponds, horses and cattle, thousands of miles of fences, sheds, barns, housing, legal costs, travel, additional land leases, interest, surveys, refinance and many other items which ran this venture into a cost of more than just two or three million dollars. Such a sum of that day would be in the terms of maybe fifty million dollars now.

The investors were New Yorkers, westerners and big money barons from the British Isles. Local management was on hand but this had to receive orders and gain cash from officials up the line in the corporation who never saw the property except on rare occasions. The Directors would meet in London to receive reports and make policy. While these foreign owners worried about their investments, the neighbors in the Texas Panhandle poached on and burned their grass, cut fences and drove cattle across the acres that would infect the company cattle. There were numerous plaguing lawsuits trying to obtain some of the company property free of cost or to blackmail the company.

The company barely survived mismanagement, drouths, blizzards, diseases, theft and all the hazards of nature aligned with the machinations of man. It did have one severe financial washout that changed the ownership and management. This new order quit the cattle business and tried to lease and sell land and grass and townsites. They worked to get railroads so they could sell the land and try to come out on the investment, but then there were always water problems. How to get water?

If one wants to read of the trials and tribulations of the big ones, here is the chance. All persons think they have the greatest problems but read the history of the Francklyn Land & Cattle Company. Get a head full of finance, courts, personal problems, early Western people in action and pick up the true history of the Panhandle area. Take your time in reading the book. It is carefully compiled and the reader is well directed in the flow of this fine historical record.

— Joe W. McBride

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

President James Buchanan: A Biography. By Philip Shriver Klein. (Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1962. Pp. xviii, 506. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $7.50.)

This study is the first modern biography of President James Buchanan, and it comes as a result of years of careful scholarship. The author examined sixty-four manuscript collections, fifty-two newspapers, and vast numbers of biographies, official documents, memoirs, diaries, monographs, and articles. The organization of the volume is chronological, and the author systematically details within this framework the forty-eight years of Buchanan's public service in addition to his early and later life. Very little was known, however, of his forty-two years in public office previous to his term as President. Klein thoroughly explores this period, particularly his role in Pennsylvania politics. Emphasis throughout the volume is on problems and endeavors considered important by Buchanan, except for his participation in foreign affairs, detailed in numerous specialized studies, and his presidential term, described adequately by many scholars, notably by Roy F. Nichols in the *Disruption of American Democracy*. Perhaps the most unusual feature of Klein's outstanding study is his effective writing.

Buchanan's career started with a college education that led to a thriving law practice, combined with service in the Pennsylvania legislature. This opened other political doors for election to the United States House and Senate, to appointments as minister to both Russia and Great Britain, and President Polk's Secretary of State. He accomplished very little that was reform in nature, probably because he was decidedly conservative. He never sponsored an important legislative bill or became a center of controversy because of an effort to bring about change. On the other hand, he was unquestionably loyal to the United States and her institutions, always industrious, but usually stiff and unimaginative. At times he could be petty and tyrannical, and was generally undynamic and stuffy.

Buchanan came to the White House at the wrong time. Perhaps a strong executive was needed during his tenure, a statesman of the highest order. But Buchanan was a legalist, a constitutionalist of an earlier day, a man dedicated to the enforcement of the law, and not to the molding of public policy.

He held Congress responsible for coping with problems, and the consequence was chaos. In the secession crisis, however, he tried to act as arbitrator between North and South, with the result that both sections detested him. He even urged Congress to call a national convention for this purpose and recommended compromise to President-elect Lincoln. Buchanan's policy concerning Fort Sumter was non-surrender, the same as Lincoln's. Unfortunately for posterity, Buchanan had neither the aggressive leadership qualities nor the personal appeal of Lincoln. This biography does much to restore Buchanan to his rightful place in history — the position of high esteem he occupied before he was engulfed in the secession controversy.

—LeRoy H. Fischer

Stillwater, Oklahoma

The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains. By William H. Leckie. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. 269. $5.95.)

Perhaps one of the most interesting and yet at the same time least understood of all the chapters in the military history of the United States is that of the Indian wars. The military conquest in suppression of the natural inhabitants of the Southern Plains is of special interest in Oklahoma because so much happened within the borders of our present state.

The reasons why this episode in American history took the form it did are complex. On the one hand, there was the enforced idleness of the professional military following the Civil War, and on the other the "Peace Policy" of General Grant. Grant, being himself a soldier, had difficulty conveying the intent and the sincerity of his policy to the military establishment; perhaps, for example, much in the same way as President Eisenhower would have had difficulty in conveying to his former army colleagues a policy of complete disarmament following World War II.

Pressures from the whites moving forward on the periphery of western expansion added clamor for the subrogation of the traditional inhabitants of the plains. Resistance from the Indian, motivated by the first law of Nature, that of survival, made armed conflict inevitable. It is good to have the entire panorama of this conflict readily available in a modern well written and readable volume.

Author Leckie has made a good contribution to the ever-growing shelf of books relating to the history of Oklahoma. The illustrations are fine and the bibliography is copious. Regarding the bibliography, an incidental query: Why are there so few references to material published since 1940?

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Voice of the Coyote. By J. Frank Dobie. (A Bison Book; University of Nebraska Press, 1961. Pp. 386. $1.40).

This book should well prove to be the definitive work as far as the study of coyotes is concerned. The work not only contains about every legend, Indian folk tale, and bit of Western lore on the coyote, but covers a very good discussion of the *Canis latrans* from the standpoint of Natural History.

Originally intended to be just a collection of coyote tales, the work has grown to a full scale study of the little prairie wolf in the thirty years that Mr. Dobie has spent collecting material. Sources for this book come from all that has ever been written on the subject. Additionally much information comes from the legends of those who knew the coyote best: Indians, trappers, traders, and cowmen. In short all who have ever listened to his eerie concerts have contributed to this work.

Probably not since Mr. Dobie immortalized the longhorn in his book on that breed, has a species received such compassionate treatment at the hands of a writer. It is difficult for one to comprehend the impact the coyote has made on the minds of the inhabitants and settlers of the Plains until he has read this intimately written and fascinating volume on "Brother Coyote."

A Canyon Voyage. The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition down the Green-Colorado River from Wyoming, and the Explorations on Land, in the Years 1871 and 1872. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, with a Foreword by William H. Goetzmann. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1962. Pp. 277. $1.95).

Geologists, geographers, and other scientists as well as historians will delight in this reprint of Dellenbaugh's great chronicle of Maj. John Wesley Powell's second voyage down the turbulent Colorado River. Powell, in 1869 with a party of nine made the descent from Green River City, Wyoming to the intersection of Kanab Creek in Arizona. The youngest member of the expedition and the assistant topographer, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh has left us the most interesting and readable account of that most historic voyage.

Powell's first descent was marked with many mishaps which resulted in very meager scientific findings. Deciding to make another trip, Powell was determined to rectify the mistakes of the first one. The findings of this expedition were of such significance as to rate this one with the greatest explorations in American History. The party in traversing the river and the surrounding high plateaus discovered the last river (the Escalante) and the last mountain range (the Henry) to be found in the continental United States. All of the fields of science benefited from the expedition, and the interest Maj. Powell displayed in the Indians of the surrounding plateaus eventually led to the establishment of the American Bureau of Ethnology.

Powell's own contemporary account of the expedition was written in a popular fashion as to attract the public's attention to the scientific exploration of the West. In attempting to accomplish his purpose Powell compacted the accounts of his first and second descents and made them seem as one. Dellenbaugh's account, although written much after the fact as history, provides us with a much better understanding of the second voyage.

A classic of history, adventure, and scientific discovery, Dellenbaugh's record has come to serve as a virtual handbook for those modern adventurers who would follow in John Wesley Powell's footsteps.

— Wendell E. Howell

Edmond, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

THOMAS LIVINGSTON GIBSON

1881 - 1960

Reverence and tribute is richly deserved to the memory of a man who has passed on to a greater reward: Honorable Thomas L. Gibson, formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma. Those of us who served on the Court with him for four years learned to love and respect him as a man enjoying the fruits of a full, active, complete and noble life well lived. This sketch in *The Chronicles* can only evaluate briefly the marks that his life and character left to make Oklahoma a better state.

Justice Gibson was born of a prominent and aristocratic family in Stanton, Tennessee, on September 3, 1881. He had three brothers: Nathan Adams Gibson, Joe S. Gibson and James Knox Gibson; and two sisters, Mrs. W. H. White (the only survivor of the family) and Mrs. W. H. Nash. His brother, Nathan Adams Gibson of Muskogee and Tulsa, as a lawyer and advocate in Indian Territory and Oklahoma had no superior.

Justice Gibson married Nell Buzzard on July 12, 1910. Of this marriage, two children were born: Thomas L. Gibson, Jr., now an official with the Oklahoma Gas & Electric Company, Oklahoma City; and a daughter, Mary S., married to Harold M. Magruder, an official with the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, Oklahoma City. Mary is employed by the Trust Department of the Liberty National Bank & Trust Company, Oklahoma City.

Justice Gibson graduated from the University of Tennessee. After trying his hand at teaching Latin in a boys' school and in the banking business with his father in Stanton, he came to Oklahoma City to study law in the office of his brother, Nathan. He was admitted to practice before the Oklahoma Bar in 1910, and was a member of the law firm of Gibson, Maxey, Holleman & Gibson at Muskogee and at Tulsa. In 1934, he was elected to the Oklahoma Supreme Court, and served eighteen years. He was Chief Justice of the Court in 1946 and 1947. He died July 10, 1960, and the burial was in Green Hill Cemetery at Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Judge Gibson served one term as mayor of Muskogee. He was a member of St. Paul's Methodist Church and the Rotary Club of Muskogee, and of the Men's Dinner Club in Oklahoma City. He was honorary member of Phi Delta Phi law fraternity at the University of Oklahoma, and a member of Sigma Alpha Epsilon social fraternity at the University of Tennessee.

His associates cherish the memory of Justice Gibson as a fellow member of the Supreme Court of the State. He was hard working, efficient, kindly, always ready to listen to the views of and to reason with his fellow justices. He always had a love and understanding of his fellow man. His opinions were sound and logical, and he has left an indelible imprint on the structural laws of this State as are reflected by the opinions of the Supreme Court during his eighteen years of service on this Court.

In demeanor he was relaxed. He never found time to worry about the future but went about the tasks of the moment with a quiet philosophy of first things come first.

THOMAS LIVINGSTON GIBSON

He was modest and sincere, with abiding faith in the good of humanity, always considerate and thoughtful of others, and he was a firm believer in good government. He so lived that all might reflect on him in the words of the Poet:

> "His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the World, 'This was a man!' "

—Orel Busby
Former Justice of the State
Supreme Court

Ada, Oklahoma

JAMES BROOKES WRIGHT
1876 - 1963

The home of James Brookes Wright had always been within the limits of the old Choctaw Nation of Southeastern Oklahoma. He was the youngest and last living of the sons and daughters of the late Reverend Allen Wright and his wife, Harriet (née Mitchell) Wright, and was born in the family home at Old Boggy Depot ,Choctaw Nation, on December 26, 1876. He died at the age of eighty-six years, on August 5, 1963, at St. Mary's Hospital, McAlester, as the result of a recent fall and broken hip. Funeral services were held the morning of August 9, in the First Presbyterian Church of McAlester, with Dr. Lawrence W. Johnson, Pastor, officiating. Burial with commital services were in the Wright family burial ground in the Old Boggy Depot Cemetery, Atoka County.

J. Brookes Wright was of Choctaw Indian descent through his father, the Reverend Allen Wright, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation (1866-1870), the well known scholar of the Choctaws and their leader in public affairs of the Nation who suggested the State's name, *Oklahoma* for the Indian Territory, in 1866. His mother, Mrs. Harriet Newell (née Mitchell) Wright was from Dayton, Ohio, the daughter of James Henry Mitchell, graduate of Yale University (Connecticut), and a lineal descendant of Elder William Brewster, the 4th signer of the "Mayflower Compact." Mr. Wright took special interest in American and Indian history, enjoying his membership and fellowship in the Oklahoma Society of Mayflower Descendants, in which organization he served as Elder for several terms.

Miss Harriet Mitchell came as a Presbyterian missionary to the Choctaws in the Indian Territory in 1855, and here met and married Allen Wright, graduate of Union College, Schenectady, New York, and of Union Theological Seminary, New York City. Their youngest son, James Brookes had talent for writing, and among the few of his published works recently is a tribute to his mother, "Harriet Mitchell Wright, Missionary to the Choctaws," and another to his father, "Governor Allen Wright of the Choctaws," each printed in pamphlet form.

After the pre-Civil War, family home at Old Boggy Depot burned a few years ago, Mr. Wright was the originator and worked with zeal and enthusiasm for the establishment of the Boggy Depot State Park (Recreational Area) in Atoka County, donating an acreage from the Wright family homestead and part of this once noted "town" in Oklahoma history to the State for park purposes. He also worked to perpetuate the Old Boggy Depot Cemetery where are found the graves

JAMES BROOKES WRIGHT

of some of Oklahoma's illustrious pioneers, near the State Park, by deeding the land tract of the cemetery to the Oklahoma Historical Society, through the co-operation of his two older sisters, Mrs. Mary Wallace and Mrs. Clara E. Richards and the Wilson Grove Cemetery Association in the community.

James Brookes attended the Choctaw Armstrong Academy when he was a boy, and later was in the preparatory department of Austin College, Sherman, Texas, and in Mooney Preparatory School, Franklin, Tennessee, before entering Lehigh University at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he majored in civil engineering. After leaving college, he was with the survey crew of the United States Geological Survey (1895-1897) carrying on the survey of the Choctaw Nation for the allotment of land in severalty among the Choctaws.

Mr. Wright made his home at Wapanucka in 1903 (present Johnston County) where he served as a land surveyor and later, as County Surveyor for Johnston County after statehood. At different times during the years, he was connected with local banks—Vice-President (and Director) of the Ash Flat Valley Bank at Olney; Assistant Cashier of the First State Bank at Clarita, and Cashier of the First National Bank of Wapanucka. He was elected ruling elder of the Wapanucka Presbyterian Church (U.S.) in 1906, and never changed his membership from this church throughout his lifetime. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge for fifty-five years. He served actively for a long period on the Board of the Goodland Indian Orphan School at Goodland, Oklahoma, when his beloved and lifelong friend, the Reverend Ebenezer Hotchkin, was also a member of this Board. Mr. Wright brought his family and made his home in McAlester in 1926 where he served as Chief Clerk in the United States Indian Office until his retirement.

Mr. Wright was united in marriage at Harley Institute near Tishomingo with Miss Besse B. Hancock, a teacher in this Chickasaw school, on November 9, 1908. The children of this marriage are Lucia Elizabeth (Mrs. Harry Whitlow of Fort Smith, Arkansas); Newell Eliphalet Wright (Levelland, Texas); and Harriet Alea (Mrs. Charles O'Leary of Kansas City, Missouri). Mr. Wright is survived by his wife of the home in McAlester and his three children besides eleven grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

His brother, the late Dr. Frank Hall Wright, well known as an evangelist and singer, once said in tribute to his youngest brother, "The word that best describes Brookes is *integrity*." James Brookes Wright was a gentle, soft-spoken man — one who was loved and respected by many friends; one who gave his best efforts throughout his long life of service, in his enthusiasm and interest for the betterment of the Choctaws and the development of Oklahoma as a great State.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS — OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 24, 1963

Mr. H. Milt Phillips, First Vice President, called to order the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, October 24, 1963, in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. He announced that President George H. Shirk was absent on a Caribbean cruise and had asked to be excused from the meeting.

Miscellaneous material which had accumulated over the past quarter was passed around to the members of the Board. Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, called the roll. Present were: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. Phillips, and Miss Genevieve Seger.

Absent Directors were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. R. G. Miller, and Mr. Shirk.

It was moved by Judge Johnson, and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the Board approve requests of Directors absent, all of whom had asked to be excused. The motion passed.

Mr. Phillips read the following letter to the Board:

Dear Mr. Fraker:

I am in receipt of the announcement of the meeting of the Board of Directors and regret I am unable to attend. To you and the Executive Board members I am grateful for your kind consideration of me and since I am afflicted with ailments that are unpredictable, you are at liberty to fill my place — and I will be glad to know some one will be contributing to the work and the progress of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

With hearty good wishes to each one and all, and hoping that you and Mrs. Fraker will come to see me some evening, I am, with best regards

Sincerely,
(s) ANNA B. KORN
Mrs. Frank Korn

Mr. Phillips said the letter apparently was a resignation from the Board but he would take the liberty of suggesting the Directors refuse to accept a resignation and extend Mrs. Korn the Board's hope she would continue to serve as a Director for many years.

Dr. Harbour moved the Board not accept the resignation of Mrs. Korn. The motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and passed unanimously.

Judge Hefner proposed a letter be written to Mrs. Korn telling her of the unanimous refusal of the Board of Directors to accept her resignation, and expressing appreciation of the Board for her contributions to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Board unanimously approved the suggestion of Judge Hefner and the Vice President mailed the following letter to Mrs. Korn immediately following the meeting:

Mrs. Anna B. Korn
2607 N.W. 12th St.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Korn:

The Board today received your suggestion that you might not be able to fulfill in full all of the duties you would like to perform for the Society.

The Board members realize that all of us gradually reach a point where we cannot do all of the things we would like to do for the Society and for its great program.

The Board unanimously authorized me to write you this note and tell you we missed you at the Board meeting and send you our very warmest regards. We also unanimously agreed that this would be a good time to express our deep appreciation for all you have done over the years to make our Society one of the outstanding historical institutions in the nation.

We unanimously voted to send you our thanks, warmest personal regards, and best wishes, and to tell you that we look forward to your continuing as a member of our Board in the years to come. When you can be with us you will contribute to our deliberations. When you cannot be with us, we will miss you.

Very sincerely,
(s) MILT PHILLIPS
H. Milt Phillips, Vice President
Presiding Officer at this Board Meeting.

Mr. Fraker reported gifts and new memberships received during the past quarter. He announced three new Life Members and thirty-nine new Annual Members. Miss Seger seconded the motion made by Mrs. Bowman that the new members and gifts be accepted. The motion was unanimously approved.

Mr. Fraker reported Edward M. Peck had been added to the Society's staff as a museum curator. Mr. Fraker announced a new mailing and supply room has been completed on the second floor and will take much of the traffic out of the Board Room.

Acquisition of the old sod house the Society is trying to obtain for preservation is being delayed by ten heirs, Mr. Fraker reported. He said he would visit the house within the next few weeks and attempt to finalize details for acquiring it.

Mr. Fraker reported progress being made on the oil museum collection being assembled on the grounds of the Society. He reported a rotary drilling rig is being acquired and will be placed in the well. Mr. Muldrow offered the services of his transportation firms to move the drilling equipment if needed. Mr. Fraker accepted with thanks.

The Administrative Secretary concluded his report by telling about two conventions he had attended during October. The first was the annual convention for the American Association for State and Local History held in Raleigh, North Carolina October 1-3, 1963; and the second was the Western History Association convention October 17-19, 1963, held in Salt Lake City, Utah. He also mentioned the plans that are being made for a joint meeting of these two groups which will be held in Oklahoma City next year, October 29-31, 1964.

Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer, presented mimeographed copies of her report which showed the Society in a sound financial condition.

After making the report for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips asked Mr. McBride for the report of the Publication Committee.

Mr. McBride read a list of suggestions submitted by various members of the Board of Directors. He stated these suggestions would be discussed with the Editor of the Chronicles, Miss Muriel H. Wright, and with Mr. Fraker.

Mr. McBride announced Mr. Fraker has been named Business Manager of the Chronicles and will handle publication contracts, printing and distribution, thus giving Miss Wright more time to devote to the editing of the Chronicles.

In his report for the Dues Study Committee, Mr. Muldrow said the committee was presenting a recommendation that Life Memberships in the Oklahoma Historical Society be raised from $50.00 to $100.00, and Annual Memberships raised from $3.00 to $5.00; that Life Memberships be put on a "by invitation only" basis, with invitations extended by either Directors, or officers of the Oklahoma Historical Society; that more recognition be given to Life Members; and that a plaque be displayed some place in the Historical Building displaying the names of all Life Members, with names added as new Life Members joined the Society. He then passed out copies of a table of comparison of the dues of other state historical societies. Mr. Muldrow moved the report be accepted. Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion. Following discussion, the motion was put to vote and adopted.

Dr. Harbour raised the question as to whether the Society Constitution needed to be amended to conform to the new dues rate. Mr. Fraker said this would not be necessary as the Constitution gave the Board authority to set the membership dues.

Upon Mr. Phillips' request, Mr. Mountcastle read from the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Article II, Section 5:

> "The annual membership fee shall be three dollars per year; and the life membership fee shall be fifty dollars; provided, such fees may be from time to time modified by the Board of Directors of the Society. Membership dues shall be deposited in the Private Fund of the Society and expended for the purposes of the Society as the Board shall direct."

Mr. Mountcastle said it appeared to him from reading this portion of the Constitution that the Board of Directors could change the dues at any time without having to amend the Constitution, and when they approved the raising of the dues, they had automatically changed them. The Chair ruled that this was correct.

It was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the new dues go into effect on January 1, 1964. The motion was approved.

The Administrative Secretary agreed to report to the Board of Directors at the next quarterly meeting on the list of Life Members to be displayed in accordance with the new rule.

Mr. Phillips asked if any member of the Board had attended State Day at Salina. Judge Busby said he had, and reported on the ceremonies. Considering the heat of the day, it was well attended, reported Judge Busby. He had attended as a member of the Memorial

Association. Judge Busby commented he feels these local programs are wonderful for stimulating interest in the history of the state.

Mrs. Bowman reported for the Tour Committee, saying tentative plans had been made for the 1964 tour to go to the northwest section of Oklahoma. Mr. Fraker reported he has worked out many of the details to be presented to the Tour Committee.

Mr. Phillips read a letter Dr. A. M. Gibson, Head of the Division of Manuscripts at the University of Oklahoma, had written to President Shirk thanking the President for his help, and expressing appreciation that the University Library Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society Library and Archives can work together so well.

The Chair requested Mr. Mountcastle to report on his trip to Poteau on October 4th. He had attended a meeting of the Teachers Association of Le Flore County to accept on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society a book titled THE PROUD HERITAGE OF LE FLORE COUNTY, by Henry L. Peck. Mr. Mountcastle moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society accept this gift from the Teachers Association and the son of Mr. Peck, Mr. Ralph Peck. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and approved. Mr. Mountcastle asked that letters be written to Mr. Ralph Peck, the Teachers Association of Le Flore County and Superintendent Vaught of the Spiro School District, expressing the appreciation of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Fraker said this would be done.

Mr. Phillips called for a report on the progress of restoration at Fort Washita. Dr. Morrison said he would try to have his report mimeographed for the next meeting. He said work is going along very well and many tourists visit Fort Washita. He reported he had had a registry book placed in one of the buildings on the grounds. Since August 26th, there has been between two and three thousand people sign it. He said many people do not sign the book, but this gives an idea of the number of people that are stopping to visit the ruins.

Mr. Boydstun reported the property at Fort Gibson owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society was in good shape and being well cared for. In his report he said a good portion of the old Fort Gibson property owned by the state is under the jurisdiction of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board. Three or four years ago the Planning and Resources Board leased a portion of the vacant area to the Fort Gibson Round-Up Club and that portion is now suffering from neglect and is in a deplorable condition. "Since the part belonging to the Oklahoma Historical Society is now in very good condition, the Society is in a position to be able to bring this matter to the attention of the Planning and Resources Board," Director Boydstun said. Mr. Mountcastle added that for a while there had been a caretaker living near and caring for the old stockade buildings but the buildings are now open and unprotected and people wander in and out at will, doing whatever damage they wish.

Mr. Phillips appointed a committee to discuss the Fort Gibson property with the Planning and Resources Board and report to the next quarterly meeting. The committee is: Judge Johnson, Chairman, Mr. McBride, and Mr. Shirk. Mr. Phillips asked the committee to work with Mr. Fraker in preparing a report of the conditions at Fort Gibson; assemble any suggestions Mr. Fraker, Mr. Boydstun, Mr. Mountcastle or any member of the committee might have, and arrange a conference with appropriate members and officials of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board.

Mr. E. K. Gaylord, publisher of The Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times, had presented the Society with a large color photograph portrait of the late Senator Robert S. Kerr which Mr. Fraker presented to the Board of Directors for their acceptance. It was moved by Judge Clift and seconded by Mr. McBride that the Society accept the picture, and an appropriate letter of thanks be sent to Mr. Gaylord. The motion passed.

Mr. Mountcastle moved that since the Society is raising its dues, the amount alloted to current expenses should be raised from $10.00 to $20.00, and the amount alloted to the Life Membership Endowment Fund should be raised from $40.00 to $80.00. The motion, seconded by Mr. Muldrow, was passed.

The Chair convened the Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society Endowment Fund and the action of the Board of the Oklahoma Historical Society was duly noted and accepted upon motion by Fund Director Mountcastle seconded by Fund Director Muldrow.

In the absence of Mr. Allard, Chairman of the Nominations Committee, Mr. Fraker presented the names of those nominated for election to the Board of Directors to fill the unexpired term of Director Thomas J. Harrison, deceased. The nominees were: Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Stillwater; Mr. J. I. Goins, Ardmore; and Mr. W. E. "Dode" McIntosh, Tulsa.

Mr. Phillips appointed Mrs. Bowman chairman and Miss Seger and Mr. Muldrow members of the ballot committee. The Chair reminded Directors a majority of the votes of present and voting are necessary for election of a Board member.

While votes were being counted, Mr. Phillips asked if any member had anything they would like to present the meeting.

Dr. Harbour expressed the opinion that members of the Board should be more aggressive in getting members for the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Judge Johnson brought up the matter of the old missions located around Anadarko. He suggested these should be marked, reminding Directors of the contributions these early missions made to the history of Oklahoma. Judge Johnson recalled there is a Baptist mission, a Catholic mission, a Methodist mission, and a Presbyterian mission in the group. Mr. Fraker said that if they were marked with on-site markers, the Society could take care of the expense, but for roadside markers, sponsors had to be found to pay for the marker. Mr. Phillips asked Mr. McBride to head a committee to see about getting sponsors for these markers. He appointed Judge Clift as Chairman and Director Finney as a member of the committee.

Mrs. Bowman announced the ballot results gave Mr. W. E. McIntosh a majority. It was moved by Dr. Morrison and seconded by Dr. Dale that the Board elect Mr. McIntosh unanimously. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Judge Busby announced that on November 15th at 11:00 a.m. the Oklahoma Memorial Association will hold its annual memorial service in the auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This service is to honor all members of the association who have died during the preceding year. He said Mr. Phillips would be the Memorial speaker. The evening banquet will be in the Sheraton Hotel honoring inductees into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. Mr. McBride pointed out that Judge Busby is to be one of those inducted into the Hall of Fame.

Dr. Dale presented the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society a copy of FRONTIER WAYS, his latest book. He added that the United States Information Agency has published part of this book in a condensed form for sale in Asia, Africa, and the continent of Europe. It has also been translated into Indonesian.

Miss Seger moved that the library accept this gift with deepest appreciation. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow, and passed unanimously.

Dr. Harbour commended Mr. Phillips on his presiding over the meeting. There being no further business, Mr. Phillips adjourned the meeting at 12:01 p.m.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
First Vice President
Presiding Officer

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED — OCTOBER, 1963

LIBRARY:

1. 10 notebooks of genealogical material.
   Donor: O. C. Cash, Tulsa.
2. *Soldier and Brave* — U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.
   Donor: Charles W. Porter, Washington, D. C.
3. Photograph: "Troopers at Fort Myer" (Group includes Jim Thorpe and Tom Mix.)
   Donor: Roy A. Wykoff, Jr., Davenport, Iowa.
4. *A General View of the World*—S. Augustus Mitchell.
   Parly's Panorama or Curiosities of Nature and Art, History and Biography—S. C. Goodrich.
   Donor: Mrs. Clyde M. Duckwall, Oklahoma City.
5. *Gunn's Domestic Medicine, or Poor Man's Friend.*
   Donor: Clyde Mitchell Duckwall, Jr., Oklahoma City.
6. Sheet music: "L. Gordon Cooper" by Gerald M. Van Dyke.
   Donor: Gerald M. Van Dyke, Cordell.
7. Newspaper clipping and pamphlet about The National Shrine of the Infant Jesus at Prague, Oklahoma.
   Donor: Colonel John P. Crehan, Oklahoma City.
8. 2 boxes of records from the Oklahoma Children's Home.
   Donor: Mrs. F. J. Sprangle, Oklahoma City.
9. *The Quillin Family*—Claude MacQuillen
   Donor: Henry A. Quillin, Shawnee.
10. *Markham Ferry Reservoir Archaeological Resources* — Don G. Wyckoff, Philip Robinson, Thomas P. Barr.
    Donor: Don G. Wyckoff, Norman.
11. *The Revised Pat Hennessey Massacre, A Pageant*—Tom McGee.
    Donor: Tom McGee.
12. *Oklahoma and Indian Territory Ancestors*—William Philip and Joanna Cameron Pipkin.
    Donor: William P. Pipkin and Joanna Cameron Pipkin, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
13. 2 rolls microfilm census: 1870 Kentucky—Christian—Estill counties
    1880 Indiana—Shelby—Starke counties
    Donor: Mrs. R. E. Black, Oklahoma City.

14. Copy of survey notes of the Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma by Joseph Brown and 2 maps of the survey.
    Program: "Chief Satanta Historical Celebration, September 21, 1963."
    "A List of Establishments, Discontinuances, and Changes in Name of the Post Offices in the Confederate States Since 1861."
    Collection of 22 photostats and letters regarding Confederate Postal Service in Indian Territory.
    Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.
15. 2 copies 1962 Tulsa Telephone Directory.
    Donor: Irene Reese, Tulsa.
16. Copy of resolution adopted by the Carter County Bar Association eulogizing the memory of Robert Allen Howard.
    Donor: Gene P. Morrell, Ardmore.
17. Reproduction of sketch of the Cross Timbers.
    Donor: Mrs. Clarence Higginbotham, Big Cabin.
18. *A Tribute to Mother and Dad Resler*—Otto J. Resler.
    Donor: Otto J. Resler, Purcell.
19. *Methodist Trails to First Methodist Church, Tulsa*—Mrs. J. O. Misch.
    Donor: Mrs. J. O. Misch, Tulsa.
20. Abstract of title: Woods County, Territory of Oklahoma, Emanuel Henricks, 1902.
    Donor: Beulah Morgan, Long Beach, California.
21. *Fragments from the Scrapbook of Ned Looney.*
    Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.
22. *Whittlings in Verse*—George Bristow.
    Donor: George Bristow, Ozark, Arkansas.
23. *Indian Place Names in Illinois*—Virgil J. Vogel.
    Donor: Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
24. 9 Orbit sections of *The Daily Oklahoman.*
    "The Papoose"
    7 copies of *The Manchester Guardian Weekly.*
    Brigham Young University Bulletin, 1963.
    "The Skirmisher" Marion Institute, Marion, Alabama.
    Donor: Harry C. Stallings, Oklahoma City.
25. "The Murrell Mansion"
    3 maps: "Adventure Trail, Southeastern Oklahoma," "Adventure Trail, Southwestern Oklahoma," "Adventure Trail, Northwestern Oklahoma."
    Donor: Bess Rivers, College of Continuing Education, Norman.
26. 12 issues of the *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine.*
    Subscription to the *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine.*
    Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Oklahoma City.
27. Collection of brochures on Oklahoma.
    Donor: Travel Division, Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, Oklahoma City.
28. *History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*—A. H. Redford.
    Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City.
29. *The Badmen, Songs, Stories and Pictures of the Western Outlaws from Backhills to Border 1865-1900.*
    Donor: Columbia Records Corporation, New York City.

MUSEUM

PICTURES:

Woods County Enterprise, 1912
Donor: Aaron Fischer

Dr. Anna Lewis
Altus Street Scene, 1899
Geary Tornado Scenes
Donor: Editorial Department

Reford Bond
William McClure, first white settler in Oklahoma City
Donor: William McClure II

Group at Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory, 1902
Group at Bromide Spring, Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory
Group at Sulphur Springs in a "Surrey with the Fringe on Top"
Group at Cave at Bromide Cave
Little Niagara Falls at Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory
Group at Entrance to Cave near Sulphur Springs
Group at Sulphur Creek north of Old Sulphur
Mrs. William Guy turning first shovel of dirt for the railroad at Scullin, Indian Territory
Donor: Mrs. Thomas Coleman

Photograph of Governor George Nigh
Donor: Governor George Nigh

Photograph of Governor Henry Bellmon
Donor: Governor Henry Bellmon

Osage Dance Inside the Round House, large water color by Russell Wagoshe
Purchase
Large framed picture of the Ohoyahoma Club 1963
Donor: Ohoyahoma Club

Members of Royal Artillery School, Larkhill, England, visit the Oklahoma Historical Society, four pictures
Donor: Photo Sp5 Gary L. Shelton, Fort Sill, Oklahoma

Oil Painting "Pioneers of Oklahoma" by Ruth M. Augur, Artist
Oil Painting "Buffalo Hunt" by Ruth M. Augur, Artist
Oil Painting "Long Horn Cattle" by Ruth M. Augur, Artist
Donor: Ralph Nelms, Borden Company, Oklahoma City

Large Color Photograph of Robert S. Kerr
Donor: E. K. Gaylord

EXHIBITS:

Sample of Sand from Hoy #1, Garber Field
Donor: George Shirk

Shawl, Paisley
Spoons, coin silver
Beads worn in 1834
Envelope
Mrs. Beulah Fetterman, Wheat Ridge, Colorado
Physician's Saddle Bags used in the Indian Territory in the 1880's
Donor: Thomas Paul Osborne

Diamond Jubilee Commemorative tokens (.50) City of Purcell
Donor: Purcell Enterprises, Inc.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

1906 Department of the Interior—Laws, decisions and regulations affecting the work of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes 1893 to 1906

1906 Map, Cherokee Nation

1906 Map, Creek and Seminole nations

1933 "Williams' Scrap Book" by Thomas Benton Williams. 229 pages.

1941 Oklahoma Geological Survey Mineral Report No. 12, Carbonizing Properties of Henryetta Bed Coal from Atlas No. 2 Mine, Okmulgee County, Oklahoma.

1943 Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs House of Representatives 78th Congress, 1st Session, on H. R. 1859. A Bill to authorize the purchase of certain interests in Lands and Mineral Deposits by the U.S. from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians.

1943 Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs U. S. Senate 77th Congress, 2d Session, pursuant to S. Res. 79 A Resolution directing the Committee on Indian Affairs of U. S. Senate to make a general survey of the condition of the Indians of the United States. Sale of Coal and Asphalt deposits Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Oklahoma.

1944 Report Committee on Indian Affairs to accompany S. 1218, Repealing the So-called Wheeler-Howard Act. 78th Cong. 2d Session. (2 copies)

1944 H. R. 4679, An Act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for fiscal year ending June 30, 1945.

1944 Hearings before the subcommittee of Committee on Indian affairs U. S. Senate 78th Congress, 2nd Session on S. 1311, A Bill to remove restrictions on Indian property now held in trust by the U. S. and for other purposes. (2 copies)

1945 Hearings before a subcommittee of Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives 78th Cong. 2d Session, pursuant to H. Res. 166 a Bill to authorize and direct and conduct investigation of department whether the changed status of the Indian requires a revision of the laws and regulations for the American Indian. Hearings July 22 to Aug. 8, October 1-3 and November 9-22, 1944. Part 3.

1945 Same as above. Hearings Dec. 4-8 and 13, 1944. Part 4 and final volume.

1945 Hearings before a subcommittee of Committee on appropriations U. S. Senate 79th Congress, 1st Session, on H. R. 3024 A Bill making appropriations for the Department of Interior for fiscal year ending June 30, 1946.

1945 "Handbook of Federal Indian Law with reference tables and Index," by Felix S. Cohen.

1945 Senate Bill 978, 79th Congress, 1st Session, to repeal Act of June 18, 1934, to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to the Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians, etc." An Act of June 15, 1935, to define the election procedure under the Act of June 18, 1934, etc. (2 copies)

1945 Speech of William G. Stigler, Member of Congress, April 26, 1945, which appeared in Congressional Record.

1945 Hearings before Committee on Indian affairs, U. S. Senate, 79th Congress, 1st Session, on nomination of William A. Brophy to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

1945 Hearings before Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, 1st Session, on H. R. 1198 and H. R.

1341, Bills to create an Indian Claims Commission, to provide for the powers, duties and functions thereof.

1945 79th Congress, 1st Session, H. R. 4497 A Bill to create an Indian Claims Commission to provide for the powers, duties and functions thereof.

1946 Hearings before Committee on Indian Affairs, U. S. Senate, 79th Congress, 2d Session, on H. R. 4497.

1947 80th Congress, 1st Session, H. R. 3123, An Act making appropriations for Department of Interior for fiscal year ending June 30, 1948.

1949 Outline of needs of Five Civilized Tribes. 11 pages.

1951 Separate from Congressional Record: Debate and Legislation proposed by Hon. George W. Malone of Nevada, Sept. 22 and Oct. 20, 1951. 45 pages.
Envelope containing postcards and other cards showing Sign Language and Pictographic Writing of Indians.
Donor: Mrs. Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City.

1963 "Oklahoma Kickapoo," by Betty Ann Wilder Dillingham, a Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. 294 pages.
Donor: Mrs. Betty Ann Wilder Dillingham.

LIST OF NEW LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS

July 26, 1963 to October 24, 1963

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Graham, B. H.	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Howell, Wendell Evan	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Wheeler, Miss Nettie	Muskogee, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Adams, Oliver Black	Broken Arrow, Oklahoma
Aldrich, Mrs. Bessie M.	Bessemer, Alabama
Brady, Earl	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Bruton, Mrs. Jerri Jack	Sulphur, Oklahoma
Burkholder, Edwin V.	New York City, New York
Cannon, Robert	Atoka, Oklahoma
Cogdill, B. I.	Amarillo, Texas
Cope, Milton J.	Pecatonica, Illinois
Devilbiss, Mrs. Bernice R.	Salisbury, Maryland
Field, Mrs. Floyd E.	Enid, Oklahoma
Frakes, Forrest Val	Palo Alto, California
Froeschl, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Martin	Independence, Missouri
Fulkerson, Rev. F. Grover	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Gay, Leah	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Harper, Very Rev. Msgr. James J.	Kansas City, Missouri
Hickman, Houston E.	Port Lavaca, Texas
Hoagland, Raymond Edward	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Howard, Mrs. Ima Hill	Terral, Oklahoma
Jackson, L. B., Jr.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Jones, Henry C.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Jones, Richard M.	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Jordan, A. C.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Keltner, W. H. H.	Dougherty, Oklahoma
Loriaux, Amour J.	Nowata, Oklahoma
Love, Mrs. R. E.	Goodwell, Oklahoma
McClure, William J.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Mitchell, Mrs. Frances Tussy	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Moore, E. Ainsworth	Spiro, Oklahoma

Orton, Miss Dorothy J.	Fort Towson, Oklahoma
Reid, Kenneth M.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Rennie, Albert M.	Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Roseberry, R. L.	Amarillo, Texas
Satterlee, Maj. Francis N.	Vienna, Virginia
Shannon, Mrs. Ethel	Enid, Oklahoma
Smith, Charles Gene	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Taylor, Mrs. Alta Mae	Lynwood, California
Wittlake, Dr. Eugene B.	State College, Arkansas
Young, Mrs. Nelson	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Younger, J. P.	Burbank, California

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CUMULATIVE INDEX

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

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